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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

JULY, 1909

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1909

XII

PYTHAGORAS AND THE DOCTRINE OF TRANS- MIGRATION

BY A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, B.C.L.

TO Sir William Jones¹ appears to belong the honour of first since the beginning of Sanskrit studies suggesting that Pythagoras derived from India the groundwork of his philosophy. His treatment of the matter, however, is unimportant compared with that of Colebrooke,² who discussed the question of the relation of Sāṃkhya and Pythagoreanism in some detail and with his usual mastery of material. As often, his treatment remained for many years definitive; his arguments were repeated and extended, but nothing solid was added to the foundation which he had laid until in 1884 Dr. Leopold von Schroeder³ published his admirable study on *Pythagorus und die Indier*. His presentation of the case for the theory that the philosophy of Pythagoras is derived from India is, I think, complete, and the ability and learning of the treatise have won for the theory itself the deliberate and reasoned acceptance of Professor Garbe,⁴ of Professor Hopkins,⁵ and of Professor

¹ *Works*, iii, 236.

² *Misc. Ess.*, i², 436 seq.

³ See also his *Indians Lit. und Kultur* (1887), pp. 717 seq.

⁴ *Phil. of Ancient India*, pp. 39 seq. Cf. also his *Sāṃkhya Philosophie* (1890), p. 79.

⁵ *Rel. of India*, pp. 559, 560.

considerations of common-sense show that Pythagoras can only have learned the Indian philosophy from which, on von Schroeder's hypothesis, his views are derived, by communication with persons familiar with it, and von Schroeder seizes eagerly upon certain references¹ in late writers to Pythagorean travels, which included, according to Alexander Polyhistor, one to the Brahmins. He admits that in themselves these references do not prove a visit, but he lays stress on the fact that there must be some fire to account for all the smoke, and the fire he suggests to lie either in a tradition of journeys in search of knowledge or in the foreign aspect of his doctrines to the Greek mind. Finally, as the result of his treatise, he concludes that Pythagoras really did visit India. That view is not accepted by Professors Garbe, Gomperz,² or Macdonell, who suggest that he met Indians in Persia, but believe in his travels.

Against these conjectures it must be pointed out that the evidence for the travels is all post-Aristotelian, that is, at least 200 years after Pythagoras' death, save as regards a visit to Egypt. For that visit the evidence is that of a statement in the *Busiris* of Isokrates, a work which frankly explains itself to be a rhetorical exercise and not to be based on any tradition. That it can be true is, I think, conclusively disproved by the silence of Herodotos,³ who was an admirer of Pythagoras,⁴ and who could not

¹ Zeller, pp. 327-9.

² *Op. cit.*, i, 127.

³ ii, 123. Of course, Samos under Polykrates and Egypt under Amasis were in close touch, and Egyptian ideas could easily reach Pythagoras at Samos (so Egyptian influence, even if certain, would not mean necessarily travels). Gomperz, i, 100, Holm, i, 367, and many others accept the view of a visit, and Holm is prepared, with Cantor, to believe in a visit to Babylon. But alas! that visit also is known only centuries after Pythagoras' death.

⁴ Stein held otherwise, but see Macan, *Herodotus, Books IV-VI*, i, 68. Stein, however, on ii, 123, considers, no doubt rightly (cf. Burnet, p. 95, n. 2), that the reference there is to Empedokles, not to Pythagoras, who was dead ere Herodotos was born.

have refrained from all mention of him in his *Aigyptioi Logoi*. The simple explanation of the later reports of travels is one suggested by the procedure of Herodotos. When he sees customs similar to those he knew in Greece, he at once assumes that the Greek customs were derived from the Egyptians, as he had been told by the priests, what we know to be true, that the civilization of Egypt was much older than that of Greece. The similarity between Indian and Pythagorean ideas was similarly accounted for in Alexandrine times, when the learning of India began to be known in Alexandria¹: the habit of mind on which it is based is very common at the present day.

There is thus no real ground to make us suspect a foreign origin for Pythagoreanism, but Indian influence, if for reasons of lack of satisfactory proof of intellectual intercourse between Asia Minor and India² somewhat improbable, remains possible. The dates given above, however, show that the Indian ideas with which Pythagoreanism is to be compared are those of the period before the Buddha, which are found in the older Upanisads, such as the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya*, the *Kāuṣītaki*, and *Aitareya*. This point is of some importance, for von Schroeder occasionally argues from points which are proved, if at all, only for Buddhism and not for the Upanisads. Moreover, in examining Pythagoras' views, we must be careful not to ascribe to him³ all the theories of the later Pythagoreans, not to mention the Neo-Pythagoreans: our enquiry is not into

¹ Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 329; Gomperz, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Cf. also the case of Heketaios and the Egyptian priests, *ibid.*, p. 257.

² Cf. also Kennedy, *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 241 seq.

³ I follow generally Burnet's discussion of Pythagoras' views. Gomperz is rather imaginative, while Zeller is hardly in sympathy with his ideas. Any reconstruction must to some extent be hypothetical, but in the following the views assigned to Pythagoras are in all cases based on good evidence.

possible connections between the pseudo-members of the school and Indian thought, for that enquiry would require too minute an investigation of the history of Greek philosophy, and would be of no value for the consideration of von Schroeder's results.

The origin of the doctrine of transmigration among the Brahmins is not now open to serious dispute.¹ It has been derived with great clearness by Oldenberg from the ever-growing dread in the Brāhmaṇas of falling into the power of death: the fear opens up a vista of repeated deaths even in the other world: the idea merely required that the conception of repeated death should be transferred to this world to give the doctrine of metempsychosis in the full form. This step was not a difficult one, especially when we remember the common idea among savage tribes that the human soul can pass into other animals or plants, an idea which no doubt helped the Brahmins to win for their doctrine of transmigration the assent of the people as a whole. But this doctrine, which is soon in India inseparably connected with, and no doubt owed its development to, the ethical theory that each act meets its due reward, is not an early one in Indian philosophy. Most authorities are agreed that it can be found only in the Upaniṣads,² that is to say, very little before B.C. 600, if indeed at all before. Nor can we safely say that the doctrine as an articulate theory existed long before it appears in the literature. We must not exaggerate the fact that the Buddha accepted

¹ See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 48 seq.; Deussen, *Phil. of the Upanishads*, pp. 313 seq. (The belief in transmigration must be distinguished from the doctrine which alone concerns us.)

² Gomperz, *op. cit.*, i, 546, quotes a different view from Buhler, but the statement is too vague for discussion; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 530, n. 3, ascribes the doctrine first to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, with a possibility in RV., i, 164, 30. 38. For v. Schroeder's views cf. also his *Ind. Lit.*, pp. 89, 93, 245 seq. He lays great stress on the moral side, for which see *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iii, 2, 13; iv, 4, 2 6. Cf. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 223; Boyer, *Journ. As.*, 9, xviii, 451 seq.

the doctrine into a view that it was then a universal philosophical belief. For the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* is later than the main body of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and Āpastamba in the *Dharma Sūtra*, a work which cannot reasonably be placed much earlier than B.C. 300 at soonest, refers to Śvetaketu, a contemporary of Yājñavalkya, who is by tradition the authority for the first books of the *Brāhmaṇa*, as an *avara* or modern writer in his time, so that the date of the *Brāhmaṇa* itself cannot go much further back than B.C. 600,¹ if so far. It is true that no less authorities than Roth,² Böhtlingk,³ and Geldner⁴ have found traces of the doctrine of transmigration in the *Rgveda*; but it is perhaps sufficient here to say that the traces consist practically of the interpretation of two verses in the riddle hymn, i, 164, 30 and 38, and it will probably be agreed that such evidence is of no cogency. It is accepted neither by Hillebrandt,⁵ nor by Oldenberg, nor by Macdonell, nor by Garbe.

We know definitely that Pythagoras⁶ was a believer in the doctrine of transmigration: one of the few certain anecdotes of him is the sarcastic reference of Xenophanes⁷ (c. 540 B.C.) that he forbade the beating of a dog because he recognized in its howls the voice of a friend. Another anecdote, famous through Ennius and Horace, which we

¹ Cf. Buhler, *S.B.E.*, ii, pp. xlii seq. I put Āpastamba rather later than does Buhler, who is inclined to overestimate his earliness; cf. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 259; my *Autareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 20 seq. Von Schroeder's date for the *Śatapatha* is eighth or ninth century (p. 37, n.). It is, however, not an early work of its class.

² *ZDMG.*, xlv, 759. Cf. also Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, pp. 58 seq.

³ *Sachs. Ber.*, 1893, pp. 87 seq.

⁴ *Ved. Stud.*, ii, 288; iii, 3 (where he uses RV., iv, 42, 1, as an example, but quite unconvincingly), 116 (*ātman* = *samsārin*).

⁵ *Ved. Myth.*, ii, 8. Cf. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice*, pp. 96, n. 1, 97, n. 1; Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, p. 15; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 49, n. 1; Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 257; who all agree with Hillebrandt on this point.

⁶ Zeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 481 seq.; Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 450 seq.

⁷ Diog. Laert., viii, 36.

"can safely trust tells us that he was gifted with the power of remembrance of his former births, and claimed to have been Euphorbos among others. Moreover, he clearly believed in purification of the soul, and regarded the cycle of births as a means towards the growth of man's higher nature. Further, to him is due, it seems, the doctrine of the theoretic as the highest form of life: the man who devotes himself to the contemplative understanding of existence is the one who most effectually releases himself from the burdens of existence, and we may say frees himself from continued rebirth, though the latter idea cannot be proved for Pythagoras.

Now, it is not necessary to insist on the similarities between this view and the Indian Samsāra. It is real and important, but that is not to say that the Greek version of the doctrine is borrowed from India. And it is just worth while, in view of the argument that the coincidences between the two systems are too close to be the result of chance, to indicate certain points in which the systems differ. In the first place, the Pythagorean system is undoubtedly deeply religious in spirit: Plato in the *Phædo*¹ gives not only as Pythagorean, but as older than Philolaos, the Pythagorean of the latter part of the fifth century B.C. to whom we owe most of our scientific knowledge of the school, the doctrine that men are strangers to the world and the body is the tomb of the soul, and that yet we must not seek to escape by self-murder, for we are the chattels of God, who is our herdsman, and without His command we have no right to make our escape. On the other hand, the Upanisadic doctrine is quite untinged with any such emotion; I have no hesitation in saying that the idea of Pythagoras would hardly be intelligible to it. Nor have we any record of a view analogous to that of Pythagoras in the other

¹ 62B; cf. Espinas, *Archiv für Gesch. der Phil.*, viii, 449 seq.

literature of the period before the Buddha. Secondly, it is worth noting that the doctrine of the possibility of remembrance in the new body of the existence in a previous body is not mentioned in the Upanisads, and is apparently first recorded at an uncertain date of the Buddha,¹ so that it is illegitimate to use this parallelism in favour of the theory of Greek borrowing. Thirdly, despite the part which undoubtedly was played by the moral sense in developing the transmigration doctrine, the Upanisads hold that enlightenment frees the soul, and all their stress is laid on right knowledge. If that knowledge is possessed, sin is as nothing: the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*² assures us that the knowledge of the truth saves a man from harm, even if he steal, or slay his father or his mother; even if he does any evil the bloom leaves not his face. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*³ permits falsehood in the man who has true knowledge. What is still more important is the fact that the position adopted was the inevitable and only logical result of the premises of the system. No amount of mere action or good deeds would ever produce freedom from the weary round of transmigration, for action merely

¹ How early the evidence for this is is doubtful; it is certainly later than Pythagoras, or Empedokles, who refers to this power of Pythagoras (see Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 454, n. 2). Cf. Oldenberg, *Ancient India*, p. 98. I may add here that the evidence for the earliness of Buddhist scriptures, though apparently now accepted widely as a matter of certainty, is even more deplorably weak than the evidence for the antiquity of Brāhmaṇical works. In either case we deal with mere hypotheses, the exact degree of plausibility of which must vary with different minds. Moreover, the lack of real individuality in Indian works and the preservation of these works by schools renders reliance on our present texts perilous. A belief in the early character of the Upanisads and Suttas is not illegitimate, but it rests on general considerations, not on any strictly cogent proof. I mention this because admittedly the evidence for the dates of Orphic views is sometimes comparatively weak as measured by classical standards; it is quite strong when measured by standards considered adequate by Indologists. Cf. Franke, *VOJ.*, xx, 337, n. 1.

² iii, 1 (my *Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, p. 30).

³ ii, 1, 5, with my note (p. 207).

produced further life¹; and the end was the extinction of rebirth. Later on, in the history of Vedāntism, efforts were made to regard works as a necessary propædæutic for the insight which gave release, but not only is this never an essential part of the system, but it is not a part at all of the system as it stands in the Upanisads of the time before the Buddha. On the other hand, the Pythagorean doctrine is penetrated by the desire for purity of life, perhaps conceived at first as physical but developing into a moral ideal, and the aim of the whole system is to produce holiness, and thereby freedom from transmigration. But unlike the insight of the Upanisads, the holiness desired was something akin in kind to, and only different in degree from, the holiness which man sought in life. The Pythagorean view, in fact, knows no *brahman* utterly and wholly cut off from the ordinary world, and though transmigration exists in both Indian and Pythagorean belief it has its roots in a completely different set of ideals.

Now, if we reject as the source of Pythagoreanism the Brahminic doctrine of transmigration, we must be prepared to meet the argument on which so much stress is laid by the supporters of the theory of Indian influence, viz. that a Greek origin for the belief cannot be found, nor is any other foreign origin possible. It is true that an obvious foreign origin does suggest itself for the belief. It was the opinion of Herodotos² that the doctrine of metempsychosis was borrowed from Egypt. The Egyptians were the first, he says, to adopt the doctrine that on death the soul, which is immortal, passes into another animal body,

¹ *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iii, 2, 13, is the most pronounced assertion of the works' doctrine in the Upanisads of the early period (cf. Deussen, *Phil. of the Upanishads*, pp. 329 seq.), and it does not attribute freedom to works. For the non-morality of the Brāhmaṇas see Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice*, p. 9; Sadānanda, *Vedāntasāra*, 36, with comm. (ed. Jacob); Garbe, *Phil. of Ancient India*, pp. 60 seq.; Max Muller, *Works*, xix, 166 seq.

² ii, 123. Cf. p. 572, n. 4.

which simultaneously comes into existence, and after passing through all forms, those of animals of the dry land, of the sea, and of the air, again returns into a human body, the peregrination taking three thousand years. Some Greeks, he adds, had used this doctrine both before his own time and contemporaneously, as if it were their own, but he forbears to give their names. It is clear that Herodotos believed that the Egyptians were holders of the belief in transmigration, but it is not improbable that he was wrong in this view. Von Schroeder¹ deals very convincingly with the evidence available in his own time, and an authority of decisive weight, Mr. Francis Ll. Griffith, the Reader in Egyptology in Oxford, who kindly answered my enquiry on the point, tells me that "no reference to metempsychosis has yet been found in Egyptian texts: if it existed at all in Egypt it was probably a popular notion or the opinion of a sect, not received in orthodoxy". It is, of course, possible that Herodotos may have been told the opinion of such a sect, but the idea is needless, for in his note on the passage of Herodotos, Wiedemann² gives an adequate explanation of the source of Herodotos' error. One very early view of the lot of the dead in Egyptian religion was that the dead man occupied the same place in the next world as he had done in life. Gradually, however, the wish developed itself to prepare for the dead a happier lot than he had enjoyed on earth. The end was to be gained by spells, which would enable him to spend a happy life in the fields of Aalū: should this celestial life pall he could return to wander on earth, visiting the places he had

¹ *Pythagoras und die Indier*, pp. 12 seq.

² *Herodot's zweites Buch*, p. 457: cf. Erman, *Die Aegyptische Religion*, p. 192; *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 306. The following account is from Wiedemann, *Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, p. 56. See also Deussen, *op. cit.*, p. 316; Gomperz, *i*, 546. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 255, following Bertholet, *Seelenwanderung* (Halle a. S., 1902), finds it in Egypt. Flinders Petrie seems to me in error when he says (*Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 196) that metempsychosis of the good and noble is specially Indian.

loved in life or abiding in the tomb and receiving the offerings made by his relatives. Or, again, he could change himself into a heron, a swallow, a snake, a crocodile, a god, could indeed take any form that he pleased. This is indeed transmigration, but a different transmigration from either that of Greece or of India: it is a boon granted only to those who were provided with the necessary spells, and who were pronounced just at the judgment of the dead. None the less, I do not think we need deny that it is sufficiently like Pythagoreanism to allow us to believe that Herodotos could mistake it for that.

This Egyptian view is much older than Pythagoreanism, and if we were obliged to seek outside Greece for the germ of the doctrine of Pythagoras I would have no hesitation in accepting Egypt as the source of the Greek doctrine. Of course, in that case it would be necessary to admit that the doctrine had been largely remodelled in the process of adaptation to Greek ideas, but a similar admission would clearly be required in the case of a borrowing from India, as von Schroeder himself recognizes. But we are in a much better position than von Schroeder could be to estimate the possibilities of the growth of the doctrine in Greece itself. Von Schroeder's view of Pythagoras depends essentially on that of Zeller, and Zeller was a rationalist of a pronounced type. In thus treating Pythagoras he had distinguished predecessors¹ in Dikaiarchos and Aristoxenos, who from different points of view, the political and the scientific, endeavoured to remove from the master of the school the strange collection of legends which had grown round his name. But in doing so they were obliterating history and rendering the position of Pythagoras unintelligible. To von Schroeder² he is a man of taste for research and

¹ Cf. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 103; Grote, *Hist.*, iv, 90.

² Op. cit., p. 92. The *ιστορίη* praised by Herakleitos, *Frag.*, 17, was mathematical; see Iamblichos, *Vit. Pyth.*, 89: *ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ γεωμετρία πρὸς*

learning who brought to Greece the lore of India, and founded a society of students on the basis of the Doric institutions of his adopted home. Later ages attached to him the wonderful tales which grew up about him, much as tales grew up around the Buddha.

It was not until 1894 that Rohde¹ published his study of the doctrine of the soul in Greece, a study which renders all earlier work antiquated and which treats of the topic from the point of view of ethnology and psychology. Even since that date, however, much evidence has accumulated which helps to overthrow the foundation on which von Schroeder worked, the theory that the ideas of Pythagoras were so un-Greek as only to be accounted for on the theory of the deliberate borrowing of them by Pythagoras from abroad. It is now recognized that the Homeric poems, the greatest creation of the poetical genius known to the world, are not representative of the normal development of the popular life, and that we must not judge all Hellas by Homeric views. Hesiod, in his account of the ages in the *Works and Days*, interpolates between the bronze and iron ages the age of the heroes, and in this has justly been seen² a recognition of the fact that the Greek middle ages were a break in the continuity of Greek development. To some extent the cause was no doubt racial,³ but it is not necessary to lay undue stress on this fact. But we must recognize that the poems give us but little idea of the importance of the chthonian cults and the spirits of the dead in

Πυθαγόρου ἰστορία. Much has wrongly been made of this word, as of his polymathy. It is quite a mistake to read into this the modern conception of historical research and comparative study of religion.

¹ *Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen.* (I quote from the first edition; the second does not modify the results with which we are concerned here.)

² Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 7, n. 1.

³ Cf. Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 193 seq.; Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*; Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, pp. 101 seq.

Greek thought. These ideas lived¹ among the lower classes of the people and revived after the fall of that brilliant aristocracy whose interest in art is revealed to us by Mykenai and Knossos, and whose chivalry is idealized in the great epics. The people cared, it is clear, very deeply for the future of their souls, and the Homeric religion of the day had little to offer in the way of consolation. The dead were not, indeed, extinguished, but continued to lead a shadowy existence after death; but the faintness of the life thus continued is summed up once for all in the words of Achilles when he prefers the life of a bondservant to kingship over all the dead that are departed—²

μή δὲ μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδαι, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεύ.
 βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἔων θητεύεμεν ἄλλῳ,
 ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ ᾧ μὴ βίοςτος πολὺς εἴη
 ἣ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσιν καταφθιμένοισι Φανίσσειν.

We cannot wonder, therefore, at the eagerness with which the Greek world hailed the appearance or regeneration of a new religious belief, the worship of Dionysos, or Orpheus, for both are but different forms of one divinity. It is needless for our purpose to examine into the precise character of the god: it is sufficient to say that in one aspect at least he was a god of vegetation, a god, moreover, who died and lived again even as the world of vegetation dies and lives again. From Thrace with the god came also the belief in the divine madness, the possession by the god, which lifts man for the moment to godhood, a belief widespread throughout the world in different forms and shapes.³

¹ It is probable that the revival was a good deal more than a revival. The Mycenaean religion shows much care of the dead, but not necessarily a cult; worship and respect are not identical. *Contra*, Rohde and Gomperz, i, 23 seq., and cf. von Schroeder, VOL., xv, 206.

² Homer, *Od.*, xi, 488 seq.

³ For Egypt, cf. Bissing, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 228. Cf. Rohde, op. cit., pp. 296 seq. Very possibly Dionysos was an ancient

With this belief was bound up that of the immortality of the soul, which thus first enters Greek thought in contradistinction to the belief in the pale existence of the soul, which is the Homeric view. That which in the fit of mania can become for the time divine cannot be different in ultimate nature from the divine. Yet it is not divine in itself as fettered by the body, and the religion sets as its end the devising of means whereby to release from the non-divine the divine element in man. Again, if the soul is divine in essence and immortal, and yet is not freed at once from bondage by death, it is natural to suppose that until it attains freedom it remains either in a purgatory or in other human or animal form, for, as we know Pythagoras held,¹ all souls are similar in class, and the apparent distinctions between human and other kinds of beings are not ultimate.²

Such in brief outline were the ideas which were bound up in the Orphic and Dionysiac worship. Their exposition and development into a system were the work of many minds. The Dionysiac religion united itself in part with the Apollonine cult,³ and we hear of an elaborate practice of divination in ecstasy, a characteristic of the Pythia; of ritual purifications like that of Athens by Epimenides, and of occasional asceticism as in the case of Abaris and Epimenides. But the most important body in the matter were the Orphic bands⁴ who joined in mutual relations for the practice of their religious beliefs. They held in its fullest extent the doctrine of transmigration, the

god in Greece, but the orgiastic worship of Thrace was a new movement in Greek religion.

¹ Cf. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 101.

² For transmigration in Thracian belief see Rohde, pp. 320 seq.; in Orphism, *ibid.*, pp. 442-8. Gomperz seems needlessly critical (*op. cit.*, i, 546); see Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 seq.

³ Cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv, 208.

⁴ Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 395 seq.; Busolt, *op. cit.*, pp. 362 seq.; Gomperz, *op. cit.*, i, 123 seq.; Murray, *Greek Literature*, pp. 64 seq.; Oldenberg, *Ancient India*, pp. 80 seq.; Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.*, ii, 727 seq.

immortality and god-like character of the soul, the imprisonment of the soul in the body, and the possibility of release by purification. This release never meant to any Greek of this age the merger of existence—the soul was divine but also eternal and distinct from the divinity—and its freedom was release from the troubles of the flesh. The pious believer became Bakhos himself: hence the proverb πολλοὶ μὲν ναρθηκοφόροι παῦροι δέ τε Βάκχοι,¹ and in Hades he enjoyed communion with the gods, the northern derivation of the doctrine showing itself in an amusing fashion in the eternal drunkenness which Plato² assures us was promised to the votaries.

The transmigration of Pythagoras stands, in view of these facts, in a new light, that of a genius' version of a popular belief. What Pythagoras really believed we may guess from what we know of Empedokles' views.³ That sage in his own works claims that he had been a boy and a girl, a bush and a bird, and a dumb fish in the sea. He claims to be a present deity, and he tells us, and it seems to have been true, that he went through the streets of Akragas an immortal god, no mortal now, honoured by all, crowned with fillets and flowery garlands. Men, he says, and women flocked to him for oracles and for magic healing. He asserts the kindred character of all living creatures and the sin of slaughter of animals, the sorrow in which all created things live, and the joys of release from transmigration. Or, again, we have the Orphic view in Pindar's *Threnoi*⁴ and in the second Olympian, whence we

¹ Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 323.

² *Rep.*, 363 C, D, where see Adams' note.

³ *Frag.*, 117 and 112 (ed. Diels); Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 256 seq. That he borrowed the doctrine from Pythagoras is quite improbable.

⁴ *Frag.*, 129, 133; *Ol.*, ii, 69 seq. The exact sense is disputed. I follow Christ, *Pind. Carm.*, pp. 21, 22. Cf. Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 496 seq. Gildersleeve, *Olympian and Nemean Odes*, p. 149, adopts without adequate consideration an impossible view of Mezger's. Murray, *Greek Literature*, pp. 109-16, ignores altogether this most important element in Pindar's

gather that all mortals after death spend a time in Hades or with the gods and then begin again mortal lives, though those that three times, both above and below, endure and live uprightly go for ever to the tower of Kronos¹ and live in everlasting bliss. It may be that some hint of Egyptian conceptions of the life of the dead is seen here, for in a *Threnos*² the joys of the blessed dead include the playing with draughts, and the Egyptian texts³ tell us that in the fields of Aalū the dead played draughts either with their companions or with their own souls; but the main outline of the picture is clearly Greek.

It would be possible indefinitely to increase the mass of evidence for a real Greek belief in transmigration, one of indigenous growth from an impulse derived from Thrace, itself half-Greek. We need not overestimate the debt of Greece to Thrace: the country was ripe for a more spiritual conception of the divinity and its relation to the human soul, and the Greek genius, with its peculiar creative power, could mould into deeper issues the suggestions derived from the vivid nature-worship of Thrace. There are in Greek story many legends similar to those told in India, such as that of the man whose body was burnt by an enemy in the absence of his soul,⁴ or the curious double system of punishment, both in hell and by reincarnation, which exists even in the early, though not the earliest,⁵ Indian versions of transmigration; but we could only prove that Greece borrowed all this from India by proving that transmigration existed as

thought, which redeems him from the charge of materialism. The "contamination" of ordinary retribution or reward with metempsychosis is natural.

¹ Cf. Hesiod, *Op.*, 167 seq.

² *Frag.*, 129, v. 4: τοὶ δὲ πασσαῖς. The game is believed to have been borrowed from Egypt (Smith, *Dict. of Antiq.*, ii, 11).

³ Wiedemann, *Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, p. 55.

⁴ Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 386, n. 1.

⁵ Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 seq. Cf. Hopkins, *JRAS.*, 1906, pp. 586 seq.; 1907, pp. 665 seq.

a scientific doctrine in India long before the records show any trace of it, and by indicating some means by which the people of Greece as a whole could be converted to accept a doctrine brought from India. Orphism is dominant in Greek thought during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.,¹ and probably goes back far into the eighth century. Chronologically India might perhaps have derived transmigration as a scientific doctrine from Greece; it is, of course, certain that it did not, yet the opposite view cannot even chronologically be upheld with any plausibility.

We see now in the proper perspective the ritual practices on which von Schroeder² laid great stress in support of his view. These are the partial abstention of Pythagoras from the use of animal food and his non-use of beans. It is interesting to note that Aristoxenos³ felt the absurdity of the master's attitude in these matters so much that he tried to repudiate them. The master, he said, ate meat except in the case of the flesh of the plough ox and the ram, was partial to the flesh of sucking-pigs and tender kids, and preferred beans to every other vegetable, a statement which probably gives us a correct view of Aristoxenos' own tastes in food. The polemic of Aristoxenos proves the truth of the reports, and we find ourselves in the face of two of a long list⁴ of tabus which can be constructed as Pythagorean, such as the rules not to stir the fire with iron, not to pick up what has fallen, not to break bread, to roll together the bedclothes after you have arisen and smooth out the impress of the body, no doubt to remove your

¹ Busolt, l.c., and Bury, *Greek Hist.*, p. 312, underestimate the age of the impulse. The theory of an Orphic interpretation in Homer under Peisistratos (Bury, p. 317; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hom. Unters.*, p. 190) is, I think, quite untenable. Cf. Lang, *Homer and his Age*, pp. 43 seq.

² Op. cit., pp. 31-8. For his later view, see VOJ., xv, 187 seq.

³ *Ap. Diog. Laert.*, viii, 20.

⁴ Burnet, op. cit., p. 106. For tabu, cf. Murett, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Religi.*, i, 52; *Anthropological Essays*, pp. 225 seq.

shadow from hostile possession. Once we realize the number and character of these rules the attempt to derive any of them from India breaks hopelessly down. Beans are tabu in various parts of the world, like onions, pomegranates, and many other vegetables;¹ the reason in each case must be mainly guesswork, but I think in the case of beans the nearest approach to the truth is that of Dr. Farnell that they are of the colour of blood, and blood, even on the modern mind, often produces a physical shrinking which may adequately explain the tabu. Rohde,² indeed, following Lobeck, explains the non-use of beans among the Orphics by the fact that they were used for offerings to the dead, but it is probable that they were used as offerings for the dead precisely because they were tabu for the living. Moreover, it is fatal, as against von Schroeder's theory, that they were also tabu in Egypt. Herodotos³ says so expressly, and Mr. Griffith tells me that there is some ground for accepting the view as correct, besides the fact that this was the sort of matter on which Herodotos should have been able to give accurate information. Beans are very rarely mentioned, for example, in the great series of farm accounts dealt with by Grenfell and•Hunt in vol. i of the Tebtunis papyri of Ptolemaic date, and they are very scarce on the Greek ostraka (Ptolemaic and Roman). It is true that they occur in most of the published collections of papyri and were certainly grown in Egypt, but it is probable that the priests regarded them as tabu. They were also tabu to the Roman priest of Jupiter, as we know from Aulus Gellius.

¹ See Farnell, *Erol. of Rel.*, pp. 89 seq.; von Negelein, *Archiv für Relig.*, vi, 246. Cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, ch. xxxviii.

² Op. cit., p. 419, n. 1; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.*, p. 254; so Purser, *Dict. of Antiq.*, ii, 298. The view is old: Festus says *putantur ad mortuos pertinere*; Pliny, *H.N.*, xviii, 118, *quoniam mortuorum animæ sint in ea (faba)*. See also Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 110; a totemistic view is suggested by Astley, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 267.

³ ii, 37; see Wiedemann, *Herodot's zweites Buch*, p. 177. Cf. VOJ., xv, 212.

As regards the eating of flesh, it is hard to say whether this is in the case of Pythagoras in any degree due to the transmigration doctrine. That the abstention, so far as it was real, was due to Indian influence, is disproved by the fact that it would be quite impossible to establish any *ahimsā* doctrine as existing in India at the time of Pythagoras: even later the virtuous Buddha dies after a meal of pork, possibly tender,¹ and his followers, as Hopkins² has shown, were by no means vegetarians, but, like the Burman Buddhists to-day, ate meat as long as they had not to kill it. A different theory is suggested by the report of Porphyry,³ which is probably based on the view of Heracleides of Pontos, that the Pythagoreans ate the flesh of animals slain for the sacrifice. That carries us back into the sacramental meal on the flesh of the sacred animal, and fits well into the general doctrine of the Bakchie ritual. Moreover, it may be harmonized with the exception admitted by Aristoxenos, viz. the refraining from the use of the flesh of the plough ox, for Dionysos might be conceived as in ox form and the ox be slain and eaten only rarely and then sacramentally.⁴

¹ Cf. Fleet, JRAS., 1906, pp. 881, 882.

² JAOS., xiii, 119 seq.; xxvii, 455 seq.; *Great Epic of India*, pp. 378 seq.; *Rel. of India*, pp. 199 seq. For earlier times see Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xvii, 280, 314; Bloomfield, *S.B.E.*, xlii, 493.

³ *De Abst.*, p. 58, 25 (ed. Nauck).

⁴ Cf. Farnell, *Culte of the Greek States*, i, 89 seq. (the Bouphonia ceremony). Burnet, op. cit., p. 106; Rohde, op. cit., p. 454; Purser, *Dict. of Antiq.*, ii, 298; and Gomperz, op. cit., i, 127, consider that abstinence from flesh is due to transmigration, and this is Empedokles' view (see *Frag.*, 128, 136, 137 (ed. Diels); Ritter & Preller, *Hist. Phil. (Græc.)*, § 184). But it is probably in origin older and connected with the abhorrence of blood. Hopkins, p. 464, considers that transmigration had very little to do with non-meat-eating in the case either of the Brahmins or of the Buddhists, and it is certainly curious that the reputed founder of the transmigration theory should have been addicted to meat-eating (see Yājñavalkya's saying in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 1, 2, 21, and Hopkins, op. cit., p. 189). The sacramental eating of the ox on the Bouphonia and elsewhere need hardly be explained by totemism, as Farnell was inclined to do: the sorrow and the kinship characteristic

So far I have endeavoured to show that there is to be found in Greece itself all the materials for the development of the system which is believed to be Pythagorean. But von Schroeder has alleged certain other considerations based on other sides of Pythagorean activity which must not be overlooked. It is clear that if, as a philosopher pure and simple, Pythagoras was indebted to Indian teachers, his religious views can be attributed more easily to India. Von Schroeder contends,¹ and is followed by Garbe, Hopkins, and Macdonell, that the Pythagorean problem and the discovery of irrational numbers are due to India, and in particular to the Śulba Sūtras.

In this claim two things are involved, the similarity of the Pythagorean views with those of the Śulba Sūtras and the derivation of the former from the latter. Neither of these views is correct. As regards Pythagoras' opinions we have merely the information that he discovered the proof of the Pythagorean proposition: how he did so is uncertain, and von Schroeder's view was to some extent supported by the fact that the mode in which the Śulba Sūtras treat the proposition (by dividing it into the cases when the two sides are of equal length and when of unequal length) was conjectured by Cantor² to have been the mode in which the proposition was proved by Pythagoras. It seems, however, as a result of recent research quite clear³ that the discovery of the proof

of the rite are adequately explained if we remember that the deity may be present in part in the sacred animal: cf. also Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 329. The tale of Zagreus is clearly a reflex of the ritual of the slaying of a theanthropic bull (Gomperz, i, 136), and may be compared with the legends of Orpheus and Pentheus, for which cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 270 seq.; Bather, JHS., xiv, 244-63. For the sacramental meal, cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*; Farnell, *Hibbert Journal*, 1904; and my note, JRS., 1907, pp. 929 seq. Farnell's view is summarized in *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, ii, 139, 140, and will appear in full in *Cults of the Greek States*, v.

¹ *Pythagoras und die Inder*, pp. 39-59.

² *Gesch. der Math.*, i, 144.

³ See Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 seq., where he gives diagrams.

was really due to the peculiar form of arithmetic notation by square numbers and oblong numbers which he used, added probably to a practical knowledge of the triangle, used long before his time by the Egyptians, whose sides were 3, 4, and 5 units in length respectively. This triangle was apparently early known to the Babylonians and the Chinese, and possibly India got it from Babylon; possibly invented it independently. But the practical use, which was known to Thales¹ and probably much earlier in Greece, never led to any mathematical theory in Egypt, and Pythagoras' merit is to have turned the matter into science. It is characteristic of the arithmetical basis of his scheme that the discovery of an irrational number,² which followed at once on the Pythagorean problem—for that yields at once the equation that the length of the hypotenuse of a triangle whose sides are each one unit is the root of 2—led him no further in the discussion of geometry, as it really upset for good the old view of quantity as a sum of units.

In contradistinction to the theoretic interest of Pythagoras, the Śulba Sūtras are practical manuals for the construction of the great altars which were required for the use of the sacrificers. I do not see that they arrive at any really scientific as opposed to practical conception of the Pythagorean theorem, but that point need not here be discussed, as the claim that they are sufficiently old to have affected Pythagoras is impossible to maintain. Von Schroeder's argument³ here is in effect that the

¹ Ibid., pp. 44 seq. The latest supporter of the theory of Babylonian influence on India is Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, i, 95. There is nothing *a priori* impossible in it, and it explains conveniently the Naksatra series and the flood legend. For the *Rigveda* it is, however, not proven (despite *mañḍ*, viii, 78, 2, which is too isolated and too doubtful to afford any secure basis for argument). More important are Oldenberg's theories of the Ādityas as the planets, which have not yet, however, convinced me.

² Ibid., pp. 116, 117.

³ Accepted and endorsed by Hopkins, *Rel. of India*, p. 560, n. 1, and Garbe, *Rel. of Ancient India*, p. 43, n. 1.

Sulba Sūtras are not *Parīṣiṣṭas* but integral parts of the Śrauta Sūtras, and in particular the *Mānava Śrauta Sūtra* contains, as its tenth part, the Śulba Sūtra. That Śrauta Sūtra is antique in character and goes back to the eighth century, the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover, the material of the Śulba Sūtras is common in the different recensions of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Kātyāyana, and Mānava, and goes back to the centuries from the tenth to the eighth, when the sacrificial system was at its height. Garbe adds that each Śrauta Sūtra is by one hand, and contains doctrines much older than its own date.

The fact that a work is not called a *Parīṣiṣṭa* is of no consequence, and the text of the Mānava and Baudhāyana Sūtras is in a hopeless condition. Both these Sūtras contain many passages of undoubted antiquity in the Brāhmaṇa style, just as the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* contains a parallel version of the Śunaḥśepa episode, which appears as part of the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*.¹ But from these facts to argue to the whole is simply impossible. Caland² significantly omits the *Baudhāyana Śulba Sūtra* from consideration in sketching the language of the Śrauta Sūtra. In fact, the Śulba Sūtras all belong to the latest period of Sūtra production: they are pure Sūtra works, unlike Brāhmaṇas in every way, and have no claim to rank as ancient. The actual Sūtras, excluding Brāhmaṇa passages included in Sūtra works, even the Śrauta Sūtras whose dates we can approximately guess, do not go back

¹ JRAS., 1907, p. 411.

² *Ueber das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 41. In general the Sūtras cannot be regarded as very old: the Āśvalāyana cannot be more than about B.C. 400; the Śāṅkhāyana is, I think, younger. Buhler, *S.B.E.*, ii, pp. xlv, lxi, tends to ascribe too great antiquity to the Sūtras. It is indeed probable that Āpastamba's irregularities of language are a proof that he is not later than the Pāṇinian period or, say, B.C. 350-300, but the mention of the *Atharvaśiras* in Gautama is significant, even if *Yavana* in iv, 18, is not original. I doubt if Gautama is older than B.C. 400. Cf. also Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 36. For the confusion of the *Baudhāyana Sūtra*, cf. Caland's edition (*Bibl. Ind.*), i, pp. vii seq.; ii, pp. i seq.; for the *Mānava*, cf. Knauer's ed.

beyond the fifth century, and I should very much doubt whether the Śulba Sūtras are even as old as the third century B.C., the lower date suggested by Thibaut.¹ It is quite fatal to their claim to antiquity that the subject-matter of these Sūtras should form no matter of reference in the Brāhmaṇas proper. If the geometrical constructions and spatial relations there dealt with had been known to the writers of the Brāhmaṇas, they would have referred to them in order to explain their hidden meaning, just as they do in the case of the various topics dealt with in the Śrauta Sūtras. The ritual no doubt went on for generations by rule of thumb: the only quasi-geometrical discussions in the Brāhmaṇas touch only minor and quite simple² points, such as e.g. the distance of any special part from the ground, and only when everything began to be reduced to formal rule arose the science of geometry as applied to the altar construction. The Brahmins, it must be remembered, went on sacrificing in the Vedic fashion for centuries after Pythagoras passed away, and the *Mahābhāṣya* (c. B.C. 150) reveals the ritual in full swing.³ The activity of the priests in these later days consisted not in the development of the philosophical doctrines of the Brāhmaṇas, but in the perfection of the technique of the sacrifice, and it is to this period of activity that the Śulba Sūtras are due. This conclusion is confirmed and placed beyond doubt by their style and language, both of which are in close accord with those of the last representatives of the Sūtra period, and display none of the Vedic irregularities of the earliest Sūtras, while on the other hand they contain technical terms like *karaya*, which are never found in

¹ *Astronomie*, pp. 76-80. For Kātyāyana we have only a *Parīkṣita*, no more modern, however, in contents than the Sūtras. Cf. Weber, *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1884, p. 1564; *Die Griechen in Indien*, pp. 923-6.

² e.g. *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, i, 2, 4. This passage is instructive of the petty and non-geometrical sort of point dealt with.

³ Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, 335, 456, 457.

the Brāhmaṇas and similar writings. Cantor, indeed, has urged that the Sūtras are derived in their materials from Greek geometry, and the possibility of this being true cannot be denied, as there are striking coincidences between them and the works of Heron, while Heron's own principles are undoubtedly much older in Greece than his own date.¹ It is not necessary here to express any definite opinion on this point, which Thibaut leaves undecided, but it is well to remember that whatever the value of Indian work on arithmetic and algebra, their geometrical powers were of a low order, as may be seen from the grave errors committed by a man like Āryabhaṭa, and it is paradoxical to find in India the source of the really high mathematical knowledge of Greece.

It is true that von Schroeder² would wish to believe that in matters arithmetical the Indians were teachers of Greece, but he admits that for this there is at this date no evidence, unless we are to pay any attention to the fables of the *Lalita Vistara* about the youth of the Buddha,³ which he admits to be impossible.

It is, however, the view of von Schroeder⁴ that between the Pythagorean philosophy proper and Indian thought there is a close connection which can only be explained by borrowing. This he finds in the doctrine of the five elements. This position involves the view that the five elements were accepted in Indian philosophy before Pythagoras' date: that they were recognized by Pythagoras; and that the two sets of five really agree so closely

¹ Thibaut, *Astronomie*, p. 78. On the Śulba Sūtras, see Thibaut, JAB., xliv, 227 seq. The *Apastamba Sūtra* is edited by Burk, ZDMG., lv and lvi.

² Op. cit., pp. 57-9.

³ Cf. Oldenberg's remark in his interesting review (*Gott. gel. Anz.*, 1909, p. 83) on a less guarded use of the evidence of the *Lalita Vistara* by von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus*, p. 76, as an authority for the early existence of drama.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 59-66. The view is not original; cf. Max Müller, ZDMG., vi, 18 seq.; Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 234.

as to render borrowing the only explanation. In fact, all three propositions can be denied or gravely doubted.

In the first place, the doctrine of the five elements—*ether, wind, fire, water, and earth*—is not found in the early *Upanisads*.¹ The *Aitareya Upanisad*,² the only text in which the five occur, and which is, in my opinion correctly, though on grounds of no cogency, reasonably regarded as old enough to have conceivably influenced Pythagoras, has not the fixed order which is laid down in the *Taittiriya Upanisad* as the result of the combination of the older triad, fire, water, earth, with ether and wind, which were originally regarded as symbolic representations of Brahman and not as elements like the others. The order in the *Aitareya* is earth, wind, ether, water, light. So that so far from the view of the five elements being the regular philosophical view in the time of Pythagoras, it was merely one of a large number of conflicting views, and its general acceptance lies at a date long after Pythagoras had ceased to exist.

In the second place, there is conclusive evidence that Pythagoras never held the view of five elements. The pseudo-Plutarch,³ indeed, tells us that he ascribed to the earth the cube, to the fire the tetrahedron, to the air the octahedron, to the water the icosahedron, and the dodecahedron to the fifth element, the nature of which we will later examine. Further, a fragment attributed to Philolaos⁴ refers to the five regular solids. Moreover, as the pseudo-Plutarch's evidence is of no weight, von Schroeder argues that it is admitted⁵ that not only Philolaos but the other later Pythagoreans believed

¹ Cf. Deussen, *Phil. of the Upanishads*, pp. 189 seq., who on different grounds, viz. the different order of the two sets, disputes the theory of von Schroeder, whom he does not name.

² iii, 3. For the dates of the *Upanisads*, cf. Deussen, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Reliq.*, ii, 19 seq.; my *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 25 seq.

³ *Aet.*, ii, 6, 5.

⁴ *Frag.*, 20, ap. Stob. *Ecl.*, i, 10.

⁵ Zeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 317, 437.

in five elements; and against the theory of Zeller, that they borrowed four from Empedokles, he suggests that Empedokles borrowed them from Pythagoras, from whom he borrowed his views of transmigration, his objection to the eating of flesh, and his antipathy to beans.¹ But the ascription to Pythagoras, or even to Philolaos, of a knowledge of the five regular solids is contradicted by the best possible evidence: Plato in the *Republic*² especially refers to the neglect of stereometry by previous authorities, and the Scholia to Euclid³ expressly tells us that the Pythagoreans knew only the cube, tetrahedron, and dodecahedron, and that the octahedron and icosahedron were discovered by Theaitetos of the Academy. With this falls to the ground the ascription to Pythagoras of the doctrine of the five elements.

It remains true, however, that the later Pythagoreans believed in a sense in five elements, and it is worth while comparing these elements with the Indian five and tracing their history. The five elements of India, as Böhtlingk,⁴ in reply to a criticism of Whitney's on his rendering of the word *Ākāśa*, pointed out in a very acute note, consist of fire, water, earth, and *Vāyu* (wind) and *Ākāśa* (empty space). Now, the five elements of Philolaos, if we may properly so call them, are identical as regards fire, water, and earth, though the element fire attains a position and importance physical and astronomical, continued in the Stoic doctrine, for which there is no parallel in the Indian conception, in which it plays no considerable part.⁵ But the element air is a different thing

¹ This supposition is of course gratuitous and incorrect; Gomperz even (i. 427) recognizes that Empedokles is an Orphic.

² 528 B.

³ (Ed. Heiberg), v. 264; Burnet, op. cit., p. 329, n. 1.

⁴ *Sachs. Ber.*, 1900, pp. 149-51; cf. Deussen, op. cit., p. 194.

⁵ Cf. Burnet, op. cit., pp. 348 seq. It is significant also that Pythagoras' astronomical views have no parallel in India. He was, in fact, a man of original genius, not a borrower. Von Schroeder ignores entirely this most important side of his activity.

from wind, which is merely a popular, not a scientific conception.

One of the best attested facts about Empedokles is that he actually proved, by the use of a klepsydra, the fact that air is a different thing from empty space: a fragment of his own works attests it,¹ and Aristotle² evidently alluded to him in this connection. The fifth element was not called by Philolaos³ ether: its real nature is seen by reference to what Aristotle in the *Physics*⁴ tells us of the Pythagoreans, and what, as it was denied by Xenophanes,⁵ who ever disputed the views of Pythagoras, we have no reason to doubt was held by the master himself. They believed, we learn, that outside the world there was boundless breath (*πνεῦμα*), and that it was inhaled by the world. The boundless breath was also, it appears from Aristotle,⁶ conceived as being empty space and as keeping apart the units of which the world is composed, a primitive mode of indicating the nature of discrete quantity. We can now understand the strange metaphors in which the fifth element was described by Philolaos, either as the sphere of the universe or as the hull of the sphere⁷ (*ὁ τᾶς σφαίρας ὀλκάς*). They consort with the expression applied to the central fire as the keel (*τροῦπις*) of the sphere, and with the metaphor which produced the Aristotelian use of *ῥλη* (wood) as the material substratum of existence. Whether this fifth element was ever called ether by the Pythagoreans does not appear: there is no evidence for it, though the name occurs in the later philosophy of the old Academy,⁸ but it is sufficient to

¹ *Frag.*, 100 (ed. Diels).

² *Phys.*, iv, 6, 213a, 22.

³ Cf. Burnet, op. cit., p. 339.

⁴ *Phys.*, iv, 6, 213b, 22.

⁵ *Diog. Laert.*, ix, 19.

⁶ *Phys.*, l.c.

⁷ *Aet.*, ii, 6, 5; *fr.*, 12. The latter passage, like the former, probably does not contain precise information, but the phrase itself is no doubt genuine (Burnet, p. 341, n. 2).

⁸ Windelband, op. cit., p. 57, ascribes it to the Pythagoreans.

point out that between this element and Ākāśa the resemblance is very faint. And we must, of course, reject entirely the attempts of von Schroeder¹ and of Garbe² to emend the passage *ὁ τὰς σφαίρας ὀλκάς* to include the word *ἀκάς*, a supposed borrowing from India. Such guesses are contrary to every principle of scientific method, and are on a par with Halévy's attempt to find *χλωρός* borrowed from Greece in the *hrādu* of the *Atharvaveda*.³

With the disappearance of the supposed borrowing of the five elements, there remains little on which to base a theory of Pythagorean philosophical borrowing. Von Schroeder, however, finds in the importance laid on number in the Pythagorean school an inheritance from the Sāṃkhya. As that school, however, does not in its present form lay any real stress on number, he is bound to believe that the tradition has obscured the important part played by number in the history of the Sāṃkhya. This conjectural history of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, however, need hardly be taken seriously, and Garbe⁴ deserts him on this point, and can only suggest as a conceivable connection the idea that Pythagoras created his numerical theory because he misunderstood what he had been told in Persia, viz. that the Sāṃkhya system was named after its enumeration of the principles of the school, to mean that number was the dominating principle of the philosophy, a suggestion which, very wisely, he does not press as probable. In fact, the stress laid on numbers by Pythagoras is clearly a result of his arithmetical studies, which led in due course to the

¹ *Pythagoras und die Inder*, p. 65, n. 2.

² VOJ., xiii, 303 seq. As to the meaning I follow Burnet. Böhtlingk, VOJ., xiv, 85, and *Nachs. Ber.*, 1900, p. 150, and Gundermann, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1904, pp. 145 seq., suggest that the point of comparison is the movement (not the structure) of a vessel. The word *ὀλκάς* of the text may stand unaltered.

³ i, 25, 2; see *Journ. As.*, 9, xi, 320 seq., and cf. Macdonell, JRAS., 1907, p. 1106.

⁴ *Phil. of Ancient India*, pp. 45, 46.

theory of harmony in music, and is in full agreement with all we know of him and his times, in which music played a part of the greatest importance in connection with religious feeling.¹

Nor can much stress be laid on the fact² that the Sāṃkhya believes in a number of independent eternal souls, and that it is atheistic. It is quite true that Pythagoras believed in a number of eternal souls, and that he does not in his construction of the world postulate divine action. But the doctrine of the existence of divine souls forms no part whatever of his philosophy as opposed to his religious beliefs, and we cannot say that he himself felt the inconsistency of his religious and his philosophical views. As a religious doctrine it is immediately derived by him and his school from their partaking in the divine nature, and we have the evidence of Aristotle³ himself for the identification by the people of Kroton of Pythagoras with Apollo Hyperboreios, an authority supported by his connection with Abaris and Aristeas, and the story reported by Herodotos⁴ that Salmoxis was his slave. Nor is there the slightest trace in Pythagoras of the fundamental view of the Sāṃkhya, the eternal difference between souls and matter, and the delusion by which soul believes itself to be fettered by matter. The fetters in the Pythagorean view are no delusion—the idea of delusion was clearly borrowed by the Sāṃkhya from the Vedānta⁵—but a sad

¹ Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 336-8.

² Von Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

³ *Frag.*, 186, 1510b, 20. See also Herodotos, iv, 13; Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 97, n. 3.

⁴ iv, 95; cf. Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁵ See Deussen, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 seq. It is of course true that Māyā is primarily a Vedānta, not a Sāṃkhya, tenet, and that the Sāṃkhya expressly repudiates the Vedānta doctrine of delusion as creation of the material world. But the idea appears in the Sāṃkhya conception of the relation between soul and Prakṛti, which stand in no real connection but which appear through error to be united: cf. Cowell's trans. of *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, p. 229; Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, p. 16; Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 268, 285.

reality, and holiness¹ of life is the way to be rid of them, not theoretical realization that the ties were unreal. Nor is there any essential similarity between the Sāṃkhya and the supposed Pythagorean² doctrine of the eternity of the world; as a matter of fact, the Sāṃkhya believes in the eternity of matter and the periodic renewal and destruction of the world, an idea seen as early as *Atharvaveda*, x, 8, 39. 40, while the latter idea is completely strange to Pythagoras, and the former idea is doubtfully his, and in any case in one shape or other is the common basis of all early Greek philosophy. Again, it is only fair to remember that there is no evidence of the existence of the Sāṃkhya in the sixth century B.C. other than what can be gathered from the dependence on that system of certain Buddhist tenets, themselves of doubtful and obscure date.³

Practically there remain but two substantial arguments of von Schroeder's⁴—that from the fantastic-mystic-symbolic character of the Pythagorean system, and that from the religio-philosophical character of the school.⁵ On the latter point it may be fairly stated that there is much more certain evidence, collected by Foucart in his *Les Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, for such fraternities in Greece than in India: there is no doubt that the Orphic societies go back into the seventh, probably the eighth century B.C. No doubt the Buddhist was not the first society of its sort in India, but it needed not to go to India to find precedent for such societies, and the practice of such societies is ethnic. What is really

¹ The holiness was at first probably not of heart (as Zeller, *Presocratic Philosophy*, i, 493-6; Murray, *Greek Literature*, p. 154; and Gomperz, i, 123, say) but of body (see Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 457, 458), but it naturally passed into the sphere of ethics proper (cf. Farnell, *Evol. of Rel.*, ch. iii).

² Cf. von Schroeder, p. 76, n. That it was Pythagorean is most improbable (Zeller, pp. 439 seq.).

³ Cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, App.; Jacobi, ZDMG., lii, 1 seq.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 79-88. It is repeated by Garbe, Hopkins, and Macdonell.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 78, 79. Also accepted by the writers just cited.

interesting about the Pythagorean society is that, unlike the Buddhist, it endeavoured to be, and for a time succeeded in setting itself up as, a state organization superseding the ordinary state machinery. The fate of the movement was adverse, as it deserved to be, but the idea was characteristically political and Greek, or at least un-Indian.¹

Nor is it denied that some degree of fantasy crept into the Pythagorean number theory, when attempts were made to carry the principle of number beyond the sphere in which it has relative validity. But it is important not only to note that we have no warrant to attribute this to Pythagoras himself, for the reference to him in the *Magna Moralia*² merely proves the non-Aristotelian character of that compilation, but that it was based on a sound principle. The Pythagoreans had discovered one category, and, like all discoverers, thought that they could find in it an open sesame to all questions: they did not persevere in the idea when they found it unsubstantial, but developed a philosophy which is enshrined in the *Phædo* of Plato, and which is of great value and importance.³ But in the case of the identifications of the Brāhmanas there is neither rhyme nor reason: they are based on no one principle such as number, and they are endless and meaningless: one is happy to believe that they meant nothing to their authors, for deliberate nonsense, as clearly seems often to have been intended, is better than unconscious folly.⁴ There is, moreover, not a single striking parallelism between the two sets of identifications: von Schroeder's⁵ comparison of the Brāhmaṇa

¹ Cf. Lyall, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 12 seq.; Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 seq. Gomperz, *op. cit.*, i, 137 (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.*, ii, 502, note), sees in the movement a revolt against aristocracy; Holm, *op. cit.*, i, 369; Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 318, a movement for aristocracy. Neither view is adequate or correct.

² 1182a, 11; cf. Burnet, p. 100, n. 1.

³ Burnet, pp. 353 seq.

⁴ Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 194, n. 2.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.

identification of the year and the world of heaven with the Pythagorean identification of time and the heavenly sphere can hardly be seriously meant.

I have, I think, noticed every substantial argument of Prof. von Schroeder's, and it seems to me that the following results are established by the evidence adduced: (1) there is no historic evidence or antecedent probability that Pythagoras ever visited India or Persia, or came into contact with persons cognisant of and competent to explain Indian philosophy to him: (2) that the doctrine of transmigration as held by him can be most easily explained from the religious history of Greece, and in particular from the tenets held by the Orphic societies; (3) that the mathematical doctrines of Pythagoras were a direct outcome of his arithmetic studies and of his practical knowledge of the Egyptian methods of measurement; (4) that the Pythagorean doctrine of the five elements was not due to Pythagoras himself, but was adopted by his school, partly from Empedokles, who had experimentally proved the existence of a substance air, and in part from Pythagoras' own theory of an extra-mundal breath; (5) that the Pythagorean philosophy generally shows no real trace of connection with the Sāṃkhya, even assuming that the Sāṃkhya can be deemed old enough to render any comparison chronologically possible; (6) that the tabus and other characteristics of the Pythagorean brotherhood were not borrowed from India, but occurrences in Greece of customs worldwide in character. It is perhaps disappointing to find that we cannot trace to India the beginnings of a philosophy which undoubtedly influenced Greece, and has found a place in both the systems of Plato and Aristotle, but it is impossible to maintain that opinion in the face of the evidence for the present available.¹

¹ Some odd points may be dealt with in a note. (1) In the Upaniṣadic doctrine of immortality the moon is mentioned as the dwelling-place of spirits, as in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* and in the *Pañcāgnividyā*, for which see Deussen, *Phil. of the Upaniṣads*, pp. 328 seq.; Windisch,

Buddha's Geburt, pp. 71 seq. Pythagoras is asserted by Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.*, 82, to have said that the islands of the blest were the sun and moon, but the idea is already Orphic (Zeller, *op. cit.*, p. 457; Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 423, n. 4). (2) In *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 9, 3, 10, it is said that the rays of the sun are the good; in Aristotle, *de An.*, i, 2, that some thought the soul was the dust in the air (cf. Rohde, p. 453, n. 5; Gomperz, i, 138). Von Schroeder identifies (p. 25) these views by assuming, what is quite impossible, that the reference in Aristotle refers to the souls of the good, a view which turns the passage into nonsense, as it is a definition of the soul as such, and by converting the good into the souls of the good, which is legitimate. (3) The Pythagorean *πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ ὀμχεῖν* is quoted not only by von Schroeder (p. 39), but also by Garbe (*op. cit.*, p. 43) and by Hopkins (*op. cit.*, p. 559), as Indian because it occurs in the *Atharvaveda*, xiii, 1, 6. But, as Weber and Lanman (*Sanskrit Reader*, p. 349) have pointed out, the expression is already found in Hesiod, *Op.*, 727, and no sane criticism will imagine that a piece of folklore like that and the numerous other examples in the preceding and following verses came to Hesiod (eighth century B.C.; cf. Mair, *Hesiod*, p. 134) from India. See also Berthelot, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 274. (4) It is suggested that the musical theories of Pythagoras may have been due to the Vedic Siksā. It is perhaps sufficient to say that the seven notes of the Vedic scale do not correspond to the Greek notes (cf. Burnell, *Saṃhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, pp. vi seq.; Caland & Henry, *L'Agniśoma*, App. ii), that the Siksās have nothing to do with the theory of music such as Pythagoras developed it, and that the Siksās are all late works and of no use as evidence for the sixth century B.C.; cf. Liders, *Vyākhyāṇikā*, pp. 2 seq. (5) It is also suggested that the medical art of Pythagoras, which seems to have been accompanied by the use of spells, music, and song, is Indian. The answer is, of course, that it is ethnic (cf. e.g. the famous spells of the *Atharvaveda*, Kuhn, *K.Z.*, xiii, 49 seq., 113 seq.) and is earlier proved to exist in Greece, though no doubt it equally early existed in India. (6) Colebrooke and von Schroeder lay stress on the fact that the Pythagoreans are said to have believed in a threefold division of the world into Olympus, Kosmos, and Ouranos, and with this division they compare the three worlds of the Vedic mythology—earth, air, and heaven (see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 7). It is sufficient to say that the names are not merely not attributed to Pythagoras himself, but expressly (Stob., *Ecl.*, i, 488) to Philolaos, and even if as applied to him they are genuine, the division has nothing to do with the Indian one, for the upper region contains *τὴν εἰλικρινεῖαν τῶν στοιχείων*, the middle the seven planets and the sun and moon, the third the sublunar and terrestrial region. Nor is there any force in the argument that Pythagoras ascribed to spirits the middle region: there is no evidence for any such formal ascription. (7) The arguments of Colebrooke, derived from a distinction between *φρήν* and *θυμός* similar to that between *jivātman* and *manas*, and from a distinction between the coverings of the soul analogous to those between the *sūkṣma* and *sthūla śarīra*, are not borne out by any Pythagorean writings, and probably refer to Neo-Pythagoreanism. For

the real position of *θουός* in early Greek thought, see Gomperz, i, 248 seq. It may be added that the Upanisads have not yet learned to distinguish sharply *manas* and *jīvatman* (Deussen, op. cit., p. 271), or the *sūkṣma* and *sthūla śarīra* (ibid., pp. 280 seq.). (8) Hopkins (p. 559) mentions the vow of silence and compares it to the vow taken by the Indian *muni*. The evidence as to Pythagoreanism is late (Zeller, p. 342); Aristoxenos probably invented the "mystic silence" to explain the absence of philosophical doctrines proper before Philolaos; Burnet, op. cit., p. 96; in any case ritual silence is ethnic; cf. a curious example in Frazer, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 256 seq. (9) The difficulty felt by von Schroeder at the idea of an independent origin of metempsychosis is exaggerated (see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, p. 90; Zeller, p. 73; *Archiv für Relig.*, viii, 29 seq.). It existed among the Druids in Caesar's time—his evidence is quite clear (*B.G.*, vi, 14, 5; cf. Diodorus, v, 28, 6; Ammian. Marcell., xv, 9, 8). Moreover, as Rohde (p. 427, n. 3) points out, the Greek mind was familiar with the transference of the soul from one body into another, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; cf. Kirke and the comrades of Odysseus. Cf. also the case of the Druses and other peoples set forth in Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, ii, 3 seq., and in Berthelot, *Seelenwanderung*. (10) It is impossible, as von Schroeder and Gomperz, i, 124 seq., try to do, to deduce all Hellenic knowledge of transmigration in early days from Pythagoras and his influence. Plato (*Phaed.*, 62 B; *Cratyl.*, 400 B) clearly refers the belief to the Orphics, and Pindar (who in Thebes could hardly be moved by a mere South Italian belief, Zeller, p. 71) must here follow the Orphics. Herakleitos (c. 504 B.C.) knew of it (cf. Burnet, p. 172, with Rohde, p. 442). Pherekydes, who was certainly older than Pythagoras (see Rohde, p. 461, n. 1; Zeller, pp. 71, 327; *contra* Gomperz, i, 542), is said to have held the doctrine by Cicero, *Tusc.*, i, 38. Empedokles held the doctrine in full form: he knew Pythagoras' view, but there is no reason to suppose he borrowed it; his treatment varies from that of Pythagoras (Rohde, pp. 473 seq.). For the Thracians transmigration appears in the tale of Zamolxis or Salmoxis (Hdt., iv, 94; 95). The demons of Hesiod, *Op.*, 250 seq., form a preliminary stage (cf. Rohde, pp. 89 seq.; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii, §§ 453 seq.). Cf. also Murray, in App. to Harrison's *Prolegomena* and JHS., iii, 114 seq., on gold plates of Petelia with Orphic verses, dating from the fourth or third century B.C. These verses are of great importance inasmuch as they conclusively disprove what was the main difficulty in Zeller's time of dealing with Orphism, the theory that the Orphic fragments were all late (cf. Zeller, i, 98 seq.; Purser, *Dict. of Antiq.*, ii, 302). These verses establish the existence of the cosmological and psychological doctrines of the Orphic school as they are revealed in the Orphic rhapsodist theology, and Diels' investigations (*Archiv für Gesch. der Phil.*, ii, 91) lead him to the conclusion that the original form of the Orphic theogony belongs to the sixth century, and that the Orphic eschatological mysticism is a good deal older still (see Gomperz, op. cit., i, 539). The world-egg is alluded to in Aristophanes, *Aves*, 695; Phanes occurs on a plate from Thurioi; but to go further into the question of the evidence for Orphism would be out of place here. Philolaos quotes as his authority

(Clem., *Strom.*, iii, 433) for the doctrine of the bondage of the soul, οἱ παλαιοὶ θαλόλογοι τε καὶ μάντιες. (11) Gomperz' own argument rests (i) on Xenophanes: if the belief in metempsychosis had existed, he says (i, 126), Xenophanes would not have ridiculed Pythagoras especially on this account. This criticism is quite unsound. In the first place, the doctrine of transmigration was never a universal belief in Greece: a satirist like Xenophanes could always make effective fun of it. Secondly, the point criticized by Xenophanes is a very remarkable one: Pythagoras goes beyond all early Indian transmigration ideas by claiming to recognize in a dog's howls the voice of a friend. Again, (ii) Gomperz says that this episode is based on kindness to animals, and the Greeks were not especially friendly to animals: there were, with a few isolated exceptions (a statement which, cf. Harrison, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Reliq.*, ii, 154, is somewhat exaggerated), no sacred animals as these were in Egypt and India. But this is very doubtful: (a) the doctrine is sufficiently accounted for by the Pythagorean πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἐμψυχα ὁμογενῇ (Porph., *Vit. Pyth.*, 19; Rohde, p. 465); cf. also Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii, 500 seq.; (b) the indifference of the Greeks to animals does not apply in any case, even assuming its general truth, to the dog, cf. Odysseus' dog and Geddes, *Problem of the Homeric Poems*, pp. 221 seq.; (c) there is no necessary connection between the existence of sacred animals and kindness to animals generally. In India the existence of sacred animals did not prevent the contemporary existence of a brutal and cruel ritual for the slaying of animals in sacrifice; see *Aitareya Brâhmana*, ii, 6; Hopkins, p. 198, n. 5. Nor is India in any special degree remarkable for kindness in theory or fact to animals generally even now. (iii) Vegetarianism is common to India and Pythagoras: the statement is true of neither, as we have seen above. (iv) The formulæ which summarize the whole creed of the "circle and wheel" of birth are likewise the same in both. This statement (for which cf. Oldenberg, *Ancient India*, p. 96) is applicable to the Orphic conception and is a mere case of natural coincidence. (v) Pythagoras, he thinks, learned of the doctrine *via* Persia, and he points out that the Asiatic Greeks while Pythagoras dwelt in Ionia were united with a part of the Indian nation under the sway of Cyrus. This merely means that Cyrus conquered Asia Minor and a small part of the north-west of India. The Indians do not occur in Greek literature before Aischylos (cf. Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 694; Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.*, ii, 515), nor the Greeks in Indian literature before Pāṇini's *Yasānānī* (see my *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 22 seq.), which points to the fifth century B.C. at soonest). (12) It may be argued that if we admit foreign influences it is absurd to exclude Indian. But there is a great difference. India was remote from Greece, and, unlike Egypt, not in any close touch with Greek travellers. A good instance of this close touch is seen in the Orphic cosmology itself, where the world-egg, the twofold nature of Phanes, etc., correspond very closely with Egyptian ideas (see Gomperz, i, 92 seq.). I see no reason to question here Egyptian influence (if the idea is originally Babylonian, still it

no doubt came *via* Egypt) on Orphism, as the world-egg idea is not found elsewhere in early Greek thought. Cf. also Jastrow, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 237; and see now Flinders Petrie, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 196 seq. Harrison (*ibid.*, ii, 164) finds the origin of the egg in a primitive bird-worship, but I doubt this. This fact may also be cited as supporting the attribution to Egypt of the germs of the Greek doctrine of transmigration, and Maspero (*Bibl. égypt.*, i, 349) thought it existed there when the country came into contact with Greece, but probably the Greek was only secondarily influenced in this regard by Egypt. It may also be pointed out that any theory can hardly be satisfactory which attributes to any individual influence the growth of the belief in transmigration. The facts are that the belief appears widespread over a considerable part of Greece; it is not universal by any means, and therefore cannot be regarded as quite a normal development of Greek religious feeling. On the other hand, it is much too widespread to be the creation of a single mind, and the theory of Thracian influence, which Gomperz rejects, receives most important support from the fact that the doctrine is unquestionably closely connected with Orphism, which beyond doubt came in from Thrace, and by the fact that the Phrygian religion is marked by its orgiastic character. The Thracians were an uncultured people who held their religious beliefs in a much deeper way than natural in an enlightened Hellas; contrast with Euripides' general attitude the *Bakchai* written in the north. (13) The fact must of course be emphasized that we may at any time be confronted with new evidence proving Oriental influence, though I think such evidence will be more likely to point to Egypt as the source of the doctrine than to India (cf. e.g. Foucart, *Recherches*, on the Mysteries of Eleusis, which, however, differ essentially, as Rohde and Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iii, 146 seq., have shown, from those of Orphic societies). What I have endeavoured to show is that the arguments of von Schroeder are not convincing, and that any new investigation must rest on fresh arguments. At the same time I gladly recognize that von Schroeder's arguments were for the time of the appearing of his book practically decisive. It may be added that I have not attempted to deal with the quite different question of whether Indian influences may not have been at work to produce the Thracian doctrines: I do not see any evidence for that, but following von Schroeder I am merely concerned with the theory of Indian influence on Pythagoras himself. (14) Garbe finds other early evidence of Greek borrowing from India, especially (*Phil. of Ancient India*, pp. 54, 55) in the derivation from the Vāc doctrine of the Logos idea by Herakleitos. That this is impossible I think certain; see for the real sense of Logos in Herakleitos, Burnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, n. 3, 153, n. 1. In fact, Hopkins, *Rel. of India*, p. 558, rejects even Weber's view (*Ind. Stud.*, ix, 473) of Indian influence on neo-Platonism in this regard. See also the doctrine as it appears in Egypt (fifth century B.C. onwards), and is described by Flinders Petrie, *Trans. Third Inter. Congress of Relig.*, i, 196 seq. (15) Oldenberg, *Ancient India*, p. 96, points out the similarity between the Buddhist and Orphic conceptions of the wanderings of the

soul in the next world, but the Egyptian Book of the Dead is a much more obvious source of the Greek version if foreign influence be demanded. (16) With reference to the question of remembrance of former births (p. 577), it should be noted that Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, p. 62, n. 2, accepts the interpretation of *Āitarīya Āraṇyaka*, ii, 5, which finds in it an assertion of Vāmadeva having remembrance of his former births. But I have tried in my edition (p. 233) to show that this is at least very improbable. Nor does *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, i, 4, 22, bear out the theory: that passage merely asserts in *R̥gveda*, iv, 26, 1, a recognition of the unity of the universe, and does not illustrate recollection of previous births, which is in no sense the subject of the passage in the Upaniṣad.

XIII

GLEANINGS FROM THE BHAKTA-MĀLA

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

I. PRIYA-DASA'S PREFACE, AND THE FIRST FOUR VERSES.

IN the series of papers of which this is the first, I hope to give, as opportunity allows, as full an account as possible of the contents of the *Bhakta-māla* of Nābhā-dāsa, a work of which the importance has long been recognized, but the difficulties of which have hitherto repelled serious students. It is acknowledged as the great authority in regard to the history of the saints of the Bhāgavata reformation started by Rāmānuja, Madhva, and others, in the twelfth century A.D., and also, incidentally, as a compendium of the tenets of that religion. Indeed, a somewhat minute study of the work has convinced me that it is impossible to understand the various phases of modern Hinduism as professed by the Vaiṣṇava sects without a knowledge of its contents.

Nābhā-dāsa lived early in the seventeenth century,¹ and his work, undertaken at the instance of his teacher, Agra-dāsa, is written in old Western Hindī, and mainly in the *Chappai* metre. It is not a book to be studied by itself. In the short space of a little over two hundred verses he gives accounts, not only of the saints of his time, but also of the gods and heroes of past ages. After a short preface he commences with the incarnations of the ADORABLE Himself, and the next twenty-three verses are devoted to the saints of olden time, from Brahmā downwards. It is not till the

¹ According to Bh., the *Bhakta-māla* takes us down to *Sambat* 1696, or 1639 A.D.

28th verse that he reaches the Kali Yuga, and deals with the four modern Vaiṣṇava *saṁpradāyas* or churches founded by Nimbāditya, Rāmānuja, Madhva, and Viṣṇu-svāmin respectively. In fact, the book partakes of the nature of the sūtra-works of Sanskrit literature. It is written in an extremely compressed style, every possible superfluous word being omitted, and every epithet being intended as the clue to some legend not otherwise recorded. Hence a translation of the mere text would be of little use. Under his instructions his pupil Priyā-dāsa (referred to in what follows as "P.") wrote a commentary explaining the various allusions in the text. This commentary really forms an integral portion of the work, and owing to the circumstances of its composition is of equal authority with the rest. Priyā-dāsa's language is itself often difficult to understand, and has become the subject of other commentaries. Those which I have consulted are the following:—

1. *Bhakta - kalpadruma*, by Rājā Pratāpa Siṁha (quoted as BhK.), 4th ed., Lucknow, 1884. This is a translation of the Urdū *Bhaktamāla - pradīpana* of Tulasī-rāma. The latter is a translation and rearrangement of the original *Bhakta-māla* including P. Pratāpa Siṁha's version of this was originally in Braj Bhāṣā, and was put into modern Hindi and prepared for the press by Paṇḍit Kālī-carana. It is a useful and convenient work, but must be used with caution, as the original Persian character has not always been read correctly by the author.

2. *Bhaktamāla-prasaṅga*, in Gujarātī, by Gōpāla-dāsa Prabhu-rāma Mehetā (quoted as G.). Printed at Ahmadābād, circ. 1901.

3. *Bhakti-prēmākara*, a commentary in Hindī verse written in the Gurmukhī character, by Kīrti Siṁha (K.). Printed at Amritsar, n.d.

4. *Bhakta-sudhāvindu-svāda*, in modern Hindī prose,

by Śrī Sītārāma-śaraṇa Bhagavān Prasāda (Bh.). Printed at Benares. In course of publication. This excellent work has been, so far as it yet goes, my chief authority in doubtful points.

Nābhā's work is universally known as the *Bhakta-māla*, but the author himself, in the concluding verse, calls it the *Bhakta-nāma-māla*. The name of Priyā-dāsa's commentary is the *Bhakti-rasa-bōdhinī* (see below, p. 610).

Other abbreviations employed in the following pages are:

Bhg. G. = *Bhagavad Gītā*.

Bhg. P. = *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

MBh. = *Mahābhārata* (Calcutta ed.).

V.P. = *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

The translation of Nābhā's original text is printed in clarendon type in order to distinguish it from the commentary. This translation is as literal as I can make it. I have treated P. with more freedom, supplementing the frequent lacunæ as much as possible from the other works named above.

Several words, which are almost technical terms, are of frequent occurrence, and these I have endeavoured in each case to represent throughout by the same English word. Any deviation from this will be noted at the place where it happens. These words are—

Bhagavat, rendered "The ADORABLE".

bhakta "faithful".

bhakti "faith". See note 14 on p. 614.

dāsa "liegeman".

Hari "The LORD".

Hari-jana "servant of The LORD".

jana "servant".

mukti "salvation".

Prabhu "The Master".

sādhū "saint".

sant "the holy".

PRIYĀ-DĀSA'S PREFACE.

The Command.

1. Once was I meditating on the soul-entrancing¹ feet of the great Master Caitanya,² and with my mouth was singing the praises of his name. At that time did Nābhā-jū give me the command to utter a complete commentary on the *Bhakta-māla*. "Compose it," said he, "in the *Kavitta* metre, so that it may be sweet to hear and may be famous in the world." When his words had ceased (I was filled with dismay, for) I knew the ignorance of my mind; but, nathless, had I read in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that when Śuka entered the forest³ (even the trees could speak), and even so (when thus Nābhā had entered my heart) to me came utterance.

The Name of the Commentary.

2. I composed my verses, and made them very sweet and pleasant to hear. I wiped out all repetitions; and truth, conveyed in soft sounding syllables, with the harmonies of alliterations and double meanings, poured forth in a shower of delight. Good is it not to extol my poetry with my own mouth, but Nābhā (who entered into me) is its real author, and therefore may I boast. Of a surety the Flavours of Faith will enter the heart of him who continually heareth it, and therefore do I call this commentary "The Awakener of the Flavours of Faith" (*Bhakti-rasa-bōdhinī*).

¹ *Mana-harana*. This is also a side allusion to the author's own *Guru*, Manōhara-dāsa.

² The famous Vaiṣṇava apostle (1485-1527 A.D.) who converted Bengal. He was disciple and son-in-law of Vallabhācārya.

³ The story of Śuka is given later on (verse 7). The allusion here is to the legend that when his father Vyāsa searched for him, lamenting, in the forest, the trees whispered consolation to him, and explained to him the mystery that there was really no distinction between "I" and "thou", "father" and "son", and so on.

NOTE ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE TERM "FLAVOUR" IN CONNEXION
WITH THE *Bhakti* RELIGION.

Bhakti doctors have utilized the *rasas* or "flavours", "feelings", "sentiments", of Indian poetics for the purposes of their religion. Writers on poetics count nine of these *rasas* as comprehended in the art of poetry. The *Bhakti* writers, while employing the same technical terminology, have a different list, numbering only five. As the question of these *rasas* is of importance for understanding the modern developments of the *Bhakti* religion, I give the following account of the system :—

Every religious attitude depends upon an objective **Dominant Emotion**, *sthāyī bhāva*, considered as an abstract condition, without reference to the sensations aroused by it. There are five of these Dominant Emotions—

1. Resignation, *prasānta bhāva*.
2. Obedience, *dāsyā bhāva*.
3. Friendship, *sākhya bhāva*.
4. Tender Fondness, *rātsalya bhāva*.
5. Passionate Love, *rati bhāva*.

It will be observed that these are arranged in an ascending scale of emotional force.

These Dominant Emotions may have **Accessory Emotions**, *vyabhicārī bhāva* or *anucārī bhāva*. These are not essential to the Dominant Emotions, but may go along with and co-operate with any of them, either permanently or occasionally. These Accessory Emotions are thirty-three in number, and are such as disgust with worldly things (*nirvāda*), apprehension (*sankā*), painful thoughts (*cintā*), and the like. The complete list can be found in any of the textbooks on Indian poetics,¹ and need not be given here.

Each of these Dominant Emotions, whether accompanied by an Accessory Emotion or not, produces a corresponding subjective psychic condition or feeling, technically called *rasa* or "**Flavour**" in the person subjected to it. These flavours are, in the order of the corresponding underlying Dominant Emotions—

1. The Resigned Flavour, *sānti rasa*.
2. The Obedient Flavour, *dāsyā rasa*.
3. The Friendly Flavour, *sākhya rasa*.
4. The Tenderly Fond Flavour, *rātsalya rasa*.
5. The Passionately Loving Flavour, *śṛṅgāra rasa* or *mādhurya rasa*.

The last, which is the highest stage, is also called the "King of Flavours", *rāsa-rāja*, or the "Glorious Flavour", *ujjvala rasa*.

Every Flavour must have an Exciting Cause or **Excitant** *vibhāva*, to induce its development from the underlying Dominant Emotion. Such an Excitant may be either **Essential**, *ālambana vibhāva*, or **Enhancing**, *uddīpana vibhāva*. An Essential Excitant is one on which the Flavour

¹ See, for instance, my edition of the *Lāla-candrikā*, p. 45.

is dependent, and without which it could not be excited. Again, these Essential Excitants may be either **Absolutely Essential** (*viṣayāślambana*) or **Relatively Essential** (*āśrayāślambana*). An Absolutely Essential Excitant is that on which the Flavour is absolutely dependent. Thus, in religion, it is the object towards which the underlying Dominant Emotion of Resignation, Obedience, Friendship, or the like, is directed, i.e., the Supreme Deity, or one of His incarnations, such as Rāma-candra.

The Relatively Essential Excitants are those which immediately excite the Flavour, and lead the Emotion to be ultimately directed to the Supreme. Such is, for instance, Sītā as the Relatively Essential Excitant applied to the Dominant Emotion of Passionate Love. She, in her capacity as Relatively Essential Excitant, excites in the devotee the Flavour of Passionate Love, i.e. causes the subjective Flavour to arise from the Dominant Emotion considered as an objective abstract entity. But this ultimately leads to the Flavour of Passionate Love directed to the Absolutely Essential Excitant, her husband, Rāma-candra, who was an incarnation of the Supreme Deity Himself.

An Enhancing Exciting Cause (*uddīpana vibhāva*) is that which enhances the excitement of the Flavour. Such are the qualities, actions, gestures, or beauty of any of the Essential Exciting Causes (*āślambana vibhāva*). For instance, Rāma-candra's cherishing of those who take refuge with him, or His love for His hegemen, is an enhancing exciting cause of the Flavour of Obedience.

When the psychic condition, or Flavour of a Dominant Emotion, has thus been excited, certain effects occur. These are called **Ensuaunts** (*anubhāva*). The most important of these are the eight so-called *sāttvika bhāvas*, **Natural Expressions of Emotion**, which are here enumerated in order of succession—

1. Arrest of Motion, *stambha*.
2. Trembling, *kampa*.
3. Disturbance of Speech, *svara-bhanga*.
4. Change of Colour, *vaivarṇya*.
5. Tears, *asru*.
6. Sweating, *sveda*.
7. Thrills, *pulaka*.
8. Unconsciousness, *pralaya*.

Other less important Ensuaunts are such as fluster, pining, or involuntary gestures. These are all physical. Other Ensuaunts may be spiritual, such as a feeling of devotion, rapture, and so on.

From the above it will be seen that the Hindū love for systems of classification has been carried even into the province of religious emotion; and a very little consideration will show how closely Indian religious experiences, and especially the phenomena attendant on what we should call "conversion", agree with what we know to be prevalent in Christian England.

On the opposite page I give in tabular form examples of each of these categories, mainly taken from Bh.

whether accompanied
by one of the thirty-
three Accessory Emo-
tions or not.

	ESSENTIAL.		ENHANCING.	FLAVOURS.	The eight Natural Ex- pressions of Emotion (<i>sāttvika bhāva</i>), and also the following.
	ABSOLUTELY.	RELATIVELY.			
1. Resignation	The ADORABLE, or one of His incarnations.	Brahmā, Śiva, Śaṅkara, and of othersant who practised resigna- tion.	Study of the Upani- sads.	Resigned (<i>sānti</i>).	Concentration of Mind, Unselfishness, Free- dom from Passions, and the like.
2. Obedience	Ditto.	Hanumān, Prahlāda, Brahmā, Śiva, and other saints noted for obedience.	The ADORABLE'S graciousness to those who take refuge with Him, or who serve Him.	Obedient (<i>śūcya</i>).	Carrying out the ADOR- ABLE'S commands, using rosaries, wear- ing sectarian marks, a pure life, and the like.
3. Friendship	Ditto.	Lakṣmana, Vibhīṣana, Sugriva, and other persons famous as being intimate friends of one of the incarnations of the Supreme.	Thoughts of Rama's harness, such as His bow, arrow, etc., or of His gentle voice.	Friendly (<i>sākhya</i>).	Joy in the feeling that the ADORABLE is ever near.
4. Tender Fondness.	Do. Especially in the incar- nations of the Child - Rama and the Child- Kṛṣṇa.	Rama's and Kṛṣṇa's Mothers, and the like.	The baby ways of the Child - Rama and the Child - Kṛṣṇa. Their childish orna- ments and play.	Tenderly Fond (<i>maṇḍya</i>).	Joy on the birthdays of these two incar- nations. Special de- votion to the Child- Rama or the Child- Kṛṣṇa. Love for children generally.
5. Passionate Love	The ADORABLE, or one of His incarnations.	Sītā or Rādhā, the beloved of Rama and Kṛṣṇa respec- tively.	The spring season, the voice of the cuckoo, a woman's smile, or her voice, or other excitants of earthly love, as suggesting the divine love.	Passionately Loving (<i>śṛṅgāra</i>).	Special reverence for Sītā or for Rādhā. Mental absorption in their love for Rama or Kṛṣṇa re- spectively.

Any one of the Accessory Emotions (*vyaḥkārī bhāva*) may appear in each case. Thus the Flavour of Passionate Love may develop either from the Dominant Emotion of Passionate Love alone, or from it accompanied by the Accessory Emotion of melancholy (*śaṅka*) or by any other of the thirty-three.

The Adornment of the Lady Faith.

3. Trust¹ is the scented oil, and Hearing the Story of the LORD² is the cosmetic. Dwelling on Him in the heart³ is the clear water in which she batheth, and which removeth from every limb the foulness of spiritual Pride.⁴ Mercy⁵ is her bathing cloth, Humility⁶ her apparel, and Steadfastness⁷ is the odorous scent. The name of the LORD⁸ is the jewel-array, Devotion to the LORD and to His Saints⁹ is the ear-pendant, and Silent Prayer¹⁰ is the nose-ring. Company with the Holy¹¹ is the collyrium of the eyes, and Love¹² the scarlet of the lower lip.¹³ These are the fair adornments of the Lady Faith. Sung is it in the Scriptures that he who gazeth upon them becometh united with the LOVER and the BELOVED.¹⁴

4. The essence of the five Flavours of Resignation, Obedience, Friendship, Tender Fondness, and Passionate Love, is well and fully sung herein. Considering in

¹ *Śraddhā*, defined as loving delight (*prīti-pratīti-sahita sprhā*) in the Scriptures and in the words of the Teacher (*guru*).

² *Śravaṇa kuthū*.

⁵ *Manana*.

⁴ *Abhimāna*.

⁵ *Daya*.

⁶ *Nāman*.

⁷ *Pana*.

⁸ *Nāma Hari*.

⁹ *Hari-sādhū-sēvā* The word *Hari* is here what is called *dēhātī-dīpaka*, referring both to what precedes and to what follows. The Commentator says that devotion to the LORD is the right ear-pendant and devotion to His saints the left one.

¹⁰ *Mānasī pūjā*

¹¹ *Sat-saṅga*.

¹² *Cala*.

¹³ Literally, "the roll of betel." Indian women's lips, reddened by betel-chewing, are much admired.

¹⁴ i.e. with Rāma and his spouse Sitā. The essence of *bhakti* is love devoted to the Supreme. Of Śaṅḍilya, I, i, 2, *sā parā 'nuraaktir īśvarā*, in its highest form it is affection directed to the Supreme, and Nārada, I, i, 2, *sā Kasmāi parama-prīma-rūpī*, its form is a supreme love devoted to KĀ.

The word *bhakti* is not easy to represent by one word in English. "Faith" is its best equivalent, but in the sense of "devotional faith", not of "belief". Just as St. James said that "the devils also believe, and tremble", so Svapnēśvara in his commentary to the above *sūtra* of Śaṅḍilya says "knowledge of God can be found even in those that hated Him". It, together with *bhaktā*, which I translate by "faithful", and *Bhagavat*, the name, κατ' ἐξοχήν, of the Supreme Deity, which I represent by the ADORABLE, is derived from the root *bhaj*, in the meaning of "love", "adore".

thy heart, thou wilt see the beauty of this commentary and how matchlessly this beauty is displayed. Men from whose eyes tears have never flowed, whose bodies have never felt a thrill, even such hath it plunged into the ocean of Emotion,¹ and hath filled with rapture. Only so long as a man remaineth afar off, doth he turn away his face completely from it. Let him but once lend his ear, and his heart will melt in love for the Supreme.

5. These five flavours are sweet flower-posies of five varied hues, from which thou canst weave garlands of victory² wherewith to adorn the BELOVED. Over it hovereth a passionate bee, whose name is Nābhā, and when the Lord Śyāma³ seeth it His soul is filled with longing. He taketh it and lovingly doth He wreathe it o'er His heart, nor ever layeth it aside. But lo! how rare is its action: for the garland of Passionate Love,⁴ borne low by the burden of its Faith, slippeth down, and humbly encircleth His lotus feet. So followeth it that he, who but once obtaineth a vision of Faith, becometh filled with perfect love.

6. The tree of Faith was but a sapling, that might be stunted by a single kid. It was given the fence of discrimination, and sprinkled with the water of consort with the Holy. It began to wax great, and branches and twigs did it put forth on every side. It climbed to the sky, and its glory spread manifold over the earth, for the basin from which its roots drew moisture was the bosom of the Holy. Glorious and widespread was its shade. All

¹ i.e. the five Dominant Emotions (*sthāyī bhāva*), from which spring the five Flavours.

² The *Vaijayantī mālā* is a garland of victory, worn specially by Viṣṇu.

³ A name of Kṛṣṇa.

⁴ There are five garlands, each representing one of five Flavours. The one which represents the highest Flavour—that of Passionate Love (*trīṅgāra-rasa*)—is the most humble of all, and seeks not the place of honour over the LORD's heart, but is happy and content when lying at His feet.

things that live found coolth, and drew fresh life beneath it. Mark well its growth. Once was it a feeble thing for whose sake we feared a goat, and now, shackled to that wondrous tree, contentedly sway mighty elephants.¹

Nābhā.

7. The nature of each saint whom he describeth, he hath displayed in *Kavitta* metre, like unto a transparent veil half hiding a precious jewel. Their virtues are without end, yet hath he told them all in syllables few in number, but full of meaning, even as great poets are the assay-masters of words. When it heareth them, the Assembly of the Holy cometh together, as though it were a swarm of bees, and hovereth around them. "Behold," cry they, "these words are wondrous sweet. Heard have we before men tell of Agra, but now know we for ourselves that of a verity Agra² he is indeed. From him came *Cōā* in the form of *Nābhā*, and the fragrance that its musk gave forth was the sweet *Bhakta-māla*."

The Bhakta-māla.

8. Be a man ne'er so full of Faith, spend he night and day in hymning the Supreme, be he so holy as to free the world from sin, repeat he the NAME with ne'er so full a heart, be he full of wisdom and of joy, honour he in all truth the LORD and His Holy Ones, be he free from the way of the world, know he the root of love—let him be

¹ i.e., the elephants of Knowledge, Freedom from Desire, and other virtues. It is worthy of note that P. here admits the comparatively modern expansion of the belief in the *Bhakti-mārga*.

² There is here an elaborate series of double meanings. *Agra*, the Braj form both of Agra and of *aguru*, means not only Agra-dāsa, the famous teacher of *Nābhā*, but also the fragrant aloe (*aguru*). *Cōā* is a fragrant unguent made up of this aloe, musk, and other ingredients. *Nābhā* is either the proper name or else the equivalent of *nāfa*, musk. *Nābhā*, the writer, is therefore *cōā*, as containing fragrant aloes through his spiritual descent from Agra (*aguru*), and also as being himself musk (*nāfa*). This *cōā*, or *Nāfa*, gives forth the *Bhakta-māla* as its sweet odour.

all these, yet still is it hard to accomplish Faith. Nay, how can she be accomplished, for she is not to be understood? Before her the soul trembleth and the heart melteth. Fair is she with the ADORABLE's mark upon her forehead, and with His wreath upon her bosom; but till a man knoweth the "Wreath of the Faithful" (*Bhakta-māla*), her beauty will remain far from him and unknown.

NĀBHĀ'S TEXT.

Dohā.

1. (1) The Faithful, Faith, the ADORABLE, and the Teacher, these are four but in name. In essence they are one. The twofold offences are utterly destroyed by homage of their feet.

Notes.

The Faithful, *bhakta*, is he who loves not only the Lord, but also his Teacher and his brethren in the Faith, with a pure and holy love. Faith, *bhakti*, is the love itself. The ADORABLE, *Bhagavanta*, is the Lord, who divests Himself of His lordship when that love is laid before Him. The Teacher, *guru*, is he who implants the love in the heart of the devotee. The ADORABLE is immanent in each of these four. Each is in essence the Divine in a different form. Therefore each is to be adored. In Western language we might say that the brotherhood of man is a necessary inference from the universal fatherhood of God. As Growse (*Mathura*, p. 178) well says, this couplet is a compendium of the theory upon which the whole Vaiṣṇava reform was based. It declares that there is a divinity in every true believer, whether learned or unlearned, and irrespective of all caste distinctions.

"Offence," *vighna*, must be taken in the Biblical sense of "stumbling-block". Offences are "not one" (*anēka*), like each of the four just mentioned, but are twofold in nature, inasmuch as they may spring either from the heart within, or from without.

Priyā-dāsa's commentary on this introductory verse is confined to defining the four words which form its subject. He says: "Verily he alone is Faithful (*bhakta*) who hath true love for the LORD, the Teacher, and the Liegemen (*dāsani*), and who ne'er in his heart turneth aside from the single vow which he hath taken upon himself.

"As for Faith (*bhakti*), whose form is the five Flavours (*rāsa-rūpa*), the charm of her nature (*svarūpa*) is known by this, that when a Faithful one taketh the dear Name of the LORD, tears of love well forth from his eyes.

"The ADORABLE is He Who heedeth naught but the love proffered to Him by the Holy. He putteth far from Him the majesty and might of His lordship, and receiveth even the lowest to His companionship.¹

"The Teacher shows his teachership to be true when full of love he singeth like Śrī Paihāri."²

TEXT.

Dōhās.

2. (2) Weighing all benisons and blessings, but one alone is perfect. While a Servant of the LORD singeth the glory of the Servants of the LORD, he becometh an embodied benison himself.

3. (3) So hath it been established by the Holy, so by the Vēdas, the old scriptures, the histories: two only are worthy of adoration, the LORD and the Liegemen of the LORD.

4. (4) AGRA, the honoured, gave the order, "Sing thou the glory of the Faithful. No other means is there for crossing the Ocean of Existence (to the haven of Perfect Peace)."

¹ Examples, the Vulture Jatāyu, the Savari, the Nisāda, the Pāṇḍavas, all of whom are duly dealt with in the *Bhakta-māla*. The inclusion of the Pāṇḍavas in this list is remarkable, but they are the only example given by Priyā-dāsa. The other examples are taken from other commentaries. The whole idea is a remarkable echo of St. Paul's famous passage in his Epistle to the Philippians (ii, 6, 7): *ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος.*

² Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Paihāri, a most famous *Bhakti*-Teacher. He is dealt with at length in the *Bhakta-māla*, in his proper place.

Notes.

“Old Scripture,” a translation of *purāṇa*, as “histories” is of *itihāsa*. Verses 2 and 3 are the reason for the fourth. The commentators prefix “Therefore” to “Agra”. Agra-dāsa was Nābhā’s spiritual teacher, and Priyā-dāsa gives the following legend as to the command. As elsewhere, I translate freely, with many interpolations to make the meaning clear:—

“Deep plunged in silent rapture was the holy master Agra-dāsa, and, as he sat, Nābhā¹ gently fanned him. It chanced that just then a disciple of the Master, who had embarked upon a ship, lay becalmed upon the ocean, and in his despair betook himself to contemplation on his teacher. His spirit travelled on the wings of memory, and distracting the Master in his meditation brought the disciple to his recollection. But Nābhā, who, though he knew it not, was full of spiritual insight, with his mind’s eye saw the wanderer in his trouble. He could not bear that his master’s rapture should thus be broken, and so, with a wave of his fan, he sent speeding across space a blast of wind that carried the distant ship upon its way. Then said he, ‘My Lord, by thy mercy, and by thy mercy alone, hath the ship been released from its calamity, and hath it gone forward upon its way. Now, prithee, call back thy mind from thence, and again in peace resume thy gaze upon the Perfect Beauty.’ The Master unclosed his eyes, and looked towards him saying, ‘Who spoke?’ ‘Lord,’ said Nābhā, ‘it is thy child whom thou hast succoured, and whom in thy mercy thou hast nourished on the crumbs that fall from thy eating place.’

“Then at this new thing was the Master’s mind smitten with wonder, for he saw that a spirit of vision had entered into Nābhā. Joy filled his soul, for he knew that this was

¹ According to the *Bhakti-prēmākara*, Nābhā was 12 years old when this occurred.

only through the power of the Holy. He said, 'My Son, this hath come to thee through the mercy of the Saints. Therefore must thou celebrate their outward forms, their virtues, and the dispositions of their hearts.' But he humbly folded his hands and gave answer to him, 'Master, I may sing of Rāma and of Kṛṣṇa, but ne'er can I gain the power to tell of Faith, for to Her there is no beginning and no end.' But the saint explained to him, 'My Son, they who showed to thee the ship upon the sea, will enter into thy heart and tell thee everything.' "

The expression "the Holy" refers to the general congregation of the Faithful. It was the Divinity immanent in this body as a whole which had inspired Nābhā, and caused him to see the distant ship. At this stage of his commentary Priya-dāsa gives the following account of Nābhā :—

"Born in the worthy family of Hanumān, he came into this world blind in a new way, for not even were there signs of eyes upon his face.¹ When he was five years old there came a mighty famine in the land, and in her want his widowed mother abandoned him in the forest. The Masters Kilha-dāsa and Agra-dāsa chanced to pass that way and saw him. They asked the orphan child his name and parentage, and Kilha, the elder saint, sprinkled water from his beggar's gourd upon his eyes. Straightway they became opened, and he looked upon the twain.

"With eyes filled with tears he fell at their feet, and in their mercy they took him to themselves. Kilha gave the order, and Agra became his teacher. He whispered in his ear the mystic formula of initiation as a Liegeman of Rāma, and named him Nārāyaṇa-dāsa. To Galtā² he brought him and there put he him to serve the Holy men who assembled there. With much affection did he drink the water in which their feet were washed, and eat the

¹ According to the *Bhakti-prēmīkara*, he became blind at 5 years of age as the result of an attack of smallpox.

² A town in Rajputana, near Jaipur. Said to be the site of the hermitage of Gālava Muni.

leavings of their sacramental food, till he himself learned the way of the Perfect Flavours, and till his whole heart was filled with its sweetness. In Faith became he mighty,—who can measure its length or its breadth? Behold, with his matchless words, which were embodied Faith itself, did he sing this *Bhakta-māla*."

According to tradition, the founder of the Hanumān family was a Māhārāstra Brāhman named Śrīrāma-dāsa. He lived in the Telugu country near the Gōdāvari River, and was a partial incarnation of Hanumān, the monkey hero and follower of Rāma-candra. In proof of this he is said to have been honoured with the possession of a short tail. He was a devout worshipper of Rāma, and all his descendants are believed to have followed in his foot-steps. They are also said to have been exceptionally skilful singers.

According to the ordinary story, Nābhā was by caste a Dōm, or scavenger. His commentators maintain that this is a mistake due to ignorance of the fact that in Rajputana the word *dōm* signifies a professional singer, or, according to others, a monkey. Similarly, Lākhā Bhakta (see *Bhakta-māla*, 107) was a Dōm and also a member of the Hanumān family.

According to another tradition, Nābhā had no caste, and was not born of a human parent. He was really a drop of Hanumān's sweat, thrown down from the clouds by Śiva for the benefit of mankind, which took the form of a man on reaching the earth. Hence he was called *Nābhā-jā*, or born from a cloud, which name became corrupted to Nābhā-jū or Nābhā-ji.

PRİYĀ-DĀSA, the author of the *Bhakti-rasa-bōdhinī*, the earliest commentary on the *Bhakta-māla*, was a Vaiṣṇava of the Madhva Saṁpradāya, and lived in Vrūdavana. As he tells us in the introductory verses, he wrote it under the direct orders of Nābhā-dāsa. He finished it in the year 1712 A.D. (*Sambāt* 1769). This must have been a considerable time after Nābhā's death, but we have the authority of the concluding verses of his commentary for the fact.

II. THE AVATARA SYSTEM OF THE BHAGAVATAS.

The 5th verse of Nābhā's text, and the first in the *Chappai* metre, runs as follows:—

5. (1°) Victory! Victory! to the FISH, to the BOAR, to the TORTOISE, to the MAN-LION, to the DWARF of Bali, to PARASURĀMA, to RAGHU-VĪRA (i.e. RĀMA-CANDRA), to KṚṢṆA, whose glory sanctifieth the earth, to the BUDDHA, to KALAKKĪ (i.e. KALKI), to the VYĀSA, to PRTHU, to HARI, to the SWAN,

to the MANVANTARA, to the SACRIFICE, to R̥ṣABHA, to HAYAGRĪVA, to Dhruva's BOON-GIVER, to DHANVANTARI, to the LORDS OF BADARĪ (i.e. NARA and NĀRĀYAṆA), to DATTA (i.e. DATTĀTRĒYA), to KAPILA-DĒVA, to SANAKA and his BRETHREN. O ye four and twenty charming mystic forms, show ye mercy upon me, and do thou, O Agra-dāsa, place them, together with thy lotus-foot, upon my heart.

The last sentence alludes to Agra-dāsa's doctrine regarding the incarnations, for which see below. The request that he should put his own foot upon the writer's heart is, of course, an expression of devotion and humility. P.'s commentary is—

“Each Avatāra is a boundless sea of bliss, and each semblance (*līlā*), in its whole expansion, was taken only for the sake of souls' salvation. When a believer's thoughts are steeped in any one of these forms, there awaketh so great emotion (*bhāva*) in his heart, that it hath no limit. Each incarnation is co-existent and co-eternal,¹ and meditation upon them doth still (in this Kali Yuga) illumine the whole inner being. Nay, he who knoweth their essence, hath the joy of a beggar-man that findeth great store of wealth. As crooked locks are charming, so doth the fish give happiness.² Such is the delectable

¹ But not co-equal, see below. The eternal existence of an incarnation is a capital point in Bhāgavata doctrine. When an incarnation has carried out its mission it is not again absorbed into the ADORABLE, but retains its personal existence for ever. Thus, Rāma-candra, though he has long left this earth, is still Rāma in heaven, looking down upon his people, guiding them, and keeping them from harm and sin. The importance of such teaching is obvious.

² This is the answer of Agra-dāsa, Nābhā's teacher, to the objection that the ADORABLE should not have become incarnate in crooked and mean forms such as the fish or the tortoise. Crookedness is not necessarily an imperfection, as witness the charming effect of curly hair. There is really a great lesson to be learnt from the fact that the ADORABLE did take these mean forms. It shows that in His sight all men are equal, and that He regards not caste or tribe. It is for this reason that Nābhā, unlike the *Bhṛṅ. P.* (see below), gives prominence to these forms by mentioning them first.

teaching of Agra-dāsa. Ever may it dwell like a fair necklace on my heart."

The keynote of the Bhāgavata system of belief is that Bhagavat, or The ADORABLE, Himself descends (*avatarati*) to this earth for special reasons, such as to create the universe, to help the Faithful, to relieve the world from sin, or to spread the true religion. On this all the rest of the theosophy depends.

The teachers of the religion naturally laid great stress upon this principle. An account of the doctrine as taught by Rāmānuja, and contained in the *Arthapañcaka* of Nārāyaṇa Parivrāj and the *Yatīndramatadīpikā* of Śrinivāsa, will be found in Professor R. G. Bhandarkar's article on "The Rāmānujīya and the Bhāgavata or Pāñcārātra Systems" on pp. 101 ff. of the Aryan section of the *Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses*. The subject is also dealt with at considerable length in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and, as above, in the *Bhakta-māla*, with its commentaries.

The Bhāgavatas have taken the old Brahmanical system of ten *avatāras*, but have added to it and largely developed it. The word *avatāra* is usually translated "incarnation", but it will be seen that from the Bhāgavata point of view this word has a much wider significance, and I therefore in the early parts of the present notes translate it by "descent". The following account is mainly based on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (with Śrīdhara's and Jīva-Gōsvāmin's commentaries) and the *Bhakta-māla*,¹ checked by Professor Bhandarkar's account of the contents of the two Sanskrit works mentioned above. I have also received help from my old friend Sitārāma-śaraṇa Bhagawān-prasāda, himself a learned and devout Bhāgavata, who is at present engaged in bringing out an excellent edition of Nābhā's important work.

¹ References to the *Bhakta-māla* must be taken as including Priyā-dāsa's commentary, which is really part of the work.

The Deity, besides the usual personal names, Bhagavat, and so forth, is, as such, known as Para or Parātpara, the Supreme. He is a pure spirit, and it is "at His feet", i.e. in His presence, that the soul abides, immortal and eternal, in perfect bliss, and with a personal identity, when it has been released through *bhakti*, or devotional faith, from the weary round of transmigration.

When this Supreme Para determines for any cause to "descend" He is styled the *Avatārin* or "Descender". He descends in one of four characters, viz., (A) as a *Vyūha*, or (B) as a *Vibhu* or *Vibhava Avatāra*, or (C) as the *Antaryāmin*, or (D) as an *Ācā Avatāra*.

A. There are usually said to be four *Vyūhas*, or phases of conditioned spirit. These have been fully described in Colebrooke's *Essays* (i, 437 ff.), and by Dr. Barnett in his English translation of the *Bhagavad-gīta* (pp. 48 ff.). Here it will suffice to explain that as all things, according to Bhāgavata doctrines, proceed from the Supreme,¹ who is pure spirit, a necessity is felt for connecting links between the spiritual and the material. This link is supplied by a series of graduated phases of conditioned spirit or *Vyūhas*. The Bhagavat Avatārin first takes conditioned personality, and in this phase is called "Vāsudēva". He becomes such in order that He may serve as an object of devotion, and is, as such, reckoned as the first *Vyūha*. From Him proceed in order three other *Vyūhas*, which forms are assumed for the creation, protection, and dissolution of the world, as follows:—From Vāsudēva proceed *prakṛti*, or indiscrete primal matter, and a secondary phase of conditioned spirit called "Saṁkarṣaṇa". From the association of Saṁkarṣaṇa with primal matter there proceed *manas* (also called *mahat*), or intelligence, and also a tertiary phase of conditioned spirit called

¹ The Bhāgavata theology, although philosophically allied to the dualistic Sāṅkhya-Yōga, is monist. *Prakṛti*, or indiscrete primal matter, does not exist independently, but proceeds from the Supreme.

“Pradyumna”. From the association of Pradyumna with intelligence there proceed *ahankāra*, or consciousness, and a phase of conditioned spirit of the fourth degree called “Aniruddha”. These four, Vāsudēva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, are the four *Vyūhas*.

From the association of Aniruddha with consciousness proceed the *mahābhūtas*, or the grosser elements of Sāṅkhya-yōga, with their qualities, and also Brahmā. Brahmā then, as agent for the Supreme, fashions out of these grosser elements the universe and all that it contains, and proclaims the true religion to the world. When the universe dissolves at the end of a *kalpa*, or æon, the process is reversed. Brahmā and the elements are absorbed into Aniruddha and consciousness, and so on, backwards, till all is absorbed into the Para, or Supreme, who remains quiescent till the next creation.

I have said that the usual doctrine is that there are four *Vyūhas*, but the number is not insisted upon. The Nārāyaṇīya (*MBh.*, xii, 13602) distinctly says that some say that there is only one (Aniruddha), others say that there are two (Aniruddha and Pradyumna), others say that there are three (Aniruddha, Pradyumna, and Saṁkarṣaṇa), and others that there are four (the foregoing three and Vāsudēva). Indeed, while the Nārāyaṇīya generally teaches the existence of all four (e.g. 12893 ff.), in 13034 ff. and 13462 ff. it is Aniruddha alone who is associated in turn with primal matter, intelligence, and consciousness.

B. A *Vibhu* or *Vibharāvatāra*, i.e. “Evolved Descent”, more nearly approaches our idea of an incarnation, for in it the Supreme Deity, as *Avatārin*, takes the form of some created being for the purpose of aiding His distressed followers, or of spreading the true faith. All the Brahmanical *Avatāras* fall under this head, but the official Bhāgavata list numbers twenty-four, and there are, besides, many others. *Vibhu Avatāras* fall under

two main classes, viz., they are either (I) *Mukhya*, or principal, or (II) *Gauṇa*, or subordinate. *Mukhya Avatāras* are further subdivided into (1) *Pūrṇa Avatāras*, (2) *Aṁśa Avatāras*, and (3) *Kalā Avatāras*. Similarly, *Gauṇa Avatāras* are subdivided into (1) *Śakti Avatāras*, *Kārya Avatāras*, or *Āvēśa Avatāras*, and (2) *Vibhūti Avatāras*. Examples of these various kinds of *Vibhu Avatāras* are the following. Explanations of each example will be given later on.

B, I (1). *Pūrṇa Avatāra*, or Complete Descent. In this the entire Supreme descends. As the *Vācuṣpatya* explains, the name is employed *Bhagavatāḥ sampūrṇāvatāratvāt*. There are at most four of these, viz., Rāma-candra, Kṛṣṇa, the Man-lion, and the Dwarf. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, and, following it, other Sanskrit dictionaries, omit the Dwarf from the list, and, according to S.R.Ś. Bhagawān Prasāda, he is classed by some under this and by others under the next head.

B, I (2). *Aṁśa Avatāra*, or Descent in part. In this a part only of the Supreme descends. They are the Fish, the Boar, the Tortoise, the Dwarf (see above), Hari, Hayagrīva, Dhruva's Boon-Giver, Nara-Nārāyaṇa, and *Kapila*. *Kapila* is put in this class by only a few. Most put him in the next class.

B, I (3). *Kalā Avatāra*, or Fractional (i.e. part of a part, an *aṁśa* of an *aṁśa*) Descent, in which only a small part of the Supreme descends. They are the Swan, Datta, *Kapila* (see above), Sanaka and his brethren, Kalki, and Dhanvantari. Some class Kalki as an *Āvēśa Avatāra* (II, 1) and Dhanvantari as a *Śakti Avatāra* (II, I).¹

B, II (1). *Śakti* (Power) *Avatāra*, or *Kārya* (Purpose) *Avatāra*, or *Āvēśa* (Taking Possession) *Avatāra*. A subordinate descent for some special purpose. Such are

¹ Regarding *Aṁśa* and *Kalā Avatāras*, see Śrīdhara and Jīva-Gōsvāmin on *Bhṛg. P.*, I, iii, 28.

Paraśu-Rāma, The Buddha, Kalki (see above), Manvantara, the Vyāsa, Prthu, Yajña, Rṣabha, Dhanvantari (see above), Mōhini, Lakṣmī-nivāsa, and others. Some distinguish between a *Śakti Avatāra* and an *Āvēśa Avatāra*, the latter being looked upon as more purely temporary. Thus, such persons would count Paraśu-Rāma¹ as an *Āvēśa Avatāra*, Kalki as either *Āvēśa Avatāra* or *Kalā Avatāra*, while they differ about the Buddha and Manvantara, some classing them as *Śakti Avatāras* and others as *Āvēśa Avatāras*.

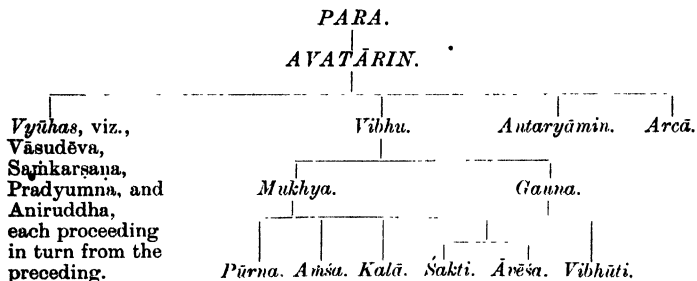
B, II (2). *Vibhūti Avatāra*, or Governance Descent. Such a descent is for the purpose of manifesting the ADORABLE'S power and love, more especially by spreading the true faith. Such are Brahmā, Nārada, Śiva, Manu, Svāyambhuva, Rāmānanda, Kṛṣṇacaitanya-Nityānanda, the seven sons of Viṭṭhala-nātha, the *Vibhūtis* of *Bhagavad-Gītā*, X, 19 ff., and others.

C. The *Antaryāmin*, or Inward Restrainer. The *Antaryāmin* is the Supreme, considered as the All-Pervading Soul, but, as an *Avatāra*, he is God, dwelling in and guiding the soul of every animate creature.

D. *Arcā Avatāra*, or Descent as an Image. A *mūrti*, or image, is merely a representation of something or other, made of stone or metal, and nothing more. But as soon as it is consecrated (*pratiṣṭhita*) according to the rules laid down in the *Nārada-pañcarātra*, and, at the proper season, with proper *mantras*, songs, and other ceremonies, it then ceases to be a *mūrti*, and becomes a descent of the Supreme for worship, or an *Arcā Avatāra*.

¹ Note the subordinate classification of Paraśu-Rāma. The Bhāgavata religion was originally propounded and professed by Kṣatriyas (cf. *Bhḡ. G.*, iv, 1 ff.). Paraśu-Rāma was a Brāhmaṇa hero, who, according to Brāhmaṇas, exterminated the whole Kṣatriya race. He was a Brahmanical incarnation, and the Bhāgavatas, while not able to deny the fact of his being an incarnate God, did not hesitate to put him very low down in their scheme of incarnations.

We may therefore represent the Bhāgavata system of *Avatāras* in a tabular form as follows:—



The official list of twenty-four *Vibhu* descents, as contained in the fifth verse of the *Bhakta-māla*, is here given in a tabular form, showing against each the class to which it belongs under the foregoing arrangement. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (I, iii, cf. II, vii) gives a similar list, but in a different order and containing only twenty-two names. This list is also given below, for comparison with that in the *Bhakta-māla*. The names are arranged in the order of the latter, but after each name in the *Purāṇa* list I give a number indicating the order in which it originally stood in I, iii.

<i>Bhakta-māla</i> List.	<i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i> List.	Classification.
1. Fish.	Fish (10).	Mukhya, Amśa.
2. Boar.	Boar (2).	Ditto.
3. Tortoise.	Tortoise (11).	Ditto.
4. Man-lion.	Man-lion (14).	Mukhya, Pūrṇa.
5. Dwarf.	Dwarf (15).	Mukhya, Pūrṇa; or Mukhya, Amśa.
6. Paraśu-rāma.	Paraśu-rāma (16).	Gauna, Āvēśa.
7. Rāma-candra.	Rāma-candra (18).	Mukhya, Pūrṇa.
8. Kṛṣṇa.	Kṛṣṇa (20).	Mukhya, Pūrṇa.
9. The Buddha.	The Buddha (21).	Gauna, Śakti or Āvēśa.
10. Kalki.	Kalki (22).	Mukhya, Kalā; or Gauna, Śakti.
11. The Vyāsa.	The Vyāsa (17).	Gauna, Āvēśa.
12. Pṛthu.	Pṛthu (9).	Gauna, Āvēśa.
13. Hari.	—	Mukhya, Amśa.
14. Swan (<i>Hamsa</i>).	Nārada (3).	Mukhya, Kalā.
15. Manvantara.	—	Gauna, Śakti or Āvēśa.

<i>Bhakta-māla</i> List.	<i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i> List.	Classification.
16. The Sacrifice (<i>Yajña</i>).	The Sacrifice (<i>Suyajña</i>) (7).	Gauṇa, Āvēśa.
17. Rṣabha.	Rṣabha (8).	Gauṇa, Āvēśa.
18. Hayagrīva.	—	Mukhya, Amśa.
19. Dhruva's Boon- Giver.	—	Mukhya, Amśa.
20. Dhanvantari.	Dhanvantari (12).	Mukhya, Kalā ; or Gauṇa, Śakti.
21. Nara-Nārāyaṇa.	Nara-Nārāyaṇa (4).	Mukhya, Amśa.
22. Datta.	Datta (6).	Mukhya, Kalā.
23. Kapila.	Kapila (5).	Mukhya, Amśa or Kalā.
24. Sanakādi.	Kaumāra (1).	Mukhya, Kalā.
—	Möhini (13).	Gauṇa, Śakti.
—	Bala-rāma (19). ¹	Mukhya, Amśa.

It is unnecessary to say anything about the first ten of the above. They are the ordinary ten *Avatāras* of Brahmanical legend, and are well known to all Sanskrit scholars. As regards the remainder, I do not propose to do more than to identify them, and to give the *Bhāgavata* reasons for considering them as incarnations :—

11. The Vyāsa. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 21, and II, vii, 36. He manifested Himself as the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī, and completely divided in each *yuga* the tree of the Vēda, according to its respective branches (*śākhā* or *vitapa*).

12. Pṛthu. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 14, and II, vii, 9. He milked forth plants from the earth. "Hence this (incarnation) is the most pleasant of all." He was born from the right arm of his dead father. He became universal monarch,

¹ The *Bhg. P.* list professes to give these incarnations in order of occurrence. That order is as follows :—(1) Kaumāra, (2) Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara-Nārāyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Datta, (7) Sacrifice, (8) Rṣabha, (9) Pṛthu, (10) Fish, (11) Tortoise, (12) Dhanvantari, (13) Möhini, (14) Man-lion, (15) Dwarf, (16) Paraśu-rāma, (17) Vyāsa, (18) Rāma-candra, (19) Bala-rāma, (20) Kṛṣṇa, (21) the Buddha, (22) Kalki. Much could be written about this curious order. With the exception of the Boar, the earlier ones are all said by legend to have been intimately connected with the origins of the *Bhāgavata* religion. The Boar incarnation was peculiarly consonant with the *Bhāgavata* theory of a God of grace ; for, as the *Bhg. P.* says, it was assumed for the protection of the world.

and when the earth suffered from famine he compelled it to bring forth fruits. In other words, he introduced the art of agriculture. See *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, I, xiii, for further particulars.

13. Hari. Although this incarnation is not mentioned in the list in *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, it is alluded to in II, vii, 15, 16 (*Śrīdhara, Hari-saṁjñakā-'vatāram āha*). It is the incarnation which the ADORABLE in the Svāyambhuva Manvantara (cf. No. 16) assumed when He rescued the elephant from the crocodile, as described in *Bhg. P.*, VII, ii, iii. This incarnation is hence specially invoked by anyone in distress.

14. The *Haṁsa* or Swan. Śrīdhara on *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 8, calls this the Nārada incarnation, which in the commentary on II, vii, 19, he identifies with the Haṁsa Avatāra. According to the former passage, "this is the Ṛṣi-creation, in which Viṣṇu, having assumed the condition of a *Dēvarṣi*, fully described the *Sātvata* scripture (i.e., the *Nārada-Pañcarātra*, called in the second passage 'the Bhāgavata lamp of truth regarding the *Ātman*'), by reading which actions become actionless." The word *haṁsa* may mean "the Universal Soul", but all the commentaries which I have seen translate it by "swan". A full account of the incarnation is given in *Bhg. P.*, XI, xiii, 19 ff., in which it is noteworthy that Nārada's teaching is described (38) as the "mystery of Sāṅkhya-Yōga" (*guhyaṁ yat sāṅkhya-yōgayōḥ*). In *Bhg. P.*, III, xxiv, this incarnation is apparently identified with Brahmā, in his capacity of the Creator, and the father of Nārada (see Śrīdhara on verse 20).

15. Manvantara. The expression is applied to the ADORABLE immanent in each of the fourteen great time-cycles of Manu. For a description of the last seven of these, see *Bhg. P.*, VIII, xiii. The Manvantara is not, so far as I have noted, mentioned as an Avatāra in the list in *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, but we find the germ of the idea in I, iii, 27,

where Manus are declared to be all fractions (*kalā*) of Hari. In II, vii, 20, however, we find it stated that (the ADORABLE), as Upholder of the race of Manu, bears His own power, in the shape of His discus, in the Manvantaras, and Śrīdhara here states that the reference is to the Manvantara Avatāra (*tat tan manvantarāvatāram āha*).

16. Yajña, or the Sacrifice. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 12, and II, vii, 2. Yajña, personified, was the son of the Prajāpati, or mind-born progeny of Brahmā, named Ruci, by his wife Ākūti. They had also a daughter named Dakṣiṇā, or the Offering. The two children married, and had twelve sons, the divine Suyamas (Śrīdhara, on II, vii), or Yāmas (I, iii). Through them and other gods he protected the Svāyambhuva-Manvantara, himself becoming Indra for the same purpose. He was subsequently named "Hari" (No. 13) by Svāyambhuva Manu. The object of the Avatāra was the production of gods, and the putting an end to distress in the three worlds.

17. Rṣabha. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 13, and II, vii, 10. He was the son of Nābhi and Mērudēvī, and father of Bharata. He gave up his kingdom to his son and retired to a hermitage, where he practised the most severe austerities and showed "to the wise the path which is revered by all orders of men,—that of *yōga* (*yōga-caryā*)". One of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras bore the same name.

18. Hayagrīva. Not mentioned in the list in *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, but described in II, vii, 11, under the name of Hayaśirṣaṇ, which is stated by Śrīdhara to be the Hayagrīva Avatāra. "The ADORABLE, the Sacrificial Male (*puruṣa*), in the sacrifice inaugurated by Brahmā, became Hayaśirṣaṇ, of golden complexion, full of Vedic inspiration, full of sacrifices, the self (*ātman*) of the deities who are adored by their performance. The sublime words (i.e. the Vēda) were created from the nostrils of this breathing one". The allusion is to Viṣṇu taking the form of

Hayagrīva to rescue the Vēda which had been carried off by the Daityas.

19. Dhruva's Boon-Giver. This is the anonymous form under which the ADORABLE appeared to Dhruva. Not mentioned in the list in *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, but described in II, vii, 8. Dhruva's story will be found in *Bhg. P.*, IV, viii ff. It is well known. He was the son of Uttāna-pāda. Stung by the taunts of his stepmother, he declared that he desired no honours except such as he could acquire by his own conduct. He abandoned his home in order to adopt a religious life, and, meeting Nārada, was instructed by him in the "twelve-syllabled mantra 'ōm namō Bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya'", and converted to the Bhāgavata religion. He repaired to Mathurā, and there, on the bank of the Yamunā, set himself to perform the most severe austerities, till he became entirely absorbed in the contemplation of the ADORABLE. At the end of six months the ADORABLE, *Bhagavat*, took personal form and, appearing to Dhruva, gave him the boon of perfect *bhakti*. He also promised that he should reign in his father's place for 63,000 years, and thereafter rule in the *Atala-lōka*, or region of immovability. During his long reign he spread the Bhāgavata religion over the whole earth. After the conclusion of the 63,000 years he became the pole-star, and will remain so till the next dissolution of the universe, when he will go to the ADORABLE's heaven. Dhruva is twenty-fifth in the list of forty-two persons who are catalogued as "Beloved of the ADORABLE". See *Bhakta-māla*, 9. Śrīdhara, on *Bhg. P.*, II, vii, 8, says that this is an instance of an incarnation induced only by conduct (*caritrēṇaiva kamapy avatāraṁ sūcayati*).

20. Dhanvantari. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, ii, 17, and II, vii, 21. He was the physician of the gods. In *Bhg. P.* he is made the twelfth incarnation, and is associated with Mōhinī, the thirteenth. At the celebrated churning of the ocean he came forth from the Sea of Milk holding a cup of

amṛta, or ambrosia, in his hands. This was seized by the demons. Mōhinī then came forth and deluded the demons, so that she was able to get it from them and to deliver it to the gods. In a subsequent birth Dhanvantari was the son of Dirghatamas, and was the originator of medical science. He revealed the Āyur-vēda to his pupil Suśruta, who is the mortal father of Indian medicine. According to *Bhg. P.*, II, vii, he descended in this incarnation to destroy diseases, to recover remnants of sacrifices carried off by Daityas, and to teach the Āyur-vēda.

21. Nara-Nārāyaṇa. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 9, and II, vii, 6, 7. These two brothers form a joint incarnation. They are of great importance to Bhāgavatas, as it is to them that Nārada repaired after he had been granted a vision of the ADORABLE, and from their mouths that he received instruction in the faith, which he afterwards communicated to mankind. See Nārāyaṇīya (*MBh.*, XII, cccxvi ff.). It was in this conversation that Bhāgavata eschatology was revealed. They were sons of Dharma, their mother's name being Mūrti or Ahimsā, the daughter of Dakṣa. They were celebrated for the passionless nature of their austerities. Not even nymphs from Indra's heaven could disturb their devotions.

22. Datta or Dattātrēya. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 11, and II, vii, 4. A celebrated saint, the son of Atri and Anusūyā. Atri performed a very severe penance by which the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva were propitiated, and became severally portions of his three sons Sōma, Dattātrēya, and Durvāsas. He was called 'Datta' or 'Dattātrēya', because the ADORABLE said to Atri when promising to become incarnate in his second son, "I have given myself to thee" (*dattō mayāham*) (*Bhg. P.*, II, vii, 4). Dattātrēya was patron of Arjuna Kārtavīrya (*MBh.*, III, cxv; XII, xlix; XIII, cliii). The same statement occurs in *Bhg. P.*, IX, xv, 17, where

Datta is called an *aṁśa* of Nārāyaṇa, who was himself an *aṁśa* of the ADORABLE. He taught meditation (*anvīkṣikā*) to Alarka, Prahlāda, and others. For Alarka, see *MBh.*, XIV, 840 ff. Prahlāda, the hero of the Man-lion incarnation, is well known. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, VII, iv ff.

23. Kapila. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 10, and II, vii, 3. He was son of Kardama and Dēvahūti. He is described as a *siddhēśa*, or lord of perfected ones, and explained to Āsuri the Sāṅkhya system, which had been lost by efflux of time. The close connexion of the Bhāgavata religion with Sāṅkhya-Yōga is well known, and requires no proof. A full account of Kapila will be found in *Bhg. P.*, III, xxiv ff., where we are given a long description of the so-called "Paurāṇik Sāṅkhya and Yōga" in a lecture delivered by Kapila to his mother. In *Bhaktā-māla*, 7, is given a list of the twelve *Mahābhaktas*, or great faithful ones. They are Brahmā, Nārada, Śiva, Sanakādi, Kapila, Manu Svāyambhuva, Prahlāda, Janaka, Bhīṣma, Bali, Śuka, and Yama. It will be seen that Kapila is the fifth in this list.

24. Sanakādi, i.e., Sanaka and his brethren Sananda, Sanātana, and Sanat-kumāra, the four mind-born sons of Brahmā. Cf. *Bhg. P.*, I, iii, 6, and II, vii, 5. They enjoyed perpetual youth and innocence, and hence this incarnation is known as the *Kaumāra Avatāra*, from *kumāra*, a youth. They are sometimes called the four "Sanas". For the manner of their birth and their refusal to beget children, see *Bhg. P.*, III, xii, 4. They are fourth in the list of *Mahābhaktas* given above, and their title to this exalted position is due to the fact that it was they (III, viii, 7) who recited the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The ADORABLE told it to Sanat-kumāra, who told it to Śāṅkhāyana, who told it to Parāśara, who told it to Maitrēya, who told it to Vidura. The association of Sanat-kumāra with Nārada (see also below), the second of the *Mahābhaktas*, is very old. The former is represented

as teaching the latter in the *Chāndōgya Upaniṣad* (VII, i, 1). The circumstances of the incarnation are described in *Bhg. P.*, II, vii, in the following words: "Owing to the offering (*sana*) of Brahmā's austerities, in the beginning, when he practised austerities for the creation of the various worlds, the ADORABLE became the four 'Sanas'. Becoming thus incarnate he fully, in this present age, recited the truth regarding the Self (*ātman*) that had been destroyed at the dissolution of the preceding æon—a truth which the Munis, when they heard it, recognized within themselves."

In addition to the above twenty-two, the *Bhg. P.* adds to the list Mōhinī in connexion with Dhanvantari (No. 20 above), and also Bala-rāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. He was directly an incarnation of Śeṣa, the Serpent of Eternity, who was himself a portion of the ADORABLE. See *Bhg. P.*, X, ii, 8.

Besides the names given in the above official list there are a few given in the earlier part of this paper under the head of Gauṇa Avatāras. These are the *Śakti Avatāra*, Lakṣmī-nivāsa, and the *Vibhūti Avatāras*, Brahmā, Nārada, Śiva, Rāmānanda, Kṛṣṇacaitanya-Nityānanda, the seven sons of Viṭṭhala-nātha, and the Vibhūtis mentioned in *Bhayaavad-Gītā*, X, 19 ff. I proceed to describe each of the above.

A. Lakṣmī-nivāsa. This is the form which the ADORABLE took in order to deprive Nārada of his self-conceit. The only place where I have met the story is in the *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of Tulasi-dāsa (I, 125, N.P.S. ed.). It seems to be a varied account of the quarrel between Parvata and Nārada recorded in *MBh.*, XII, 1046 ff., in which Nārada was given an ape's face. The substance of Tulasi-dāsa's story is as follows:—Nārada settles down in a hermitage in the Himālaya, and concentrates his thoughts upon Hari to such a degree that Indra becomes alarmed, and sends Kāmadēva and a troop of Apsarases to distract

him. Kāmadēva altogether fails, and Nārada dismisses him politely. Nārada is filled with self-conceit at his victory and tells Śiva all about it. Śiva congratulates him, but advises him on no account to boast about this before Hari. Nārada, however, does not heed this advice, but goes straight to the ADORABLE Rāma and relates what has occurred. The ADORABLE determines to root pride out of Nārada's heart, and as soon as the latter takes his leave He sends for Māyā, His Illusion, and orders her to construct upon Nārada's route a wonderful city, more beautiful than even His own abode. Nārada visits the city, and is welcomed by its king, Śīla-nidhi. Just then a Svayamvara of Viśva-mōhini, the king's daughter, is about to be held, and Nārada is invited to take a seat among the suitor kings. He falls in love with the girl and determines to win her. For this purpose he prays to Hari for supreme beauty. Hari appears to him in a vision and promises him a boon "which shall be for his highest good (*parama hita*)". But, in fact, unknown to Nārada, He makes him miraculously ugly, with an ape's face.¹ Nārada, intoxicated by belief in his own beauty, which is strengthened by some sarcastic remarks of two of Śiva's attendants (*gaṇa*) that are standing by, is confident that the princess will choose him. But she passes him by with disgust, and throws the garland round Hari Himself, who has appeared incarnate as a king, Lakṣmī-nivāsa or Śrī-nivāsa. The successful suitor carries off the bride, and then Śiva's attendants recommend Nārada to look at himself in a mirror. The saint looks at himself in a pool of water and is filled with fury. He curses the two attendants. Then he looks in the water again and sees himself, when it is too late, in his proper form. He rushes forth to look for Hari and finds him accompanied by Lakṣmī and the princess. He curses Hari to be born

¹ The *MBh.* story makes this ugliness the result of a curse pronounced by Parvata, his sister's son, and says nothing about any incarnation.

again like him, to have apes like him for helpers, and, like him, to suffer in separation from a woman. Hari gladly accepts the curse, and at the same time destroys the illusion which he had created. Lakṣmī and the princess disappear, and Nārada finds himself alone with Hari. Restored to his senses, Nārada implores forgiveness. Hari reassures him, and he returns to the Satya-lōka singing the praises of Rāma. This is the reason why in one æon (*kalpa*) the Lord took a human Avatāra.

B. Brahmā (properly Brahmán). Everyone, however lowly he may be, is, for the time being, a Vibhūti Avatāra, when he is preaching the true faith.¹ We have seen that Brahmā proceeds from Aniruddha, the last Vyūha, and that his two duties are to create the universe and to preach the Bhāgavata religion to the world. He is therefore, in the latter respect, the first and the greatest of the Vibhūti Avatāras. According to the *Bhakta-māla* 7, he is the first of the Mahābhaktas (see above), and the commentators tell us that in the world in which he himself resides, the faith is still taught by Nārada and by the Sanakādi. When a soul, in the course of transmigration, reaches that world as the result of performing good works (*dharma*), it is there instructed in *bhakti* and obtains final release. It will be observed that the performance of good works, by itself, does not give salvation. That can only be given by *bhakti*, but the due performance of duties, especially when they are disinterested (*niṣkāma*), places a person in a condition favourable for acquiring *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is taught in the present world by Brahmā himself, so that it is not maintained that an intermediate residence and course of instruction in Brahmā's heaven is necessary for salvation.

C. Nārada. It will be observed that in the list of Mahābhaktas he precedes Śiva. He is of the greatest prominence in Bhāgavata theology. According to the

¹ *Bhakta-kalpadruma*, p. 34 of the Lucknow ed.

MBh., XII, cccxli ff., he was vouchsafed a vision of the ADORABLE Himself, a privilege not even granted to *Brahmā* (12971). Nārada heard on this occasion the truths of the Bhāgavata religion which is styled "the Great Upaniṣad, associated with the four Vēdas, made by Sāṅkhya-Yōga, and named by Nārada 'the Pañcarātra'". Nārada recited it to the saints in Brahmā's heaven (12984). The Sun (*Sūrya*), having heard it on this occasion, repeated it to the 66,000 Ṛṣis in his train. They told it to the deities assembled on Mount Mēru. These told it to Asita Dēvala, the Simeon of Buddhism, who told it to mankind. Over and over again in similar passages of the *MBh.* is Nārada represented as a very early teacher of the doctrine. We have already seen how in the *Bhg. P.* he is identified with the Hainsa, or Swan, Avatāra of the ADORABLE, in which the ADORABLE uttered the Nārada Pañcarātra and other Bhāgavata scriptures. One of the textbooks of the religion, the *Nārada Bhakti-sūtras*, is also attributed to him. The legends about him are commonplaces, and need not be repeated here. According to the *Bhaktu-māla* commentators, he is continually roaming about from world to world, with the sole object of doing good. Even his mischievous character as *kalāṭha-kāraka*, or strife-maker, is only exercised for the benefit of *Bhaktas*. In order to be pre-eminent as a Teacher, he had first to become pre-eminent as a Hearer of the Word, and regarding this the following story is told. In a former *kalpa*, or æon, he was the son of a woman who was compelled by poverty to take service with a colony of saints (*ṛṣi*). While she was away about her business, she used to leave the boy among them, and he, by listening to their conversation, obtained knowledge (*jñāna*), quietism (*vairāgya*), and finally faith (*bhakti*). When his mother died he betook himself to the forest, and there devoted himself to meditation on the ADORABLE, who one day manifested Himself, in His proper form, in

Nārada's heart, and then vanished. Filled with love for *this spiritual form*, Nārada devoted himself to adoration of the ADORABLE (*Bhagavad-bhajana*), and, as the fruit of this disinterested work, became, in the present æon, Brahmā's son.

Three of the four great modern Bhakti-apostles trace their spiritual descent from the Swan incarnation through Nārada. The Swan taught Sanaka and his brethren, who taught Nārada (though according to others the Swan and Nārada were identical), who taught Nimbārka, the founder of the oldest, the Nimāwat, church of modern Bhagavatism. The Swan also taught Brahmā, who taught Nārada, who taught the Vyāsa of the Vēdas, who taught Subuddha, who taught Narahari, who taught Madhva, the founder of the Madhvācārī church. So also Viṣṇusvāmin was spiritually descended from Nārada, as explained below under the head of Śiva.

The close connexion of Nārada with the origins of the Bhāgavata cult is further borne out by the fact that a large portion of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa purports to have been uttered by him.

D. Śiva is the object of great veneration amongst all Bhāgavatas, being considered to be himself the first or primeval *Bhakta*. Even in the present age he is devoted to the spread of the *Bhāgavata Dharma*, inasmuch as he is the originator of the *Rudra Sampradāya*, one of the four modern churches of the cult. At the command of the ADORABLE, Śiva taught Nārada (see above), who taught the Vyāsa of the Vēda, who taught Śuka, who taught Viṣṇusvāmin, who taught Paramānanda (or Prēmānanda). Forty - eighth in the line of spiritual descent, from Paramānanda, Viṣṇusvāmin was born again, and then became the real founder of *Rudra Sampradāya*. According, however, to some, Śiva taught Paramānanda directly, and Viṣṇusvāmin only appeared at the later stage. As noted under the head of

Nārada, Śiva comes after that saint in the list of Mahā-bhaktas.

As in the case of Brahmā, Śiva is, according to Bhāgavata teaching, a finite being. At the same time, *MBh.*, XII, 13293 ff.—a late section in which an attempt is made to reconcile the Bhāgavata tenets with ordinary Brahmanical Hinduism—exalts Śiva, explaining that he is only a form of the ADORABLE, and that he who worships Śiva worships the ADORABLE.

Bhāgavatas also admit that Siva became incarnate as Śaṅkarācārya, the great teacher of the *Advaita* system of philosophy. As this doctrine is radically opposed to the central tenets of the Bhāgavata cult, Siva's connexion is got over by explaining that when the world was filled with Buddhism and other forms of false religion the ADORABLE appeared to Śiva¹ directing him to become incarnate and to preach a doctrine invented by himself (Śiva), so as to turn people from the ADORABLE and to manifest His glory by the consequent destruction of unbelievers.

The commentators on the *Bhakta-māla* tell two stories which they say are not generally known, but which illustrate Śiva's *bhakti* towards the ADORABLE. I give herewith a free translation of Priyā-dāsa's version of these, filling up lacunæ from the commentary of Bhagawān Prasāda and from the *Bhakti-prēmākara* of Kīrti Simha. The latter tells the legends at greater length and in full detail.

Sati, the wife of Śaṅkara (Śiva) once, under the influence of delusion, asked why, if Rāma (an incarnation of the ADORABLE) were really the Supreme Deity, he was wandering about in the desert distraught at the loss of Sitā.² Śiva warned her against such irreverent thoughts, but without success, and she went forth to test

¹ See, for instance, Hariścandra, *Vaiṣṇava Sarvasva*, p. 5.

² A parallel to "He saved others, Himself He cannot save".

Rāma's divine knowledge. As she departed Śiva cautioned her to be careful as to what she did. In spite of this Satī took Sītā's own form, and, so far as she could imagine, made herself Sītā's exact image. She approached Rāma as he was wandering in the forest, but he at once saw that she was not his beloved and would not speak to her. Satī returned to heaven and told this to Śiva, who became greatly distressed, and reproached her with having ventured to take the form of the special object of his loving worship, Sītā, the divine spouse of the incarnate ADORABLE.¹ Thenceafter he refused to treat Satī as his wife, or to be reconciled to her so long as she remained in her then birth. Satī accordingly destroyed herself by becoming 'Suttee' at Dakṣa's sacrifice,² and being born again as Pārvatī was in due course wedded to Śiva. Priyā-dāsa adds to this story that it is very dear to him and that he sings it with especial delight.

The other legend is that one day Śiva and Pārvatī went out riding on the bull Nandi to visit the earth. On the way, as they passed two mounds where there had once been villages, long since fallen to ruin, Śiva dismounted, and bowed himself to each. Pārvatī asked him to whom he paid reverence, as there was no one in sight. He replied, "Dearest, on one of these mounds there dwelt 10,000 years ago one who loved Rāma and Sītā, and who was supremely faithful (*Bhakta*); and on the other, 10,000 years hence, will there be another king of *Bhaktas*. For this reason both these places are to be highly revered by me." Pārvatī heard these words and kept them in her heart. Therefrom her affection for *Bhaktas* increased beyond limit, so that now it cannot even be described.

¹ Most Vaiṣṇava sects worship Sītā as an incarnation of the ADORABLE, as well as Rāma.

² According to the usual account Satī killed herself because Dakṣa abused Śiva, her husband, whom he had not invited to the sacrifice. See *Bhṛ. P.*, IV, iv.

Yea, the white garment of her heart is dyed deep with love for them.

Kāśī, or Benares, is, as is well known, the seat of Śiva. Whoever dies within its limits obtains salvation there and then. The Bhāgavata explanation is that when the mortal is at the point of death Śiva is ready there, and whispers into his ear the salvation-giving *mantra* of the name of Rāma.

E. Rāmānanda. With this personage we enter the domain of history. Full particulars, based on the account in the *Bhakta-māla*, will be found in Wilson's *Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, pp. 46 ff. He was the founder of the Rāmāvat sect of Rāmānuja's Śrī-Sampradāya. It is to him that Northern India really owes its conversion to modern Bhāgavatism. He was the first to preach and teach in the vernacular, and to admit all castes, even the lowest. As Wilson has dealt so fully with him it is unnecessary here to do more than identify him.¹

F. Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya and Nityānanda. These are also historical personages. They are looked upon as a joint incarnation. They were the apostles of the Bhāgavata religion in Bengal. Full particulars about them will be found in Wilson, pp. 152 ff., and *Bhakta-māla*, 72, and further description of them is unnecessary on the present occasion.

G. The seven sons of Viṭṭhala-nātha. See Wilson, pp. 135 ff. Viṭṭhala-nātha, the son of Vallabhācārya, was himself a much respected religious teacher of the *Rudra-sampradāya* in Northern India. He had seven sons, whose names, according to *Bhakta-māla*, 80, were

¹ I may, however, mention, without wishing in any way to find fault with one to whose writings I owe so much, that the list of Rāmānanda's twelve chief disciples given by Wilson on p. 56 is incorrect, and depends upon a faulty reading of the difficult text of the *Bhakta-māla*, 31. The correct list is : (1) Anantānanda, (2) Kabir, (3) Sukhānanda, (4) Surasurānanda, (5) Padmāvatī, (6) Naraharyānanda, (7) Pīpā, (8) Bhāvānanda, (9) Raidāsa, (10) Dhanā, (11) Sēnā, (12) Surasurī (wife of Surasurānanda).

(1) Giridhara, (2) Gōvinda, (3) Bāla-Kṛṣṇa, (4) Gōkula-nātha, (5) Raghu-nātha, (6) Yadu-nātha, and (7) Ghana-śyāma. Each of these was an incarnation (*vibhu*). The commentators explain that Kṛṣṇa was so affected by the tender affection (*vātsalya*) shown to him by Viṭṭhala-nātha, that he looked upon him as a foster-father in the place of Nanda. In order to provide a similar counterpart of Yaśōdā, he appeared to Viṭṭhala-nātha in a dream and directed him to marry. In each of the seven sons Kṛṣṇa became incarnate for five years. In the first for the first five years, in the second for the second five years, and so on. On the conclusion of the thirty-five years Kṛṣṇa became incarnate in Viṭṭhala-nātha's house as an *Arcā-vatāra*, and thus gave him the joy of having the god himself as his son for the rest of his life.

H. The *Vibhūtis* of *Bhagavad Gītā*, X, 19 ff. The first verse of this celebrated passage runs as follows:—

*hanta tē kathayisyāmi divyā hy ātma-vibhūtayaḥ
prādhyañyataḥ, Kuru-śreṣṭha, nāsty antō vistarasya mē.*

“Well, then, I will tell to thee what are the divine *vibhūtis* of myself; but only in their principal forms, for there is no end to my development.”

In the above, the word *vibhūti* is differently translated by various scholars. Cockburn Thomson represents it by “virtues”; Telang, by “emanations”; Gōvindācārya, by “glories”; Garbe, by “Entfaltungen”; and Barnett, by “powers”. On this passage Rāmānuja says (I quote with a few verbal alterations Gōvindācārya's translation): “By *vibhūtiva* is meant the being governed (i.e., all the kosmos is under His government).” He then compares *yōga* (X, 7), i.e., His existence as Creator, with *vibhūti*, the governance of such creation by that Creator, and explains that “The Powers (i.e. *vibhūtis*) of the Lord connoted by the term *yōga*, viz., the Ruling of all creatures—or their Governance—are displayed by His

abidance in every creature as its Soul, and that term also connotes the function of the Lord as the Creator, the Protector, and the Destroyer of all. This is now clearly declared in the following verses”.

The text then goes on with Kṛṣṇa's statements—

1. I am the Self dwelling in the heart of all Beings.
I am the Beginning, Middle, and End of all Beings.
- *2. I am Viṣṇu among the Ādityas; the Sun among the heavenly lights; Marici among the Maruts; and among the stars, the moon.
3. Among the Vēdas, I am the Sāma-vēda; among the Dēvas, I am Indra; among the Senses, I am the Intellect; among Living Beings, I am the Thinking Power.

And so on for twenty more verses, which it is unnecessary to repeat here for our present purpose. We must accept Rāmānuja's interpretation of *vibhūti* as the orthodox Bhāgavata meaning of the word.¹ The word evidently means “a glorious manifestation of governance”. Such *vibhūtis* are, to the Bhāgavata, the best ways of proclaiming the power and love of the ADORABLE, and especially of preaching their monotheistic faith—handed down through centuries from the old Kṣatriya thinkers of the Indian Outland, and given a new life, when the nation was lying gasping in its death-throes under foreign oppressors, by the genius of Rāmānuja, Madhva, and their followers.

¹ Very similarly, both Śrīdhara and Jīva-Gōsvāmin, in their commentaries on *Bhḡ. P.*, I, iii, 27, say that Ṛṣis, Manus, Dēvas, sons of Manu, and Prajāpatis are all *vibhūtis* of the ADORABLE.

XIV

THE MANIKIALA INSCRIPTION

By H. LÜDERS, Ph.D.

THIS inscription has been known for a long time. The stone on which it is engraved was discovered by General Court in one of the smaller Stūpas surrounding the large Stūpa at Māṇikiāla in the Rāwal Piṇḍī District, and was afterwards sent to Paris, where it is kept now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It closed the upper opening of the relic-chamber, the incised face being turned to the interior.

In 1834 James Prinsep published a lithograph of the inscription in the Journ. Beng. As. Soc., vol. 3, p. 563, plate 33. More than twenty years afterwards a few names were deciphered by Cunningham, *ibid.*, vol. 23 (1854), p. 703, but no further progress was made until 1863, when Dowson published a tentative reading and translation in this Journal, vol. 20, p. 250 ff. The lithograph accompanying Dowson's paper was reproduced ~~again~~ in 1871 by Cunningham in the Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. 2, p. 160, plate 63, but his remarks on Dowson's readings (p. 163) are of little value. In 1896 the inscription was edited by M. Senart in the Journ. As., sér. 9, vol. 7, p. 1 ff. It is almost unnecessary to say that the careful and penetrating researches of the author of the *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne* greatly advanced our understanding of the record; still, as acknowledged by M. Senart himself, a good number of difficulties and obscurities remained. Some of them I hope to be able now to remove; for others I venture at any rate to offer some suggestions which, though perhaps wrong in themselves, may lead others to a final solution. It is only by steps that we can advance in this field of

knowledge, and he who fears to put his foot occasionally on less safe ground will never reach the goal at all.

As I have had no opportunity of inspecting the original stone and do not possess an impression of it, my remarks are entirely based on the two photolithographs published with M. Senart's paper. Unfortunately the plate showing the complete inscription, though excellently done, is on a greatly reduced scale, and how much the reading is impaired thereby is clearly shown by the second plate, which represents the last two lines and the beginning of the first seven lines in about double the size, and on that account is far more distinct than the first plate. If anyone would publish a larger reproduction of this important inscription, he would earn the gratitude of all scholars interested in Indian epigraphy.

In 1907 the inscription formed the subject of a correspondence between Dr. Fleet and myself, and with Dr. Fleet's permission I have included some of his observations in the present paper. A few times I have also taken the opportunity of referring to a transcript of the inscription prepared many years ago by Professor Hoernle for the intended second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, and made over to me in 1905. This transcript is only a tentative one, and for the most part, of course, is superseded by M. Senart's edition, but there are some passages where I believe Professor Hoernle to have hit already the right reading.

For the sake of clearness I give first the text as read by M. Senart :¹—

- 1 bhataṛa Svarabudhisa agrapatiaśae
- 2 saṁ 18 spatrapurvaspa maharajasa Kane-
- 3 śkasa Guṣanavaśasaṁvardhaka Lala-
- 4 doḍanayago Vespaśisa chatrapasa

¹ I have altered the transliteration in accordance with that used in this Journal, and have given capitals in the case of the words taken by M. Senart as proper names.

- 5 horamurtasatasa Apanagavihare
- 6 horamurto atra nanabhagavabudhathuvaṃ
- 7 patithavayati saha taṇa Vespaṣiena Khudaciena
- 8 Buritena ca viharakaraphaena
- 9 saṃvena ca parivarena sadha etena ku-
- 10 śalamulena budhehi ca spavaspahi ca
- 11 saca sada bhavatu
- 12 Saṃdhabudhilenā savakarmigena .
- 13 Kartiyasa masa divase 20.

(Line 1.) The reasons why I differ from M. Senart with regard to the arrangement of this line will be given below.

(Line 2.) M. Senart reads the syllables after the figures of the date *spatrapurvaspa*. Several years ago it occurred to me that the correct reading was *etra purvae*, and I may add that Professor Hoernle and Dr. Fleet have arrived quite independently at the same, or nearly the same, reading. Dr. Fleet proposed to take the syllables as *atra purvae* or *ae purvae*, and in Professor Hoernle's transcript they are rendered first by *spa . purvaspa*, then by *asya(?) purvae(?)*, and lastly by *etaye purvae*. Professor Hoernle thus was probably the first to recognize the true value of the character read *spa* by M. Senart, though he did not make use of his discovery for the reading of the rest of the inscription. In my opinion the reading *etra purvae* is self-evident. The words correspond to the phrase *etasyāṃ purvāyām* or *asyāṃ pūrvāyām*, so frequently found in various spellings in the Mathurā inscriptions during the reign of the Kuṣāns. All the difficulties raised by M. Senart's reading thus fall to the ground. *Etra* is the equivalent of Pāli *ettha*. The sign with the hook to the right is apparently nothing but a variety of the ordinary sign due to current writing. Practice shows that a small hook will easily appear when the letter is written with one stroke of the pen beginning

at the top, and the engraver seems to have scrupulously followed the written draught before him.

The new reading implies a different construction of the words *maharajasa Kaneṣkasa*. Standing after *etra purvae* they can no longer be looked upon as part of the date, as was done by M. Senart, but must be construed with the following word *Guṣanavaśasanivardhaka*. The donor thus appears to be called "a propagator of the Guṣan race of the great king Kaneṣka", and I quite agree with M. Senart, if, on the strength of such terms as *Raghuvamśasanivardhana* for Rāma, he takes this to mean that the donor was a scion of the royal race.

(Line 4.) M. Senart reads the first word of this line *dodaṇayago*, and combining it with the preceding word *Lala*, arrives at a compound *Laladoḍanayago*, which he considers to mean "the general Laladoḍa". In the *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 246, I have already pointed out that the correct reading undoubtedly is *Lala daḍanayago*, the photolithograph showing distinctly that what M. Senart took for the *o*-sign is simply a flaw in the stone. That the title *daḍanāyaka* was known in the time of the Kuṣans appears from the Mathurā inscription of Samvat 74 edited by me, loc. cit.

The next word, the name of the Chatrapa, is read *Vespaśisa* by M. Senart. At first sight the second letter of the word seems to be quite different from any known sign, but as the name occurs again in l. 7, and as there can be no doubt that there the second letter is the same as the *e* in *etra purvae*, we have to read here also *Veeśisa*. And now it will be easily recognized that what gives the *e* in *Veeśisa* its strange appearance and makes it look different from that used in *Veeśiena* and *etra purvae*, is the large loop at the bottom. That this loop again owes its origin to current handwriting is proved by the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins, where we find the looped sign, e.g. in A³, l. 3; C^{ro}, l. 16; etc.

(Lines 5, 6.) These lines present considerable difficulties. M. Senart takes *horamurtasatasa* in l. 5 as one word qualifying the Chatrapa Veeśi, and *horamurto* in the next line as applying to the general Lala. *Satasya* at the end of the first word he takes to be Sk. *satvasya*. In *murta* he recognizes Sk. *mūrta*, "qui a pris la forme de . . . , incarné, réalisé"; *hora* he connects with the Iranian *Ahura*; and he thus arrives at the translation "l'image d'Ahura". Ingenious as it is, this interpretation does not satisfy. It appears to me quite improbable that such merely ornamental epithets should have been used in a dry and short record like the present one, and even if that should be the case, it would seem strange that the same epithet was given to Veeśi as well as to Lala. But there are more and even graver difficulties. The last word of l. 5 is read by M. Senart *Apanagavihare*, and explained as meaning "le *vihāra* du petit *nāga*". The whole passage then, according to him, would mean: "Lala . . . fonde ici dans le *Vihāra* *Alpanāga* du satrape Veeśi, cette image d'Ahura, lui-même une image d'Ahura, ce *Stūpa*, etc." It will be seen at once that, if this translation should be correct, the order of the words would be quite perplexing. *Horamurto* would be quite out of place between *Apanagavihare* and *atra*. It ought to come immediately after *Lala daḍanayago*, and *atra* also we should expect to find, not after *Apanagavihare*, but before *Veeśisa*. For all these reasons I cannot accept M. Senart's explanation of the passage, and I would offer quite a different one.

I would propose to divide *horamurtasatasa* into three words, *horamurta sa tasa*, and to read *apanage vihare* instead of *Apanagavihara*.¹ The whole sentence up to l. 7 then would run:—maharajasa Kaneśkasa Guṣana-vaśasaṁvardhaka Lala daḍanayago Veeśisa chatrapasa

¹ There are some minor points where I differ from M. Senart's reading, but they do not affect the sense.

horamurta sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto etra nana-bhagavabuddhaṭhuvanṃ pratistavayati. This would be in English:—"The scion of the Guṣana race of the Mahārāja Kaneśka, the general Lala, the *horamurta* of the Chatrapa Veeśi—he is the *horamurta* in his (i.e. Veeśi's) own Vihāra—erects here a Stūpa for different holy Buddhas." The sentence *sa tasa apanage vihare horamurto* is one of those inserted parenthetical sentences that are found in Pali prose texts,¹ and, which is more important in the present case, occur also in the Taxila Plate of Patika:² there we read:—Chahara[sa] Cukhsasa ca chatrapasa — Liako Kusuluko nama — tasa putro Pati[ko] — Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo Chema nama — atra [de*]śe Patiko apratiṭhāvita bhagavata - Śakamuṇisa śariraṃ [pra*]tithaveti saṃgharamaṃ ca.³

Assuming my division of the words to be correct, we are compelled to look upon *horamurta* in l. 5 as a nominative by the side of *horamurto* in l. 6. But I do not think that this will in any way invalidate my interpretation, as nominatives of masculine *a*-stems in *a* are very numerous in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, and occur in the present record itself in °*saṃvardhaka* and *Lala* in l. 3.

As regards the meaning of *horamurta*, it follows from the context that it is a term denoting some lay official in connection with the administration of the Vihāra, and this conclusion can be corroborated by evidence from another source. In the inscription A, II, of the Mathurā lion-capital, the chief queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla is said to have deposited a relic, together with her mother, her paternal grandmother, her brother, her daughter, her *atra(te)ura* (*antaḥpura*), and the *horakaparivara*. There

¹ See, e.g., Jāt. I, 278: bodhisatto nāgabalo thāmasampānno nadiyā orimatirato uppativā — dipakassa orato nadimajjhe eko piṭṭhipāsāṇo atthi — tasmim nipatati.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 55.

³ Mr. Thomas is inclined to look upon these phrases as derived from Persian models; see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 139.

can be little doubt, I think, that the first part of the word *horamurta* is identical with the *horaka* mentioned here. Mr. Thomas¹ takes *horakaparivara* as *horakā-parivāra* and renders it by "retinue of princesses or ladies",² but this appears to me unlikely, because the court of ladies is indicated already by the word *ateura*. Judging from the enumeration of the *horakaparivara* in the last place, after the ladies of the harem, the word would rather seem to denote a certain class of officials of the royal household; and further, considering that we find them mentioned as assisting at the ceremony of the depositing of Buddhist relics in a Stūpa, it becomes highly probable that they had to carry out some functions in relation to Buddhist worship. We thus arrive independently at the same result with regard to the meaning of *horaka*, as before with regard to that of *horamurta*. The *horaka* and the *horamurta* are officials of the same class, *horaka* being probably only an abbreviated form of *horamurta*, like *rajjuka* for *rajjugāhaka*, etc.

We next turn to the word *apanage*. M. Senart reads *apanaga*, but he has observed that there is a distinct stroke at the top of the letter. However, he refrains from reading it as *e*, as it does not go from the right to the left as usual, but in the opposite direction. I am, nevertheless, inclined to look at this stroke as denoting *e*, and I would draw attention to the word *ekasitimaye* in the Muchai inscription,³ where the *e* is added to the *mātrkā ya* in exactly the same way as here. As regards the meaning of *apanage*, I cannot help coming back to Dowson's opinion, although I am aware of certain difficulties involved by it. Dowson thought of taking *apanaga* as an adjective

• ¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 140.

² In his translation of the word Mr. Thomas is guided by etymological reasons. He traces *hora* to the Iranian *ahura*. But even if this etymology should be correct, it is hardly necessary to say that it is always unsafe to assign a certain meaning to a word on etymological grounds alone.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 64 and plate.

connected with Sk. *ātman* and denoting "own". In that case *apanaga*, which may stand for *appanaga* or *appānaga*, would be derived from a stem *appana* or *appāna*, which actually appears in Prakrit dialects,¹ with the suffix *ka* in the sense of "belonging to", as in Sk. *ātmaka*, "belonging to the self," *Balhika*, "belonging to Balhi;" Pali *kulaka*, "belonging to a family," *abhijātika*, "belonging to a race," etc. It is true I know of no other instance of the transition of *tm* into *pp* in the dialect of the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of the Kuṣān time,² but there are at least two instances of the phonetically nearly related transition of *tv* into *pp*. In the Ara inscription published by Mr. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 58 and plate, the editor reads the date of the year as *samvatsaraē ekacatari(śe)* *sam* xx, xx, i, whereas from the photolithograph it is quite clear that the correct reading is *sambatśarae ekacaparīśae sam* 20 20 1. *Ekacaparīśae* would be *ekacatvārīnīśe* in Sanskrit. Again, in the Kaldarra inscription we read that a tank was caused to be made *sarvasapana puyae*. Both Bühler, *Vienna Orient. Journ.*, vol. 10, p. 57, and Senart, *Journ. As.*, sér. 9, vol. 13, p. 533, translated this "in honour of all serpents" (*sarvasarpānām*); but it is very improbable that in the dialect of the inscription the *r* in *sarpa* should have been dropped if it was preserved in *sarva*, and I have therefore not the slightest doubt that Mr. Thomas is right³ in rendering it "in honour of all beings", i.e. *sarvasattvānām*. However, there remains the difficulty of assuming that *apanaga* should have been used here in the wider and secondary meaning of "own", instead of the etymological sense of

¹ See Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 401.

² On the other hand, also, no counter-instance is known to me. The dialect of the Shāhbāzgarhi and Mausehra inscriptions, where *tm* is represented by *t* (i.e. *tt*) and *tm* respectively (see Edict XII), of course, cannot prove anything in this respect, as the Aśoka edicts are more than two hundred years older than the present inscription.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 147.

"belonging to oneself". I cannot prove at present that such a development of meaning has taken place, and all I can say is that it does not seem improbable to me. At any rate, as long as no better explanation is offered, the one given by Dowson appears to me more plausible than the supposition that there existed a Vihāra "of the little Nāga".

With regard to some minor points where I differ from the readings of M. Senart, I labour under the disadvantage of not having an impression at my disposal. M. Senart reads *atra*, but it seems to me that there is a distinct hook attached to the right of the *a*. M. Senart takes the down stroke of the hook to be the prolongation of the right bar of the *ya*, but he states himself "qu'il ne fait pas rigoureusement suite à la partie inférieure". In my opinion the character is nothing but a rather ill-formed *e* of the same type as in *etra purvae*, *Veesisa*, etc.; similar forms occur in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins in C^o 16, *yaea*; C^o 12, *eki*; 13, *ekada*. Besides, the reading *etra* is favoured by the fact that we have undoubtedly *etra* and not *atra* in l. 2.

The word corresponding to Sk. °*stūpam* is read °*thuvam* by M. Senart. The first character, as observed already by M. Senart, has a peculiar form, but to judge from the photolithograph, it resembles far more the ordinary *tha* than *thā*, and I should therefore prefer to read °*thuvam*.

(Line 7.) Instead of *patithavayati* I would read *prati-stavayati*, but I do so with a certain reserve. M. Senart declares that it is impossible to decide whether the engraver wrote *pa* or *pra*, but in the larger plate the latter reading seems to me more probable. The third character certainly is not *tha*, but closely resembles the *sta* occurring several times in the inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital.¹ However, I think that the reading

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 146, pl. 4, Table of Aksharas. I may mention that also Professor Hoernle transcribed the character as *sta*.

stha also would not be impossible. The reading *ya* for the last but one letter is, of course, beyond doubt, and the character seems to me to be of the ordinary type. As shown above, there is no prolongation of the right bar, and the apparent stroke to the left may easily be a flaw in the stone, as pointed out already by M. Senart. Whether we have to read *taṇa* or *taena* I do not venture to decide at present.

As regards the proper names in this line, I have noted already that instead of *Vespaṣiena* we have to read *Veeṣiena*. The second name is transcribed as *Khudaciēna* by M. Senart, but he himself states that he has read the second character as *ḍa* only for want of something better. The photolithograph seems to me to be rather in favour of *Khujaciēna*.

(Line 8.) The only difficult word in this line is the epithet of Burita, read by M. Senart either *viharakara-phaena*, or, taking the fourth letter as a variant of the supposed *spa*, *viharasparaphaena*. The photolithograph, however, leaves little doubt that the fourth letter is *ka*. As regards the meaning of the word, M. Senart was inclined to consider it as equivalent to the well-known title of *vihārasvāmin*, although he was unable to offer any etymology of the second part of the compound. Later on, Professor Franke proposed¹ to read *viharakarafaena*, and to connect *karafaa* with a causative *karaveti* (Pāli *kārāpeti*), the existence of which is proved by the participle *karavita* found in the Kaldarra inscription. According to Professor Franke the word would mean "the founder or builder of a Vihāra or Vihāras". Professor Franke's derivation is proved by the use of the word *kārāpaka* in later Sanskrit inscriptions. In the Vasant-gaḍh inscription of Varmalāta (A.D. 625)² we are told that the *goṣṭhī* at Vaṭākarasthāna erected a temple of the

¹ *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 112.

² *Gott. Nachr.*, 1906, p. 145; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 192.

goddess Kṣemāryā, entrusting the actual building to the *kārāpaka* Satyadeva, the son of Pitāmaha, who was a merchant by birth. In line 15 of the stone inscription at Kaṇaswa (A.D. 738),¹ recording the building of a temple of Śiva by prince Śivagaṇa, a certain Śabdagana is named as the *kārāpaka*. And in the Eklingji stone inscription (A.D. 971),² which records the erection of a temple to Laṅkuliśa, we find at the end a list of persons characterized as *kārāpakas*. From these passages it becomes quite clear, as was first pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, that *kārāpaka* denotes an agent employed by a prince or a company in superintending the construction of a temple, and we can hardly be far from truth if we assign the meaning of "superintendent of the building of Vihāras" or "Vihāra architect" to the epithet given to Burita in the present inscription.

But, though the meaning of the term would seem to be settled by the reference to *kārāpaka*, the phonetical difficulties are by no means removed. The sixth letter of the word is usually transcribed by *pha*. Against this transliteration it has been rightly urged³ that there is another and quite different sign undoubtedly representing *pha*, and that both signs are found side by side, e.g. in the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins. The same objection holds good in the case of M. Senart's suggestion to read the sign as *bha*.⁴ There is no reason why two different signs should have been used for the same sound in the same document. These difficulties, it is true, are avoided by Professor Franke in reading *fa* instead of *pha* or *bha*, but there are other reasons why I cannot follow him. The words in which the supposed *fa* occurs are, according to Professor Franke—

1. *afai* (= Pali *ābhāti*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins B7 ;
 **salafu* (= *salābham*), *ibid.* B20 ; 21; d . l . f . (= *dullabho*),

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 59.

² *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. 22, p. 152 f.

³ Franke, *loc. cit.*, p. 111.

⁴ *Journ. As.*, sér. 9, vol. 12, p. 206.

ibid. C^{ro} 35; *prafaguno* (= *pabhaṅgunam*), ibid. C^{ro} 3; *prafaguni*, ibid. C^{ro} 16. In all these cases the sign in question corresponds to a Sk.-Pali *bha*. Now, in itself a transition of *bh* into *f* certainly cannot be called impossible. But it is most unfavourable to Professor Franke's theory that also *bh* is written in the same words in *apalabho* (= *appalābho*) in B21 and *samādhilabhena* (≠ *samādhilābhena*) in B24. The voiced aspirated mute *bh* and the voiceless spirant *f* are so widely different in sound that it is quite improbable that the same word should have been written indiscriminately in either way. If we accept the *f*, we are compelled to read also the sign for *bha* as *fa*, but I think that this would not even meet the approval of Professor Franke himself. Moreover, in B13 we have *lahati* (= *labhati*). It seems to me impossible that *bh* should have developed; in forms of the same root, sometimes to *f* and sometimes to *h*. In my opinion *lahati* shows clearly that the sign in question represents an aspirate.

2. *makafa* (= *maghavā*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins A² 1. This word also seems to me irreconcilable with Professor Franke's view. Professor Franke has overlooked the important fact that the preceding letter has lost its aspiration. There is, therefore, every probability that a real metathesis of the *h* has taken place, and that the last letter represents an aspirate and not a spirant.

3. *viharakaraḥaena* in the present inscription. All that can be said for certain in this case is that the sign in question represents an original *p*, and I therefore do not see in how far the word can be used for proving the value of the letter.

4. *ṣeḥa* (= Sk. *śreyah*), MS. Dutreuil de Rhins C^{ro} 7; 17; 18; 21. By the side of this form there occurs, as pointed out by Professor Franke, *ṣebha*¹ in C^{ro} 10 and, as not mentioned by him, *ṣehu* in C^{ro} 8; 19; 40, and *ṣeho* in

¹ M. Senart's reading *ṣeho* is a mistake.

Cr^o 9. According to Professor Franke, the transition of *y* into *f* is probably due to assimilation to the labial vowel *o* or *u* which properly stood in the neighbourhood of the *y*. But the facts hardly agree with this explanation, as the supposed *f* is found only before *a*, while before *o* and *u* we have *h* instead of it. Apart from that, the difficulty of reconciling the occurrence of *f*, *bh*, and *h* in the same word would be the same as in the case quoted above. •

5. *fasuna* (= Sk. *vasṛṇām*), Mansehra Edict, v, 24, and *famikena* (= Sk. *svāminā*), *ibid.* ix, 5; xi, 13, read by Bühler *spasuna* and *spamikena*. These words may be left out of consideration, as the initial sign is totally different from the sign in question, but I may remark in passing that I do not see the slightest reason why it should be *fa* or even *pfa*. At any rate, I hope that an appeal to the laws of German children's language will not be considered sufficient to prove the transition of *sv* into *f* in an Indian dialect.

6. *Gomdofarṇasa* in coin legends and *Gudufarasa* in the Takht-i-Bahāi inscription. These forms, again, cannot prove anything with regard to the true value of the sign, as foreign names would naturally be written with approximative signs in an Indian alphabet.

I regret, therefore, that I cannot accept Professor Franke's proposal, in spite of the rather violent reproach which he has lately addressed to all unbelievers (ZDMG., 60. 510 f.). I venture to suggest that the sign in question represents *vha*. The strongest argument in favour of this transliteration seems to me the word *makavha*, where, as stated above, a real metathesis of the aspirate appears to have taken place. Also the forms *avhai*, *salavhu*, *d.l. vh.*, *pravhaguno*, *pravhaguni*, will be easily intelligible if we keep in mind the frequent change between *v* and *b* in the language of the MS. Dutreuil de Rhins.¹ The transition

¹ Thus Sk. *iva* is generally represented by *va*, but by *ba* in A¹ 6; A² 4; B 28; Cr^o 14. Medial *p* frequently becomes *v*, and accordingly the

of *bh* into *vh* is further shown by the form *abhivuyu* (= Sk. *abhibhūya*), B 30, 31, which can be accounted for only by assuming an intermediate stage **abhivhuyu*. I think that even the strange forms corresponding to Sk. *śreyas* receive some light by reading *sevha*. We have, then, side by side, *sevha*, *sebha*, *sehu*, *seho*. The first two forms apparently are to be traced back to **sehva*. In the same way *hv* becomes *vh* in Pali, and further, in the middle of a word, *bbh* in Prakrit; e.g., Sk. *jihvā*, Pali *jivhā*, Pr. *jibbhā*; Sk. *vihvala*, Pr. *vibbhala*, etc. The forms *sehu* and *seho* are variants of **sehva* showing *samprasāraṇa*. It is therefore not due to a mere chance that in this word *h* appears before *u* and *o*, but *vh* and *bh* before *a*. In the name *Guduvhara*, *vh* was used as the sound nearest to the Iranian *f*. As regards the word *viharakaravhaena*, I would draw attention to an observation made by Professor Rapson: in vol. i of the *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, p. 218, he has pointed out that in the Stein documents a peculiar sign, transcribed by him as *v'a*, is regularly used in the *ve* = *paya* of the causal stem; e.g. *vimñav'eti*. It must be left to future researches to determine the exact phonetical value of this character, but it seems to me highly probable that in *viharakaravhaena*, *vh* was used to express this sound. Finally, I would not omit to mention that the form of the sign also is not unfavourable to the reading *vh*, as it can be easily explained as a modification of the common sign for *va*.

(Line 10.) Here the only word that requires any comment is the mysterious *spavaspahi*. It is unnecessary to discuss the ingenious suggestions proposed by M. Senart,

enclitical *api* appears as *vi* in C^o 2; 37; but in A³ 10; C^o 7; 9; C^o 21; 32; 33, we find *bi*. The combination *rv* has become *v* in *nivana* B 35, *nivinati* A³ 1-3, but *b* in *babaka* C^o 31. Original *b* is replaced by *v* in *avalāṣa* A³ 15, and the form *supraudhu* A⁴ 4-9 goes back to **supravudhu* = Sk. *suprabuddham*.

as there can be no doubt that his reading was wrong, and that the last but one letter is not *spa*, but again the *e* found in *etra purvae*. As regards the first character, M. Senart has justly remarked that it is not the same as the last but one, but consists of a vertical bar with a downward hook on each side. For the discovery of the value of this character I am partly indebted to Dr. Fleet, who asked me whether it might not be possible to read *śravakehi* instead of *spavuspahi*. I saw at once that, although the reading *śravakehi* itself was not possible, Dr. Fleet was nevertheless essentially right and that the true reading was *śavaehi*. This word, corresponding to Sk. *śrāvakuḥ*, is satisfactory with regard to both meaning and grammar. The transition of *śr* into *ṣ* is perfectly regular in this dialect,¹ and the dropping of the *k* in the suffix is quite common. The reading *śavaehi* therefore seems to me beyond doubt, and provided that the peculiar shape of the letter is not merely caused by a flaw in the stone, which from the photolithograph would not seem impossible, we have here a new variant of the letter, probably due again to cursive writing with ink and faithfully copied by the mason.

· (Fine 11.) M. Senart reads this short line *saca sadu bhavatu*, but Dowson, Professor Hoernle in his transcript, and Dr. Fleet, agree in reading *sachasana bhavatu*, and the photolithograph certainly does not seem to admit of a different reading. As far as I see, *sachasana* can be nothing but Sk. *sacchāsanam*, and considering that in Buddhist Pali scriptures *sāsana* is frequently used in the sense of religion or dispensation in such terms as *Jīna-sāsana*, *Buddhasāsana*, *Satthu sāsana*, we might feel inclined to assume the meaning of "true religion" for *sachasana*. The word thus would be a synonym of *saddharma*, which is a common term for the religion preached by the Buddha. The translation then would

¹ See my remarks, Arch. Surv. Ind. Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 290.

be literally :—"Through this root of bliss,¹ and through the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, let the true religion be." But this cannot be correct. It appears to me impossible that *bhavatu* should have been used in the sense of "let it endure" or "let it prevail". In my opinion something is required to complete the sentence, and I would propose to seek for this missing piece in the supposed first line of the record. For two reasons this line seems to be quite out of place in the arrangement accepted by M. Senart. Firstly, grammatically as well as in sense, the words *bhatara Svarabudhisu agrapatiaśae* are wholly unconnected with the following text, and secondly, on the analogy of numerous similar inscriptions, we should expect the record to begin with the date. These difficulties are avoided if we suppose the engraver to have commenced with Senart's l. 2. After S. l. 7, he turned to the left and incised the next three lines. Then finding no more room, he intended to put the rest of the text (S. ll. 1, 11) on the top, but here again the space did not quite suffice; so he wrote the last two words on the very edge of the stone and topsy-turvy. But, that they are to be inserted after S. l. 1, is indicated, I think, by the thick dash between *śae* and *bhavatu*. In order to judge rightly of this apparently slovenly manner of working, it must be borne in mind that the inscription, being engraved on the inner side of the ceiling of the relic-chamber, was not destined to be read by anybody. It is certainly for the same reason that so little care was taken to polish the stone. Inscriptions of this kind are much the same as the charters which at the present time are often enclosed in the walls of public buildings.

If my arrangement should be correct, the whole phrase

¹ The exact meaning of *kuśalamūla* in this phrase appears from several Buddhist inscriptions at Mathurā, where, instead of *etena kuśalamūlena* we find *anena* (or *imena*) *deyadharmaparityāgena*, "through this liberality in religious gifts;" see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), p. 154 f.

would run:—etena kuśalamulena budhehi ca śavaehi ca bhātara Svarabudhisa agrapatiasāe sachasana bhavatu. This would closely agree with the benedictory phrases used in the Wardak inscription: ¹—imena kuśalamulena maharaja-rajatiraja-Hoveśkasya agabhagae bhavatu madapidara me puyae bhavatu bhradara me Haṣṭunamaregasya puyae bhavatu śoca me bhuya ² natigamitrasambhatigana puyae bhavatu mahiya ³ ca Vagamaregasya agabhagā-patriyaṁsāe bhavatu sarvasatvana arogadachinae bhavatu. ⁴ Similar phrases are:—(1) imena kuśalāmūlenā mātā-pitṛṇaṁ pūjāye bhavatu, in the Buddhist Gayā inscription of Sam. 64; ⁵ (2) anena deydharṇmaparityāgena sarvveṣaṁ prahaṇikānaṁ ārogyadakṣiṇāye bhavatu, in a Buddhist inscription from Mathurā; ⁶ (3) mātāpitṛṇaṁ agrapratyaśatāye bhavatu, in another Mathurā inscription; ⁷ and (4) yad atra puṇyaṁ tad bhavatu mātāpitro āpāyaka-poṣakacitrasya Jambudvīpasya darśayitāro agrebhāva-pratyamśatāyāstu tathā vihārasvāmīno Roṭasiddhavrddhi sarveṣāṁ bhrātaraṇāṁ . . . anuttarajñānāvāptaye, in the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa Śāha. ⁸ However, there is one difference. There is no subject at all in the phrases of the Wardak, Gayā, Mathurā, and Kura inscriptions, although in the last passage we may easily supply *puṇyam* from the principal sentence. In the phrase of our inscription, on

¹ JRAS., vol. 20 (1863), p. 255 ff. and plate. The passage was read also by M. Senart, Journ. As., sér. 8, vol. 15 (1890), p. 121, but I differ from him in several points.

² These three words are doubtful.

³ *Mahiya* corresponds to Sk. *mahyam*, used in the sense of a genitive.

⁴ Similar phrases are found in the rest of the inscription, but the context is partly obscure.

⁵ Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. xlv.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), p. 155.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 390, No. 18; cf. Senart, loc. cit., p. 9.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 240. The words *agrebhāvapratyamśatāyāstu* are a parenthetical phrase. Bühler separated the words °*pratyamśatāyās tu*. I prefer to take them as °*pratyamśatāya astu*, °*pratyamśatāya* being the Prakrit form for either °*pratyamśatvāya* or °*pratyamśatāyai*. That *agrebhāva* corresponds to *agrabhāya* in the Wardak inscription, has been pointed out already by M. Senart, loc. cit., p. 10.

the other hand, the subject would be *sachasana*. But I do not see how this might have a meaning similar to *punya*. Nor would the meaning of "true religion", suggested above, seem appropriate here. I would therefore propose to take *sachasana* in the sense of "the pious order", i.e. the order to erect the Stūpa. Perhaps we may compare a verse in the Divyāvadāna, p. 381, where the Maurya Aśoka is said to have made 80,000 Stūpas in one day by his orders:—*cakre stūpānām śāradābhraprabhānām loke sāsīti śāsad*¹ *ahnā sahasram*. But I readily admit that this interpretation of *sachasana* can by no means be called certain, and it must therefore be taken for what it is worth. Before venturing on other explanations, it would be desirable that somebody who has access to the stone itself should tell us, first of all, whether the reading *sachasana* can be relied upon.

(Lines 12 and 13.) Before commenting on the two lines to the right, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Fleet for having drawn my attention to the fact that those two lines have not been engraved by the same hand as the rest of the record. A look at the photolithograph will be sufficient to show that they are written with far less care and present more cursive forms. The recognizing of this fact is of importance also for the understanding of the two lines. They have apparently been added after the proper record had been finished, and must be taken as a supplement to the statements of the continuous text. This is easily intelligible as far as the last line is concerned. The words *Kartiyasa masa divase 20* are certainly intended to supplement the date and must be read between *saṁ 18* and *etra purvāe*. And I think it can be proved that the last line also is of a similar nature.

M. Senart reads it: *Samdhabudhileṇa savakarmigena*, and, supposing that *saṁdha*^o stands for *saṁdhi*^o, translates "(gravé) par Saṁdhibuddhila, ouvrier en tout genre".

¹ The MSS., however, have *sāsad*, and the metre of the line is wrong.

But against the admission of such a name as *Samdhibuddhila* there are serious objections. As pointed out by M. Senart himself, *Samdhi* is found as a proper name in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 208, No. 34; and, I may add, also in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 384, No. 5; and *Buddhila* occurs, e.g., in the Sāñci inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 2, p. 111, No. 2; p. 371, No. 136, and in the inscriptions F and N of the Mathurā lion-capital. But I doubt whether *Buddhila* was ever used at the end of a compound name. Being clearly a hypocoristic form, abbreviated from such names as *Svarabuddhi*, it naturally cannot be compounded again. And it must not be forgotten that the whole name of *Samdhibuddhila* rests only on a conjecture, the second syllable being distinctly *dha*, not *dhi*.

The reading and interpretation of the second word also does not satisfy. As far as I know, *sārvakarmika*, *sārvakārmika*, and similar terms, are used only in the general sense of "fit for every work", but not to denote a certain class of artisans. Secondly, the form *sava*° for *sarva*° or *sārva*° would be unusual. In l. 9, at any rate, we have *saṁvena*, and in most cases the *r* is left unchanged before consonants (*purvae*, °*saṁvardhaka*, *horamurta*, °*murto*, °*karmigena*, *kartiyasa*), the only counter-example being *sadha* in l. 9. But what is the most important point is that the first letter cannot possibly be *sa*, as it does not show the characteristic vertical line at the top found in *sa* everywhere else. I feel quite sure that it is *na*,¹ and I may add that the reading *nava-karmigena* was adopted also quite independently by Professor Hoernle and again by Dr. Fleet. Now, *saṁdha Buddhileṇa navakarmigena* can only mean "together with 'Buddhila, the superintendent of buildings", and these words are apparently intended to supplement the list of the

¹ Perhaps of the same type as in *taena* or *taena* in l. 7, but I do not venture to decide this from the photolithograph alone.

persons that assisted at the erection of the Stūpa:—saha taena Veesiena Khujaciēna Buritēna ca viharakaravhaēna samvena ca parivarena sadha. According to Cullavagga, vi, 5, 2, when a layman wanted to erect a building for the use of the Order, a monk was to be appointed as *navakammika* to superintend the work, and it is quite natural, therefore, to find the *navakarmika* mentioned as assisting at the ceremony of the inauguration of the Stūpa.

There is, moreover, another similar inscription which mentions the *navakarmika*, the Taxila plate of Patika.¹ M. Senart and Bühler are of opinion that the name of the *navakarmika* has been quoted here as that of the writer of the record. According to Bühler the phrase runs:—mahadanapati-Patikasa jau va[ñae] Rohiṇimitreṇa ya imahi saṃgharame navakamika; “the victory of the great gift-lord Patika is described by Rohiṇimitra, who is the overseer of the works in this monastery”. Although Bühler states that the two bracketed *akṣaras ñae*, which are perfectly illegible in the photolithograph, are distinctly recognisable on the original plate, I doubt very much the correctness of the reading *jau vañae*. To say nothing of the supposed elision of *t* in *vañae*, which is by no means likely,² I cannot bring myself to believe that ~~jau~~ *varṇyate*, literally “the victory is described”, could ever

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 54 ff.

² For the elision of the *t*, Bühler compares the elision of *k* in *samvat-saraye* and *aṭhasatattimae*, which is not the same. There would be another epigraphical example for the elision of a *t* if Mr. Banerji were right in reading *kae* (= Sk. *kṛtam*) in the Muchai inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 37 (1908), p. 64. But according to an impression and a photograph before me the true reading is undoubtedly *kue*, which stands for **kuve* = Sk. *kūpaḥ*; compare the Paja inscription, *ibid.*, p. 65, where, by the way, we have to read *Anandaputrena, Saṃgamitrena kue karite*, not *katite*, as Mr. Banerji thinks, *karite* corresponding to Sk. *kāritah*. Also, the words before and after *kue* I do not read as *sahayatena* and *vaṣiṣugena*, but as *sahayarana* and *vaṣiṣugana*. However, the meaning of these words would require a fuller treatment than can be given in a note. A third example would be *saṣpae* in the Mathurā lion-capital inscription A, ii, if this should really correspond to Sk. *saṣvate*, but it is hardly necessary to say that the explanation of the word is quite uncertain.

mean "the record of the great gift was drawn up". I would rather suggest to read *jauvaraye* or some other equivalent of Sk. *yauvarāṇī* instead of *jau vaṇae*. "During the time when the great gift-lord Patika was heir apparent" would be quite unobjectionable, as we know from the inscription A on the Mathurā lion-capital that the title of *yuvarāja* was used for the sons of Kṣatrapas. But, however that may be,¹ Bühler's reading certainly is very doubtful and cannot prove that the *navakarmika* was ever charged with the drawing up of the record. On the other hand, if, as already suggested, there is no verbal form on which the instrumental *Rohiṇi-mitreṇa* might depend, it does not follow that we have to supply *likhitam*, "written by," or a synonym of it, as done by M. Senart. We may just as well supply a term denoting "made by" or "erected by", as in the Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 9, p. 247 :—*svāmisya mahākṣatrapasya Śomdāsasya gamjavareṇa brāhmaṇena Śegravasagotreṇa p[uṣka]raṇi imāśāṃ yamaḍa - puṣkaraṇinam paścimā puṣkaraṇi udapāno ārāmo stambho i . . śilāpatṭo ca*.

The last word to be discussed here is the form *masu* in the date in l. 13. M. Senart calls it irregular, and seems to look upon it as a mere clerical error for *masasa*. However, we find the same shortened form, but probably with the *y* of the genitive ending, in the date of the very carefully engraved Wardak inscription :—*saṃ 20 20 10 1 masya Arthamisiyasa stehi (?) 10 4 1* ; and we must therefore conclude that it was intentionally used. As regards the explanation of the form, I would draw attention to the date of the Ohind inscription read by M. Senart, *Journ. As.*, sér. 8, vol. 15 (1890), p. 130, note :—*Çetrasa masasa divase aṭhame di 8*. But from the facsimiles² there can be hardly any doubt that the

¹ The question, of course, cannot be decided without inspecting the plate itself.

² *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, vol. 5, pl. 16 ; *JRAS.*, vol. 20, pl. 10.

correct reading is:—sam 20 20 20 1 Cetrasa mahasa divasa aṭhami di 4 4 iśa chunami. It seems, therefore, that the stem *māsa* became *māha*, gen. *māhasya* or *māhassa*, and further, with elision of the *h* and contraction of the two *a*-sounds, *māsyā* or *māssa*, written *masya* and *masa* in the Wardak and the present inscription.

In conclusion I give my reading and translation of the record:—

Text.

- 1 Sam 10 4 4 etra purvac maharajasa Kane-
- 2 śkasa Guṣanavaśasaṁvardhaka Lala
- 3 daḍanayago Veeśisa chatrapasa
- 4 horamurta sa tasa apanage vihare
- 5 horamurto etra nanabhagavabudhaṭhuvāṁ
- 6 pratistavayati saha taena Veeśiena Khujaciena
- 7 Buritena ca viharakaravhaena
- 8 saṁvena ca parivarena sadha etena ku-
- 9 śalanulena budhehi ca śavachi ca
- 10 bhataṛa Svarabudhisa agrapatiaśae
- 11 sachasana bhavatu
- 12 saṁdha Budhilena navakarmigena¹
- 13 Kartiyasa masa divase 20²

Translation.

In the year 18, on the twentieth day of the month Kārttika, on this date specified as above, the scion of the Guṣana race of the great king Kaṇeska, the general Lala, the *horamurta* of the Satrap Veeśi, —he is the *horamurta* in his (i.e. Veeśi's) own Vihāra,— erects here a Stūpa for several holy Buddhas, together with three persons, Veeśi, Khujaci, and Burita, the architect of Vihāras, together with Buddhila, the superintendent of buildings, and together with the whole retinue. Through this root of bliss and the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, let the pious order (?) be for the principal share of (*my*) brother Svarabuddhi.

¹ This line is properly to be inserted after l. 7.

² This line is properly to be inserted after sam 10 4 4 in l. 1.

THE COINAGE OF THE SULTANS OF MADURA

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

THE fact that in the fourteenth century of our era the Pāṇḍya country with its capital Madura was ruled over by Musalmān princes, is known from the Travels of Ibn Batūta.¹ The Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1888-9 contained an article by Mrs. L. Fletcher on "Ibn Batūtah in Southern India", to which Mr. L. White King and Captain R. H. C. Tufnell appended a "Note on the Coins of the Muhammadan Viceroys in Southern India" (p. 55 ff.). This Note was reprinted in the Appendix to Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-Collectors in Southern India* (Madras, 1889), p. 66 ff. It was accompanied by a plate figuring fifteen coins of the Sultāns of Madura, all of which had been hitherto unpublished and unidentified. A number of coins of the same class, collected in the Madura district by the Rev. J. E. Tracy and forwarded by him to the late lamented Mr. C. J. Rodgers, enabled this experienced numismatist to rectify and supplement Captain Tufnell's readings and conclusions.² Finally, a few coins of the same description were briefly noticed by Messrs. T. M. Ranga Chari and T. Desika Chari in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 31 (1902), p. 232.

The coins of the Sultāns of Madura are of considerable historical interest, as they supply a well-connected series of Hijra dates from 735 to 779, and as in several respects

¹ Defrémery et Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4, p. 187 ff. Compare also Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p. 42, and Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 222 f.

² *Coins of the Musalmān Kings of Ma'bar*: with two plates: Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. 64 (1895), pt. 1, p. 49 ff.

they confirm and add to the information furnished by Ibn Batūta. I therefore do not consider it superfluous to reproduce the specimens collected by myself in Madura, inserting in my list all the coins published by my predecessors. The following abbreviations will be used:—

Thomas = Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, London, 1871.

British Museum = Coins of the Sultāns of Dehli in the British Museum, London, 1884.

T. = Tufnell.

R. = Rodgers.

D. = Ranga Chari and Desika Chari.

H. = Hultzsch.

The capital of the princes with whom we are here concerned was Madura.¹ I call them "Sultāns of Madura", instead of "kings of Ma'bar" as Mr. Rodgers did, because the Musalmān writers seem to have employed the term Ma'bar not only for the Pāṇḍya country, but for the whole Coromandel coast, including Nellore and Kulbarga, and for the Malabar coast from Quilon to Cape Comorin.²

The Pāṇḍya kingdom had been added to the empire of Delhi during the reign of 'Alā'u-d-din Khilji. A war between two pretenders to the throne of Madura offered an opportunity for interference. In A.D. 1310 Sundara-Pāṇḍya, having killed his father "Kalēs Dēwar" (i.e. Kulaśēkharadēva), and having been defeated by his brother Vira-Pāṇḍya, fled to Delhi.³ In 1311 'Alā'u-d-din's general, Malik Nā'ib Kāfur, proceeded to Madura, which he found deserted by Vira-Pāṇḍya. He destroyed the temple, and carried away many elephants and horses and an enormous amount of gold and jewels.⁴

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4, pp. 192, 196, 200.

² Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. 1, p. 69; vol. 3, pp. 32 and 339.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 52 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91 f. and 204; Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, p. 540; Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. 1, p. 374.

The laborious calculations of dates made by my late friend Professor Kielhorn have now settled the period of reign of a number of Pāṇḍya kings. The Sundara-Pāṇḍya who fled to Delhi in 1310 is of course different from, and later than, that Sundara-Pāṇḍya who is mentioned by Marco Polo in 1292, and who died in 1293.¹ This earlier Sundara-Pāṇḍya has to be identified with Jaṭavarman *alias* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva II, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1275-6.² The Kulaśēkharadēva who was murdered by his son Sundara-Pāṇḍya in 1310, must be identical with Māravarman *alias* Kulaśēkharadēva I, who reigned from 1268 to at least 1308.³ He has two slightly later namesakes. The first is the Kēraḷa king Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharadēva, whose inscription at Tiruvadi⁴ is dated in 1313, two years after Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr's sacking of Madura. The second is the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman *alias* Kulaśēkharadēva II, who reigned from 1314 to at least 1325.⁵ He may be the Kulaśēkhara mentioned in the 90th chapter of the Mahāvamsa, verse 47.⁶ Finally, Vira-Pāṇḍya, the third contemporary of Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr, also had a living namesake in Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva of Vēṇāḍu⁷ or Travancore, who seems to have been defeated by Ravivarman of Kēraḷa.⁸

Although parts of Southern India were certainly in the possession of Kulaśēkharadēva II and other Hindū kings, Madura itself seems to have remained a dependency of Delhi until the earlier portion of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's reign. This may be gathered from the narrative of Ibn

¹ Elliot's *History of India*, vol. 1, p. 69 f.; vol. 3, pp. 32 and 34.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 6, p. 314, and vol. 9, p. 228. On a previous occasion (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 21, p. 122) I had tentatively identified him with Jaṭavarman *alias* Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva I.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 6, p. 314, and vol. 9, p. 227.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 315, and vol. 9, p. 228.

⁶ See Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, p. 537.

⁷ Professor Kielhorn's *Lists of Southern Inscriptions*, No. 957.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 4, p. 146, n. 4.

Batūta,¹ and is confirmed by the existence of certain coins which, as stated by Mr. Rodgers,² are of southern fabric and are not found in the bāzārs of Northern India. To the two types figured by Mr. Rodgers I am able to add a third, hitherto unpublished (No. 3).

I. SOUTHERN ISSUES OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGH^hLAQ.

No. 1a.

Thomas, 210 (copper).

الواثق بنصر ³ الله ٧٣٠	محمد بن تغلق شاه
He who puts his trust in	Muhammad bin Tugh ^h laq
the help of God. A.H. 730.	Shāh.

No. 1b.

H., 3·4 grammes (impure silver); R., 32 (copper).

Same as No. 1a, but date 733. Fig. 1.

No. 1c.

H., 3·4 grammes (silver).

Same as Nos. 1a and 1b, but date 734. Fig. 2.

No. 2.

H., 3·6 and 3·2 grammes (copper); T., pl. iii, 36 (copper);

R., 1, 2, 3 (mixed metal and copper).

الامام العادل	محمد بن تغلق شاه
The just Imām.	Muhammad bin Tugh ^h laq
	Shāh. Fig. 3.

No. 3.

H., ·9 grammes (copper).

السلطان	العادل ⁴
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The just Sultān. Fig. 4.

This coin I venture to assign to Muhammad bin Tugh^hlaq,

¹ Vol. 3, p. 328, and vol. 4, p. 189. See also Elliot's *History of India*, vol. 3, p. 243.

² Loc. cit., p. 51.

³ Read thus instead of بعصر .

⁴ In the accompanying plate the reverse of this coin is lying on its left side, and its legend must be read from the top to the bottom of the page.

on two of whose early coins (Thomas, 189 ; British Museum, 280, 281) the same title occurs ; compare also the similar epithet on the coin No. 2.

The name of the governor of Ma'bar who threw off his allegiance to the throne of Delhi, and thus led to the establishment of a series of Musalmān rulers at Madura, was Jalālu-d-din Aḥsan Shāh.¹ He was the father-in-law of the traveller Ibn Batūta, who had married at Delhi² his daughter Hūr-Nasab :—" She was very pious, waked the whole night, and was incessantly occupied in praying to God. She had a daughter by me ; but I do not know what has become of either of them. The mother could read, but she had not learnt to write."³

Aḥsan Shāh made Madura his capital⁴ and reigned for five years.⁵ As A.H. 740 is both the latest date on his own coins and the only date on those of his two successors, he must have declared his independence in A.H. 735. He claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet. Accordingly Ibn Batūta prefixes the title "Sharif" to his name⁶ and to that of his son Ibrāhīm,⁷ and once he uses the synonymous term "Saiyid".⁸ Both Ziyā'u-d-din Barnī and Firishṭa call Aḥsan Shāh erroneously "Saiyid Hasan".⁹

When Muḥammad bin Tughlaq received news of Aḥsan Shāh's revolt, he started in person to quell it.¹⁰ But on reaching Orangal he was forced by an epidemic of cholera, which broke out in his army, to return to Daulatābād.¹¹

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 3, p. 328.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 190.

³ *Ibid.* vol. 3, p. 337 f.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. 4, p. 200.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 189.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. 3, pp. 328, 337 ; vol. 4, pp. 189, 190, 200.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. 3, pp. 337, 340.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 189.

⁹ Elliot's *History of India*, vol. 3, p. 243 ; Briggs, *Ferishṭa*, vol. 1, p. 423.

¹⁰ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 3, p. 329.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 334 ; Elliot's *History of India*, vol. 3, p. 243.

"On the way, he was afflicted with a violent tooth-ache, and lost one of his teeth, which he ordered to be buried with much ceremony at Beer, and caused a magnificent tomb to be reared over it, which still remains a monument of his vanity and folly."¹ The cruel tyrant ordered the son of Aḥsan Shāh and brother-in-law of Ibn Batūta, named Ibrāhīm, to be cut in two.² Firishta places the abortive expedition to Ma'bar in A.H. 742. But as Aḥsan Shāh revolted in about 735 and was killed in 740, this date seems to be too late by several years.

II. COINS OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN AḤSAN SHĀH, A.H. 735-40.

No. 4. Gold dīnār.

سَلَالَةُ طَهْ وَيَسْ
أَبُو الْفُقَرَاءِ وَالْمَسَاكِينِ
جَلَالُ الدُّنْيَا وَالْدِّينِ

الْوَاتِقِ بِتَأْيِيدِ الرَّحْمَنِ
أَحْسَنُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ

The offspring of Ṭā-Hā and
Yā-Sin, the father of
the poor and indigent,
Jalālu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.

He who puts his trust in
the help of the Merciful,
the Sultān Aḥsan Shāh.

This very curious coin has not yet been recovered. But that it was actually struck by Aḥsan Shāh is testified to by his son-in-law Ibn Batūta (vol. 3, p. 328). As remarked by the two French translators, the letters Ṭā-Hā and Yā-Sin form the titles of the 22nd and 36th chapters of the Qur'ān and belong to the epithets applied to the Prophet. I have already stated that Aḥsan Shāh boasted of being a descendant of Muḥammad, and that for this reason the Musalmān historians apply to him the titles Sharif and Saiyid. The expression الوَاتِقِ on the reverse was evidently copied by Aḥsan Shāh from the coin No. 1 of his former sovereign Muḥammad bin Tughlaq.

¹ Briggs, *Ferishta*, vol. 1, p. 423 f.

² *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 3, p. 337 ff.

No. 5.

R., 6 (mixed metal).

سلطان السلاطين	{ In circle احسن شاه In margin سنه . . . وثلاثين وسبعمائنه Aḥsan Shāh.
The Sultān of Sultāns.	
	{ The year . . . and thirty and seven hundred.

The unit of the Hijra date is indistinct. D. 13 (billon) is of the same type and is said to bear the date 734; but no transcript of the legend is given. According to Ibn Batūta, Aḥsan Shāh declared his independence only in A.H. 735, and the latest southern date of his sovereign Muḥammad bin Tughlaq is 734; see No. 1c. In a letter dated November 1, 1898, and kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Codrington, the late Mr. Rodgers states that he had seen a coin of Jalālu-d-dīn dated A.H. 735. The date 734 on D. 13 is therefore not impossible, but requires to be proved by a reproduction of the coin itself.

No. 6.

R., 4 (silver).

جلال الدنيا والدين Jalālu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.	احسن شاه ٧٣٧ Aḥsan Shāh. A.H. 737.
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Captain Tufnell (*Hints*, p. 66) notes a silver coin of جلال الدين احسن شاه with the date 740. But as he failed to decipher the obverse of No. 7, it remains doubtful whether the reverse is of the same type as No. 6 or as No. 7.

No. 7.

H., 3·1 grammes (impure silver); T., 2 (silver); D., 14 (silver).

الحسيني The descendant of Ḥusain.	احسن شاه ٧٣٨ Aḥsan Shāh. A.H. 738.
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Fig. 5.

On this coin Aḥsan Shāh calls himself a descendant

of one of the sons of the Prophet, whom he claims for his ancestor on the coin No. 4. D. 15 (silver) is stated to bear the date 739.

No. 8.

H., 4·3, 4, 4, 3·9 grammes (copper); T., 1 and pl. iii, 35 (copper); R., 5 (copper).

السلطان الاعظم
The very great Sultān.

احسن شاه السلطان
The Sultān Aḥsan Shāh.

Fig. 6.

This coin is identical with one figured by Dr. Codrington and assigned by him to Hasan Shāh Gāngū, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty of Kulbarga (*Num. Chron.*, vol. 18, pl. xvii, No. 3). In his letter to Dr. Codrington, Mr. Rodgers remarks on it as follows:—"By the way, I claim your No. 3, pl. xvii, for my Aḥsan Shāh. I think if you compare your photograph with my drawing you will say the same. I read it احسن, not الحسن. My coin was in better condition than yours, but in yours the ا does not join to the ح — الحسن to form the ل. There is no ا to the right, but a part of a circle." The four coins of the same type which are in my cabinet confirm Mr. Rodgers' reading of the legend, and as they come from Madura, they may be safely attributed to Aḥsan Shāh of Madura, and not to Hasan Gāngū of Kulbarga.

No. 9.

R., 33 (copper).

السلطان الاعظم
The very great Sultān.

جلال الدنيا والدين
Jalālu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.

A coin with exactly the same legend was struck by Jalālu-d-dīn Fīrōz Shāh of Delhi (Thomas, 123; British Museum, 150). But the type of the letters is different; compare the ع of الاعظم of British Museum, 150, and Thomas, pl. ii, No. 52, with the corresponding letter of R. 33, and see the remarks on No. 14 below.

According to *Ibn Batūta* (vol. 4, p. 189), *Aḥsan Shāh* was killed and replaced by one of his nobles, 'Alā'u-d-dīn Udaījī, who reigned for one year. On the coins of this prince the second syllable of the name contains, not *ی*, but *و*. Hence the word may be read Udaūjī or Udūjī. Mr. Rodgers proposes to read either Arōḥar or Adūjī; but these two forms would deviate still further from that given by *Ibn Batūta*.

III. COINS OF 'ALĀ'U-D-DĪN UDAUJĪ SHĀH, A.H. 740.

No. 10.

R., 8 (mixed metal).

	(In circle <i>ادوجى شاه</i>)
<i>علا الدنيا والدين</i>	{ In margin
	<i>سنة اربعين وسعمائة</i>
'Alā'u-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.	{ Udaūjī Shāh.
	{ The year forty and seven
	{ hundred.

No. 11.

H., 4·5, 4·2, 4·1, 4 grammes (copper and brass); T., 3 (copper); R., 7 (copper).

Obverse same as No. 10.	<i>ادوجى شاه السلطان</i>
	The Sultān Udaūjī Shāh.

Figs. 7, 8.

After a successful battle with the "infidels", Udaūjī Shāh took off his helmet to drink, when he was killed on the spot by an arrow dispatched by an unknown hand. Thus the year 740 saw a third ruler of Madura, Quṭbu-d-dīn, the son-in-law of Udaūjī Shāh, who was, however, killed after forty days because his conduct did not meet with the approval of the public.¹ In spite of his short reign, he has left behind him a coin bearing his name and date.

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4, p. 189 f.

IV. COIN OF QUTBU-D-DĪN FĪRŌZ SHĀH, A.H. 740.

No. 12.

H., 4·2 and 4·1 grammes (copper); T., 4 (copper); R., 9 (copper).

قطب الدنيا والدين

Qutbu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.

فیروز شاه ۷۴۰

Firōz Shāh. A.H. 740.

Fig. 9.

As stated by Mr. Rodgers (p. 52), the figure ۴ of the date is reversed on the coin. Captain Tufnell (*Hints*, p. 66) mentions another coin with the date 746; but this must be due to an error, because Firōz Shāh was killed in the very year of his accession, and a coin of his successor (No. 13) bears the date 741.

The next Sultān was Ghiyāthu-d-dīn ad-Dāmaghānī (styled Muḥammad Dāmaghān Shāh on his coin No. 13), who had originally been a trooper in the Delhi service. He married the daughter of Jalālu-d-dīn Aḥsan Shāh, and thus became the brother-in-law of Ibn Batūta.¹ The traveller visited him at his camp, where he witnessed some of the misdeeds perpetrated by this fiend in human shape. Before pitching the camp a number of "idolaters" with their women and children had been caught in the forest. Each prisoner was made to carry on his shoulders a stake pointed at both ends. Next morning the stakes were fixed in the ground and the male prisoners were impaled on them. The women were strangled and tied to the stakes by their hair, and the infants were massacred on the breast of their mothers. "It was for this reason that God hastened the death of Ghiyāthu-d-dīn."² Ibn Batūta gives a lengthy account of the Sultān's war with the (Hoysala) king Ballāladēva,³ who was 80 years of age. The latter was captured, strangled, and flayed. His skin was stuffed with straw and suspended from the wall of

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4, p. 188 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 195 ff.

Madura. On his return to Madura, Ghiyāth-d-dīn lost his only son from cholera, and died himself a fortnight later¹ from the effects of an aphrodisiac prepared by a Yōgin.²

V. COINS OF GHIYĀTHU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD DĀMAGHĀN SHĀH, A.H. 741.

No. 13.

H., 3·6 and 3·3 grammes (impure silver); T., 6 (billon);
R., 10 (mixed metal); D., 17 (silver).

	In circle محمد دامغان شاه
السلطان الاعظم	In margin
غياث الدنيا والدين	سنة احدى واربعين وسبعمائنه
The very great Sultān	Muḥammad Dāmaghān Shāh.
<u>Ghiyāth</u> -d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.	The year one and forty and seven hundred. Fig. 10.

On my two specimens the unit of the Hijra date is uncertain. R. 10 and D. 17 are dated in 741. D. 18 (copper) and D. 19 (silver) are stated to bear the date 742.

No. 14.

H., 4·4, 4·3, 4·1, 3·1 grammes (copper and brass); T., 5 (copper); R., 11 (copper).

السلطان الاعظم	غياث الدنيا والدين
The very great Sultān.	<u>Ghiyāth</u> -d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.
	Fig. 11.

A coin with exactly the same legend was struck by Ghiyāth-d-dīn Balban of Delhi. Here again, as in the case of No. 9, the type of the ع of الاعظم is different, as will appear from a comparison of No. 14 with British Museum, 119, and Thomas, pl. ii, No. 44. As Mr. Rodgers himself admits in his letter to Dr. Codrington, the coin R. 34 is perhaps not a Madura coin, but may belong to

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4, p. 202. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 41 and 199 f.

Ghiyāthu-d-dīn bin Muḥammad of Kulbarga. To the same king Dr. Codrington assigns a coin which has the same legend as No. 14.¹

Ghiyāthu-d-dīn was succeeded on the throne of Madura by his nephew Nāṣiru-d-dīn (called on his coin Maḥmūd Ghāzī Dāmaghān Shāh). The new king had been a domestic servant at Delhi before his uncle rose to power. He inaugurated his reign by killing off those officers whom he thought to be in his way, among them the husband of his predecessor's daughter, whom he married forthwith. Ibn Batūta was then suffering from a deadly type of fever, but managed to cure himself by drinking tamarind water. Still, he had had quite enough of the capital of his amiable relative, and, in spite of the latter's entreaties, left the inhospitable shores of Ma'bar for ever.²

VI. COIN OF NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD GHĀZĪ DĀMAGHĀN SHĀH, A.H. 745.

No. 15.

H., 3·6 and 3·5 grammes (impure silver); T., 7 (copper);
R., 12 (mixed metal).

In circle ناصر الدنيا والدين

In margin

سنة خمس وأربعين وسبع مائة

Nāṣiru-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.

The year five and forty

and seven hundred.

محمود غازي دامغان شاه

السلطان

The Sultān Maḥmūd Ghāzī

Dāmaghān Shāh.

Fig. 12.

The unit of the Hijra date is stated to be legible on one of Mr. Rodgers' specimens; see p. 50 of his article, n. 1. On the reverse of the coin the د of محمود is engraved at the top of محمود. The word غازي, i.e. "the conqueror", is

¹ *Num. Chron.*, vol. 18, p. 266.

² *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, vol. 4, p. 203 ff.

quite distinct on my two specimens, while Captain Tufnell and Mr. Rodgers had read عادل on their incomplete copies.

As Ibn Batūta sailed from Madura during the reign of Nāṣiru-d-dīn, the remaining Sultāns are known only from the legends of their coins. The first Hijra date is met with after an interval of twelve years, when the reigning king was 'Ādil Shāh.

VII. COINS OF 'ĀDIL SHĀH, A.H. 757.

No. 16.

R., 14 (mixed metal).

In circle عادل شاه

السلطان الحلیم

In margin

٧٥٧

سنة سبع وخمسين وسبع مائه

The clement Sultān.

'Ādil Shāh.

A.H. 757.

The year seven and fifty
and seven hundred.

Mr. Rodgers found on the obverse the date 757, which he considered doubtful, because he transcribed the unit on the reverse by تسع, i.e. "nine". The simple solution of this difficulty is to read, instead of it, سبع, i.e. "seven"; which has exactly the same number of vertical strokes as تسع, and is therefore frequently confounded with the latter. The same Hijra date, 757, is thus recorded on the coin both in figures and in words.

No. 17.

H., 4·7, 3·4, 1·7, 1·2 grammes (copper); T., 9 (copper);

R., 13, 15, 16, 17 (copper and mixed metal).

السلطان الاعظم

عادلشاه السلطان

The very great Sultān.

The Sultān 'Ādil Shāh.

Figs. 13, 14.

No. 18.

T., 8 (copper).

عادل شاه

'Ādil Shāh.

No. 19.

T., 10 (copper).

عادل
Ādilشاه
Shāh.

VIII. COINS OF FAKHRU-D-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH,

A.H. 761-70.

The correct decipherment and assignation of most of these coins is due to Mr. Rodgers. I have succeeded in reading one more coin which he could not make out (No. 22), and am able to assign another (No. 23) to the same king.

No. 20.

H., 1·6 (six specimens) and 1·7 grammes (copper); T., 13;
R., 23, 26, 27, 28, 31 (copper).

برگزیده اله فخر شاه شاهان	مبارکشاه شاه جهان ۷۶۳
The elect of God, Fakhr,	Mubārak Shāh, the king of
the king of kings.	the world. A.H. 763.

Figs. 15, 16.

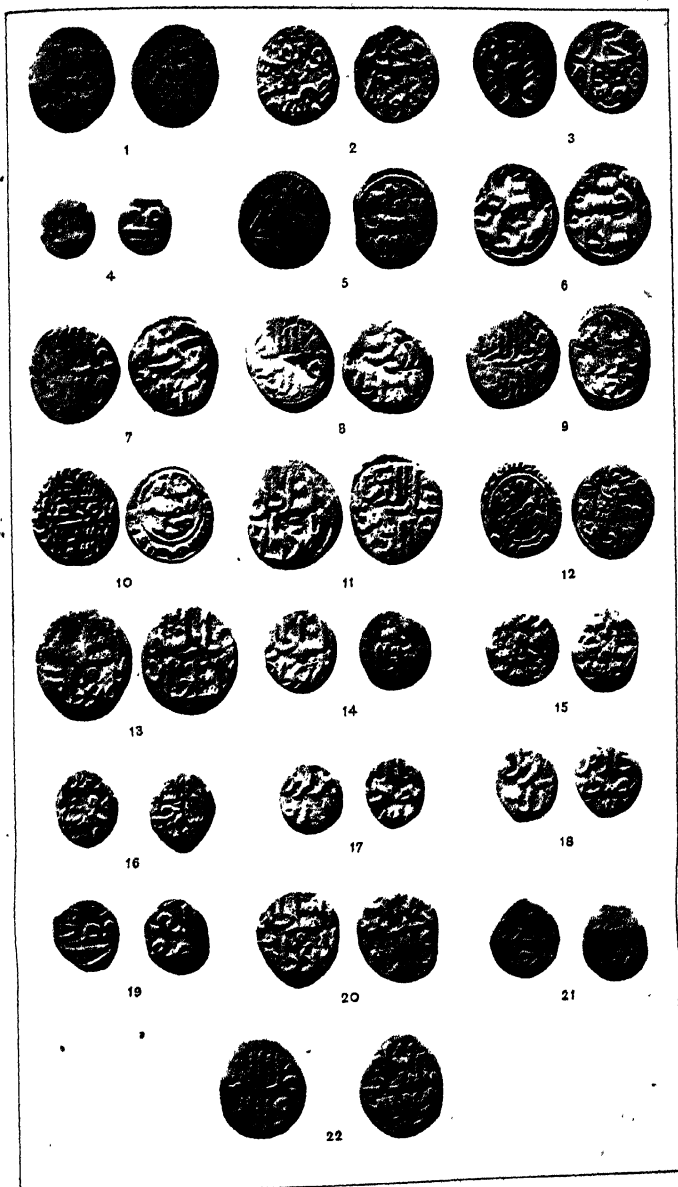
Mr. Rodgers' specimens bear the dates 761 (26), 763 (31), and 765 (28). Of my seven coins, one is dated in 763 and another in 765. T. 13 is stated to bear the date 763.

It is worth noting that the language of this coin is Persian, while the legends of all the earlier coins of the Sultāns of Madura, if we except the Persian title Shāh, were drafted in Arabic. That the language of the court was Persian in the time of Ghiyāthu-d-dīn may be concluded from a revolting incident related by Ibn Batūta (vol. 4, p. 194).

No. 21.

H., 1·6, 1·5, 1·5 grammes (copper and brass); T., 12
(copper); R., 18, 19, 20 (copper).

برگزیده اله	خادم مصطفى ۷۶۸
The elect of God.	The servant of Mustafā
	(i.e. of the Prophet).
	A.H. 768. Figs. 17, 18.



COINS OF THE SULTANS OF MADURA.

Rodgers has the dates 765, 767, and 770, Tufnell 769, and one of my three coins has 768. These dates, in combination with the epithet *برگزیده اله* on the obverse, entitle us to assign No. 21 to Mubārak Shāh of No. 20. D. 23 (copper) is stated to bear the date 770 and to read *خادم مصطفى رسول الله* instead of *خادم مصطفى*.

No. 22.

H., 1·8 grammes (copper); T., 11 (copper); R., 21 (copper);
D., 21 (copper).

محمد مصطفى

ناصر النبي ٧٦٥

Muhammad Muṣṭafā.

The servant of the Prophet.

A.H. 765.

Fig. 19.

The Hijra date is that of T. 11 and R. 21, while another of Captain Tufnell's coins and D. 21 are said to be dated in 764; on my specimen the date portion is cut away. The two words preceding the date had been read on D. 21 as "An-Nabī bā-safā". This reading and the synonymous expression *خادم مصطفى* on the reverse of No. 21 helped me to find out the actual legend "Nāṣifu-n-nabī". The two words on the obverse are names of the Prophet which Mubārak Shāh seems to have adopted. *مصطفى* is the Arabic equivalent of the Persian *برگزیده*; see Nos. 20 and 21.

No. 23.

H., 3·2 grammes (copper); T., 14 (copper).

السلطان الاعظم

فخر الدنيا والدين

The very great Sultān.

Fakhr-u-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.

Fig. 20.

This coin may be attributed to Mubārak Shāh, who is called "Fakhr, the king of kings" on No. 20. There was another Fakhr-u-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh in Bengal between A.H. 739 and 750.¹

¹ *Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum*, p. 13.

IX. COINS OF 'ALĀ'U-D-DĪN SIKANDAR SHĀH, A.H. 774-9.

No. 24.

H., 1.5 grammes (copper); R., 22, 29, 30 (copper); D., 20 (copper).

برگزیده رحمان
The elect of the Merciful.

سکندر شاه سلطان ۷۷۴
Sultān Sikandar Shāh.
A.H. 774. Fig. 21.

The epithet on the obverse is an imitation of one applied to Mubārak Shāh on Nos. 20 and 21. The Hijra date is that of R. 29, 30, and perhaps of my own specimen. R. 22 is dated in 779. D. 20 is reported to bear the date 757,¹ which would place Sikandar Shāh before Mubārak Shāh and in the time of 'Ādil Shāh. I therefore think that the figures of it are misread.

No. 25.

H., 4.2 and 4.1 grammes (copper); T., 15 (copper); R., 35 (copper).

علا الدنيا والدين
'Alā'u-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn.

سکندر شاه السلطان
The Sultān Sikandar Shāh.
Fig. 22.

Glancing back at the coins published above, we find that they range from A.H. 730, the sixth year of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, to 779, or from A.D. 1329-30 to 1377-8. The power which put an end to the ephemeral Musalmān kingdom of Madura was the rising Hindū state of Vijayanagara. Already Saṅgama I, the ancestor of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, is alleged to have defeated "that proud lord of Madhurā, the valiant Turushka".² An inscription of A.D. 1365 at Tirupukkuli³ states that Kampana II, a son of Bukka I of Vijayanagara, took possession of the "kingdom of Rājagambhira", i.e. of the Pāṇḍya country, and two inscriptions at Tiruppullāṇi⁴

¹ Compare Captain Tufnell's *Hints*, p. 69, n. 5.

² Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc., vol. 12, p. 353, text-line 21.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 6, p. 324 f.

⁴ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. 1, p. 301 f.

show him ruling a portion of the Rāmnād Zamindārī in A.D. 1371 and 1374. In another inscription of A.D. 1371 his general Goppana claims to have "slain the Tulushkas (i.e. the Musalmāns) whose bows were raised", and to have "slain by his army the proud soldiers of the Tulushkas".¹ This brings us to the time of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Sikandar Shāh, whose coins are dated in A.H. 774 and 779, or A.D. 1372-3 and 1377-8. They show that he continued to offer resistance to his Hindū antagonists. At present, his coin of A.H. 779 is the latest known document of the existence of the Muḥammadan kingdom of Madura.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. 6, p. 330.

XVI

MAXIMILIAN HABICHT AND HIS RECENSION OF THE THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS

By DUNCAN B. MACDONALD

CHRISTIAN MAXIMILIAN HABICHT was born at Breslau in 1775.¹ He went to Paris in 1797 as Secretary of the Prussian Legation, and remained there until March, 1807, when he returned to Germany. During this ten years he studied Arabic under De Sacy and a Father Raphael, of Cairo, then teaching Arabic in Paris, and lived for some years in the same house with a certain Mordecai ibn an-Najjār, of Tunis, a Jew apparently from his name (*Epistole Arabice*, pp. 2 f.; Breslau text, vol. i, p. iii). To this Mordecai, Knös dedicated his *Historia decem Vezirorum* (Gött., 1807), where he, however, calls him "vir Tunetanus, vulgo Mardoché, natiua lingua مراد التجار dictus", and adds that, at the suggestion of De Sacy, he had used him as a teacher of Arabic.

Apparently Habicht returned to Breslau, for he took his Ph.D. there in 1812 and became Privat Docent in 1813. In 1811 he copied the "Story of al-Hayf and Yūsuf al-Hasan", with many marginal readings; in the last months of 1813, the "Story of the Golden Pigeon"; and in 1815, Vol. I a (according to my enumeration) of his *Arabian Nights* collection. In 1824 he became Professor Extraordinarius of Arabic in Breslau, and in the following year appeared his translation of the *Nights*. For this translation he has been unfairly blamed. The title, in all the editions, until the fifth in 1840, was certainly unfortunate, and suggested correction from an Arabic text; but in his

¹ For Habicht's life see *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Bd. x, S. 283, Leipzig, 1879, and *Nouvelle Biographie générale*, t. xxiii, p. 18, Paris, 1861.

general method he followed only in a trodden path, especially that of Gauttier in his edition of 1822-3. Gauttier, in his expansion of Galland, had been compelled to stop at Night 568, but Habicht first translated Gauttier, then supplemented with 180 pages, not divided into Nights, from Caussin's continuation of Galland, and finally added Nights 884 to end, from his own MSS. This method of making up the whole number of 1,001 Nights, by patching different collections together—though the 180 undivided pages had to stand for 316 Nights—was not so utterly reprehensible when applied to a translation. But when, in the same year, he began the publication of an Arabic text (Breslau, 1825-38; continued by Fleischer, 1842-3) and followed essentially the same method, he cannot be acquitted of having wilfully created a literary myth, and enormously confused the history of the *Nights*.

In 1824 appeared his *Epistolæ Arabicae*, and in the autumn of 1827 he was in Trieste for a few weeks and found there a MS. of the *Nights* "bei Herrn Anton Dubbana aus Aegypten" (Breslau, vol. iv, pp. ii f.). Out of this MS. the owner caused a number of passages to be copied for Habicht, and these were in Habicht's hands in June, 1828. It is possible that this was the source of Egyptian MS. II below.

In 1839 he died at Breslau, having published eight out of the twelve volumes of his edition of the *Nights*. The remaining four were published in 1842-3 by Fleischer, to whom all his MSS. bearing on the *Nights* were entrusted for the purpose (Breslau, vol. ix, pp. 5 ff.). To a description of these I now turn.¹

It may be well to say first, in general, that they consist of seventeen volumes, and are a most miscellaneous

¹ I owe it to the courtesy of the authorities of the Breslau and of the Glasgow University Libraries that I was able to examine these MSS. at leisure in the summer of 1907. I am especially indebted to the thoughtful kindness of Mr. Galbraith, the Librarian of the Glasgow University Library.

collection of stories, evidently made by him from the period of his residence in Paris on, with a view to building up a completed series of 1,001 Nights. It is plain that he never saw a MS. of the *Nights* which was even approximately complete, until the De Sacy MS. of the Egyptian Recension¹ came into his hands, and he evidently had no idea that any such MS. existed. Even Galland's incomplete MS. he appears not to have seen, otherwise he would surely have used the "Story of Badr Bāsim". His intention, therefore, was to do in Arabic what Gauttier had done in French, and what he himself had done in German in further expansion of Gauttier. Thus he is to be described as really the compiler of a recension of the *Nights*, and not as the editor of a recension already existing. This is the most charitable way of putting it. By a curious fate the last such compiler was a European who had never been in the East, but who, through close intercourse with Orientals during his long residence in Paris, had come to embrace entirely the irresponsible Oriental attitude towards MSS. and editing. Immediately after his time the Būlāq edition appeared (A.H. 1251 = A.D. 1835), the known form of the *Arabian Nights* was fixed and vulgarized in the Egyptian Recension, and the opportunity for new compilations was gone.

In forming this compilation Habicht was much aided by the Mordecai ibn an-Najjār mentioned above. To his help there are references in the *Epistola Arabica*, pp. 2, 5, 6, 12, 16, which make it plain that Ibn an-Najjār, at least, distinguished between stories in general and the *Nights* in particular. From him and transcribed in his hand Habicht received a final volume of the *Nights*,

¹ I mean, of course, the recension discovered by Zotenberg and described in his *Histoire d'Alā al-Dīn*. But this does not prejudice the question of earlier Egyptian recensions. Habicht's final volume is, I am sure, of such provenance.

running from Night 885 b to the end; also a similar volume containing Nights 72 b to 208 a. This latter volume is evidently a near descendant of the Galland MS. Further, from this friend he received twenty-two stories, not divided into Nights and in no way marked as belonging to the *Arabian Nights*. Of these he used nine stories in his recension.

This is all the basis that exists for speaking of a Tunisian recension of the *Nights*, or for holding that Habicht published the *Nights* from a Tunisian MS. That a large quantity of the material used by Habicht was due to the industry and friendship of Ibn an-Najjār is undoubted.¹ But when we consider the two volumes of this material which distinctly belong to the *Nights*, it is plain that one is a descendant of the Galland MS. and that the other, the closing volume, is of Egyptian origin. The "Story of the Merchant of Cairo and the Favorite of the Khalifa al-Ma'mūn" (*Breslau*, vol. xii, pp. 402 ff.) shows far too great familiarity with the topography of Cairo to have taken final shape elsewhere.

The next largest block of material in this edition was taken from MSS. of the Egyptian Recension; first by Habicht himself, from De Sacy's MS., and from one of unknown provenance but marked Egyptian type—perhaps that found by Habicht at Trieste; thereafter by Fleischer from Gotha MSS. of the same recension.

For the first seventy-two Nights Habicht had two MSS. of one but an unknown recension, clearly akin to the Galland MS. mentioned above. For "Sindibād of the Sea" he used a separate MS. bought in Egypt, and for the "Ten Viziers" another separate MS. of unknown provenance. Unrepresented among his MSS. are the "Story of Kil'ād

¹ Ibn an-Najjār copied stories for others besides Habicht. In the Leyden University Library there is one MS. which was plainly written by him (Cod. 1339; *Cat.*, vol. i, p. 340). It was presented to the Leyden Library by Humbert.

and Shīmas," a gap in vol. iii of *Breslau*, pp. 102-13, and nine anecdotes. Among his MSS., but unused, on the other hand, by him were many stories copied by Ibn an-Najjār and two complete MSS. of the "Story of al-Hayfa and Yūsuf."

In the following detailed description of Habicht's materials I have been compelled to arrange the volumes in an order of my own. I shall, however, give with each the library numbering and Habicht's own, so far as I have been able to discover it from marks on the MSS. and notices in the prefaces to the earlier volumes of the printed text. Cf. vol. i, pp. v ff.; vol. iii, pp. i ff. and xiv ff.; vol. iv, pp. i ff. With vol. iv this information ceases; the make-up of Habicht's text became too complicated.

Vol. I. For the first seventy-two Nights there are two parallel MSS. One of these, reckoned by me Ia, is marked by H¹ as Vol. I, and so reckoned by him in *Breslau*, vol. i, p. v. It is marked by the Library No. ii 8. This is in H's own hand according to title and colophon, is called in a general title to the *Nights* on its first page المجلد الاول, and was finished in 1815. It closes with ذو علم in *Breslau*, vol. ii, p. 5, l. 3. Apparently, H transcribed just so far from his original in order to join Vol. II, which is in IN's hand. On the title-page, at the foot, comes—

وفي ذيل هذا المجلد قصة سيف الملوك وبديع الجمال، وهذه
القصة على يد اخي العزيز مردخاي بن التجار التونسي حفظه الله
تعالى

H always means by يد على "copied by"; so here and in the vocabulary to his *Epistolæ Arabicæ*, under يد. By these references the handwriting of both H and IN can be identified.

¹ In what follows H of course means Habicht, and IN, Ibn an-Najjār; *Breslau* is the Breslau printed text.

The "Story of Sayf al-Mulūk" accordingly follows in the same volume, but upon different paper. Here and elsewhere it is evident that IN sent his copies of stories separate, and H bound them up together. This is not divided into Nights; but these have been added by H in pencil on the margin, and the volume otherwise prepared for the printer's use—H's practice throughout. Whatever we may think of the origin of his texts, he gave them unchanged, cf. *Breslau*, vol. i, p. xiv. This story occurs in *Breslau*, vol. iv, pp. 189–318; Ns 291–320.

The second of these two MSS., reckoned by me Ib and marked with Library No. ii 17, is in two parts. The first is in a small, unknown, modern hand, and ends in N 69, *Breslau*, vol. i, p. 349, l. 2 from foot, جميعهم. To that there is added—

وما هذا باغرب مما جرى للخليفة مع ابنة كسرى * تم المجلد
الاول من كتاب الف لبلة ولبلة *

The second is a single gathering in H's hand, extending to ابكما in *Breslau*, vol. ii, p. 5, l. 4 from foot (N 72). It continues—

وادركت سهرزاد الصباح سم ومن الناس من يقول ان هذا انتها
المجلد الاول من كتاب الف لبلة ولبلة

If I can trust my memory of a year back, the hand of the first part of this MS. is strikingly similar to a MS. which I found in September, 1908, in the Bodleian (MS. Bodl. Orient., 633), containing the "Story of the Khalifa and Kisra's Daughter" (Chauvin's No. 106), and the "Story of 'Ali Bābā and the Forty Thieves". I have a photograph of the latter, Galland's up till now unidentified tale, and trust to publish the text before long. Ia and Ib appear to be practically of the same recension and remotely connected with Galland's MS.; to the precise origin of either I have no clue. The MS. belonging to von Diez, of which H speaks in *Breslau*, vol. i, p. v, is not now

among his MSS. ; none bears the sign of injury which he there describes.

Vol. II. Marked by H also as Vol. II of his MS., Library No. ii 9. It extends from Ns 72 b to 217 a (*Breslau*, vol. ii, p. 4, beginning, to vol. iii, p. 166, l. 5 from foot, معها). The first part of the MS., extending to p. 416, N 208 (to التي in *Breslau*, vol. iii, p. 102, l. 7) is in IN's hand, and is divided into Nights which are numbered. From p. 417 of MS. to end is in H's hand. Ns 209-11 are numbered in the text; Ns 212-17 are inserted on margin with no divisions even in the text. On p. 425 of MS. the point where the preface in *Breslau*, vol. iii, p. ii, says De Sacy's MS. begins is marked by the use of blacker ink. The source of the section from p. 417 to p. 425 of MS. is not stated. Three pages of verses follow; they are those used in the preface of *Breslau*, vol. iii. IN evidently sent a MS. breaking off abruptly in the middle of the "Story of Anis al-Jalis", which H had to complete. pp. 102-13 of *Breslau*, vol. iii, he copied from some unknown source; pp. 113-16 he copied from De Sacy's MS. These last pages were followed in De Sacy's MS. by the "Story of Ghānim"; therefore those pages immediately preceded De Sacy's MS. a with which I deal below. The part of this volume transcribed by IN is an immediate descendant of the Galland MS. Zotenberg has already noticed (*Histoire d'Alá al-Dín*, p. 6) that one leaf has been lost from the Galland MS. containing the greater part of N 102, the whole of N 103, and some lines of N 104, and that on the margin of the following leaf a few phrases have been inserted to cover the gap. This part of H's MS. reproduces, as its reading of the text of N 102, these phrases almost exactly. The numbering then is readjusted to the loss of N 103 and of part of N 104, and N 105 of Galland is numbered N 103 in this MS. This I am able to determine by a photograph of Galland's MS. which I have, and which I hope to be able to publish.

Vol. III. In my notes this is said to be marked by H as Vol. III of his MS.; but that, in view of his statement on p. vi of preface of *Breslau*, vol. i, must be an error. H reckoned this his Vol. IV. Library No. is ii 12. It consists of a collection of stories not divided into Nights, and possibly, but not certainly, in IN's hand. The formula قال الراوى occurs throughout. It contains—(a) "Story of the Learned Robber and the Qāḍī" (pp. 2–9); (b) "Story of Alexander and the Indian Sage" (pp. 10–16); (c) "Story of Hārūn ar-Rashīd on Pilgrimage" (pp. 17–24); (d) "Story of Abū Jazīd al-Bisṭāmī and the Priests" (pp. 25–33); (e) "Story of Sulaymān al-Fārisī" (pp. 34–41); (f) "Story of Bahram al-Majūsī" (pp. 42–8); (g) "Embracing of Islām by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb" (pp. 49–62); (h) "Story of Qamar az-Zamān and Budūr" (pp. 63–193); (i) "Address of teacher to pupil in Arabic and Turkish to teach Turkish". Of these (h) "Story of Qamar az-Zamān" was used by H in *Breslau*, vol. iii, p. 166, l. 2 from foot, زعموا, to p. 326, l. 3, العالمين. The Nights are inserted on the margin, and the MS. is prepared for the printer's use.

Vol. IV. Marked by H as Vol. VII of his MS.; Library No. ii 10. It contains—(a) "Story of Ḥasan of al-Baṣra"; (b) "Story of the Ebony Horse"; (c) Anecdote about a talkative barber-surgeon. In IN's hand; formulæ قال الراوى and صاحب الحديث occur throughout. There is no division into Nights. These have been added by H in pencil on margin of the portion which he used, i.e. "Story of the Ebony Horse" in *Breslau*, vol. iii, p. 326, l. 6, ذكروا, to p. 367, l. 5, جميعا, and the "Story of Ḥasan of al-Baṣra" in *Breslau*, vol. v, p. 264, last l. انه, to vol. vi, p. 179, l. 9, الموت.

Vol. V a. Unnumbered by H; Library No. ii 4. It contains the "Story of as-Sindibād of the Sea and as-Sindibād of the Land", and is not divided into Nights. These have been added on margin by H, who used it in

Breslau, vol. iii, p. 367, to vol. iv, p. 133. The MS. bears the following note:—

واما هذا الكتاب فاشتريته بمدينة مصر القاهرة حرسها الله تعالى
من يد الشيخ جرجس عیدی¹

Compare H's remark "aus einer Hdschrft. die ich aus Aegypten erhalten habe" (*Breslau*, vol. iii, p. xiv).

Vol. V b. H's Vol. III, according to *Breslau*, vol. i, p. vi, but see my Vol. III above, Library No. ii 13. It contains—(a) "Story of Ḥasan of al-Basra"—a very abbreviated and vulgar text; (b) "Story of ash-Shāṭir Aladdin"; (c) "Story of Ten Cats"—a Whittington story; (d) "Story of Muḥammad and كلبهار"; (e) "Story of as-Sindibād of the Sea and al-Hindibād the Porter in the time of the Khalifa of Baghdād"; (f) "Story of the Golden Pigeon and the Princess"—she is called قلتسين, and I suspect that the legend of a Christian saint has in it embraced Islām. Of these (a) to (e) are in one hand and have colophon كتبه هريين في باريس. Thus they were copied in Paris, and not by IN, whoever هريين² may have been. Yet H calls this MS. "Die Tunes. Hdschrft" in *Breslau*, vol. iii, p. xiv. An illustration has been attached to one page in (e), left blank for it in copying; (e) has also some explanatory notes in Arabic and French. (f) was copied by H himself in the last months of 1813; for the story see Chauvin's No. 136. No part of this MS. has been used by H in *Breslau*.

Vol. VI. Marked by H also as Vol. VI of his MS.; Library No. ii 7. A conglomerate MS. in IN's hand. It contains—(a) "Story of Tamīm ad-Dārī" (Chauvin's

¹ Is this the Aydé, a native Egyptian, whom Fleischer quotes in his *Abulfeda Historica Anteislamica arabice*, p. 223?

² It is suggested to me by Mr. A. G. Ellis that he was Aug. F. J. Herbin, who published in 1803 at Paris *Développemens des principes de la langue arabe moderne*. This is very probable.

No. 241 B, pp. 35½); (b) "Story of the City of Brass" (pp. 55½); it is introduced with

رواه ابن مالك عن الحارث ابن بكر عن ابن دارم ان امير المؤمنين . . .

(c) "Story of Khalif the Fisherman" (pp. 38); (d) "Story of Sufyān ath-Thawrī and ar-Rashīd" (pp. 8; well-known parenetic story of the correspondence between them after the accession of ar-Rashīd); (e) "Story of Ibn Jabala and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb" (pp. 5; cf. *Aghānī*, vol. xiv, pp. 2-8); (f) "Story of embracing of Islām by 'Umar al-Khaṭṭāb" (pp. 15); (g) "Prologue and first four *Muqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī" (pp. 32). The last breaks off abruptly. No division into Nights; these are added by H in pencil on margin of the parts which he used. Formulæ قال الراوى and قال صاحب الحديث occur throughout. H used "Story of the City of Brass" in *Breslau*, vol. vi, p. 343, l. 5 from foot, ان, to p. 401, end, and "Story of Khalif the Fisherman" in *Breslau*, vol. iv, p. 318, l. 4 from end, انه, to p. 365, l. 1, عليه. On p. 1 of MS. is the note on اللهم given in *Breslau*, vol. iii, pp. 3, 4 of glossary.

Vol. VII. Marked by H as Vol. V of his MS., and so spoken of in *Breslau*, vol. i, pp. vii ff.; Library No. ii 5. It contains—(a) "Story of al-Ward fi-l-akmām and Uns al-Wujūd"; (b) "Story of Abū-l-Ḥasan of 'Umān";¹ (c) "Story of Sayf Dhū-l-Yazan" by the Shaykh Abū-l-Ma'ālī; (d) "Story of Hayāt an-Nufūs and Ardhashīr". The whole is in IN's hand and is not divided into Nights; these have been added in pencil on the margin by H. (a) is used in *Breslau*, vol. v, p. 34, from beginning of l. 3, to p. 95, l. 3, التمام. The line and half preceding the beginning on p. 34 are inserted in H's hand in the MS. (b) immediately follows in *Breslau*, p. 95, l. 4, حكي—the

¹ The Leyden MS. referred to above contains the stories of al-Ward fi-l-akmām, of Abū-l-Ḥasan of 'Umān, of the talkative barber-surgeon (MS. vol. iv above), and three others of a page or two each.

intervening line and half are inserted by H—and extends to p. 130, l. 2 from foot, العالمين. (c) does not appear in the *Breslau* text, but H has inserted it as N 884 in his translation (vol. xiv, pp. 3–35), and has spoken of it in the preface to that volume in such a manner as to give the impression that his Vol. X began with this fragment. Yet, in the preface to *Breslau*, vol. i, pp. viii f., he speaks of it as in this volume of the MS., and on p. 7 he speaks of his last volume as beginning with N 885. He evidently regarded it as forming part of the *Nights*, and was prevented from printing the text only by its remaining finally a fragment on his hands. IN sent no more of it. “The Golden Pigeon,” curiously enough, he did not regard as part of the *Nights* (*Breslau*, vol. i, p. vii). On (c) cf. Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, part iii, p. 139, and the edition of Cairo, Khayriya Press, A.H. 1310. In this MS. it begins on the same gathering as the preceding story, and ends, after seventy-three pages, with the end of a gathering and a catchword for the gathering which never followed; the formulæ قال ابو المعالي and قال الراوى occur throughout. It begins with the regular phrase—

حكى والله اعلم بغيبه واحكم والطف وارحم انه كان فيما تقدم
من الزمان وسالف العصر والاولان ملك من ملوك اليمن . . .

On p. 4 of this story there is pencilled in margin ليله^{٥٦٤}.

(d) comes in *Breslau*, vol. v, p. 130, last line, حكى (preceding line and half inserted by H), to p. 264, l. 4 from foot, العالمين. After this word in the MS. comes—

وكان من جملة ما نفق عليها | في هديتها ونقدها | ووليمتها
تسعمائة ألف | ديناراً ودخل بها | ليلة الاثنين يوم اربعة | عشر من
شهر سفر [sic] الخير سنة^{١٢٢٢}.

This has been struck out by H in pencil; it appears to be a mechanical combination of a bit dropped from the story above and the date of the MS. which IN

transcribed, i.e. April 5, 1613. The day of the week does not fit; it would require April 8.

Vol. VIII. Marked by H as Vol. IX of his MS.; Library No. ii 11. It contains—(a) “The Ten Viziers”; (b) “Story of Ḥasan of al-Baṣra” (10 pp., very abbreviated); (c) “Story of Ten Cats” (pp. 2½). Does not seem to be in either H’s or IN’s hand. No division into Nights; these are added by H in pencil on the margin of (a) which he has used in *Breslau*, vol. vi, p. 191, l. 7, انه, to p. 343, l. 10, امين. The MS. begins—

بسم الله الخالق الحى الناصق وهو حسبي نبتدى بعون الله تعالى
وحسن توفيقه ونكتب كتاب قصة العشر وزرا وما جرا لهم مع ابن
الملك ازاد بخت *

Vol. IX. Marked and described by H as Vol. X of his MS.; Library No. ii 6. Here we return at last to a genuine MS. of the *Nights*. It contains Ns 885b to end, marked and numbered in the text, and it was used by Fleischer in *Breslau*, vol. xi, p. 84, l. 2, قصة, to end of vol. xii. At the beginning H has written—

هذا المجلد الاخر | من كتاب الف ليلة وليلة | فى التمام والكمال |
على يد اخى العزيز مردخاى بن التجار التونسى حفظه الله تعالى |
عن الليلة الخامسة الثمانون والثمانماية | الى الليلة الحادية والالف

At the end comes ١١٢٣ سنة, i.e. A.D. 1711. This date is evidently that of IN’s original, as there can be no question, *pace* Fleischer in *Breslau*, vol. xii, p. 5, that the volume is in his hand, see p. 689 above, and على يد in H’s title. H himself read the date in the colophon as 1144; how, I do not know. With this volume H’s so-called Tunisian MS. closes, and it will be observed that from the end of Vol. II to the beginning of Vol. IX it consists of a very miscellaneous collection of stories, not divided into Nights and claiming no connection with the *Nights*, out of which

H selected some and divided and arranged them to suit his purpose. To this he appears to refer in the preface to vol. xiv of his translation, when he remarks that there is "eine bedeutende Lücke" in the Tunisian MS., and to it he certainly refers in the preface to *Breslau*, vol. i, p. vii, where he says that from the third to the ninth volumes—my eighth—the Nights in his Tunisian MS. cease to be numbered. But so far, the eighth volume, according to H's reckoning of his Tunisian MS., has not appeared. I am inclined to conjecture that it was a MS. of the "Story of Kil'ād and Shīmas" (*Breslau*, vol. viii, pp. 4–184), for which I find no text in his collection of MSS.

In H's collection are also two MSS. (Library Nos. ii 15, ii 16) of the "Story of al-Hayfa and Yūsuf" (Chauvin's No. 206), one of them copied by himself with many marginal readings in 1811, the other in a very small hand by Mikhā'il Sabbāgh. He used neither of them in his text, although in his translation (vol. xi, pp. 178–88) he had given the story in very brief form from Scott's version (Scott's edition of 1811, vol. vi, p. 352).


We come now to H's MSS. of the Egyptian Recension. He made use of two MSS. of that recension, one De Sacy's (*Breslau*, prefaces to vols. iii and iv), and one of unknown provenance, perhaps that of Dubbana of Trieste (*Breslau*, vol. iv, p. ii). From De Sacy's MS. he transcribed three portions, which I call here "De Sacy MS. a, b, c".

De Sacy MS. a (Library No. ii 14) begins with N 38 b (Calcutta edition of 1839–42, vol. i, p. 320; N 38 b), and extends to N 139 end (*Calc.*, vol. i, p. 632; in N 134). It contains the "Story of Ghānim ibn Ayyūb" to p. 59; "Story of 'Umar an-Nu'mān" begins there; "Story of Tāj al-Mulūk" begins p. 288 (N 111); "Story of 'Azīz" begins p. 304 (N 116) and ends p. 360 (N 133); MS. breaks off p. 393 (N 139). Because H wanted to use "Story of Ghānim" for his text, and inasmuch as that story, to fit his numbering of the Nights, must begin in

N 332, he has numbered the Nights in this volume to agree, i.e. Ns 332 b–442 a. On margin he puts the original numbering of De Sacy's MS., Ns 38 b–139 a. On margin are also many corrections marked صح, readings from MS. of Dubbana of Trieste. In his transcript H omitted Ns 70–3, which were moral sentences and tales addressed by Nuzhat az-Zamān to Sharr Kān; N 83 is similarly abbreviated. From this MS. H has used the "Story of Ghānim" in *Breslau*, vol. iv, p. 365, l. 1, وليس, to vol. v, p. 34, l. 1, بعده.

De Sacy MS. b (Library No. ii 1) begins with N 140 b (*Calc.*, vol. i, p. 647; N 136) and extends to N 195 a or 197 a (*Calc.*, vol. i, p. 172; N 144). H has omitted in it from N 145 b or 146 b to N 194 a or 196 a (*Calc.*, vol. i, pp. 692–5), containing the "Story of the Bang-eater in the Bath", and probably much more told by باكون, because he had it in another MS. In the margin is a double numeration of the Nights as above with some other markings; in that text H has inserted numbers from 444 to 450. No part of this MS. seems to have been used in *Breslau*.

De Sacy MS. c (Library No. ii 2) begins with N 236 and extends to N 719 a (*Calc.*, vol. ii, p. 36, N 237 b, to vol. iii, p. 479, N 719 a). These are the original numbers of the Nights as given on the margin, but H transcribed this MS. strictly for his own purposes, and therefore has made considerable omissions as he went of what he did not want in his edition. The numbers of the Nights inserted in the text are those for which his collection called, i.e. 501 to 776 (*Breslau*, vol. vii, p. 4, l. 3, ذكروا, to vol. ix, p. 311, l. 7, اعلم). The following are his deviations from De Sacy's MS., which seems to have fairly agreed with *Calcutta*. Because he treated the "Story of Nī'ma and Nu'm" as separate, he omitted the few lines of Bahram the Magian's introduction and the conclusion of

the "Story of Amjad and As'ad". The "Story of Ibn Abi Qilāba", of how he found Iram dhāt al-īmād, is omitted in the transcript (*Calc.*, vol. ii, pp. 141-7); in *Breslau*, vol. vi, pp. 171-4, another, shorter, narrative had been given of the same, but whence I do not know. Ns 304 b to 307 a are not transcribed from the MS. They must have covered *Calc.*, vol. ii, pp. 204-12, but only a reference is given that one story is to be found in the *Anīs al-ma'fūd* (i.e. De Sacy's *Chrest. ar.*), p. 35. Instead, there is given on four inserted pages what stands in *Breslau*, vol. vii, pp. 251-62 ("Story of Ja'far the Barmakī"), but whence it is taken is not stated. In the middle of N 346 H has marked a break, corresponding with the division between vols. vii and viii of *Breslau*. In vol. vii, pp. 4-184, he has inserted the "Story of Kil'ād and Shīmas", but whence taken I do not know. In *Breslau*, vol. viii, p. 184, l. 8, , De Sacy MS.c (N 346 b) is resumed (*Calc.*, vol. ii, p. 302; N 347). The marginal numbering of the Nights (that is, the numbering of the Nights in the original) jumps from 347 to 350 (Ns 642-3 in *Breslau*), indicating an omission, but of what there is no statement. Between marginal Ns 351 and 382 (*Breslau*, vol. viii, p. 190) the Stories of the Ebony Horse and of Uns al-Wujūd are omitted (*Calc.*, vol. ii, pp. 318-76); H had these stories elsewhere. In marginal N 385 the "Story of Night obliterating the Speech of Day" (*Calc.*, vol. ii, pp. 388-9) is transcribed, but marked in pencil to be left out. It would have come in *Breslau* on p. 202, vol. viii, but H had used the story already, although with quite different wording in *Breslau*, vol. vi, pp. 179-82. *Breslau*, vol. viii, pp. 225-9, is inserted on a separate sheet, but whence transcribed is not stated. After it should have come the anecdotes in *Calc.*, vol. ii, pp. 407-14, but these are noted on the margin as omitted. From marginal Ns 403-4 H has omitted the "Story of the King and the Lion's Trace" and the "Story of the Rukhkh"; these would have come in

Breslau, vol. viii, p. 250, l. 11, after *وانصرفت*. The "Story of Firūz" in *Breslau*, vol. viii, pp. 273-8, is on an inserted leaf, and is taken from the *Ḥadīqat al-afrāḥ* (p. 161 of edition of Cairo, 1298). From marginal N 433 b to marginal N 625 a there is a long omission (comes in *Breslau*, vol. viii, p. 350), and a note that the omission covers the stories of the old woman and the serpents, of Tawaddud, etc., of the two Sindibāds, and of the City of Brass, i.e. *Calc.*, vol. ii, p. 487, to vol. iii, p. 236, if we follow the number of the Nights and regard H's statement of the stories as incomplete, but to p. 115 if we follow H's statement of the stories. The "Story of Gharib and 'Ajib" comes next, beginning *Breslau*, vol. viii, p. 350, and going on in vol. ix, where Fleischer began his editing and continued to use this same transcript up to p. 311, l. 7, *اعلم*, where it ends. Between marginal Ns 680 b and 698 a there is an omission, but no note is made as to its contents. It should correspond with *Calc.*, vol. iii, pp. 367-416, and falls in *Breslau*, vol. ix, between pp. 192 and 193. De Sacy MS. c has no introductions or closes to the Nights; only *الليلة* is inserted between. Fleischer, for the part which he used, collated a Gotha MS. and the first edition of Būlāq. He has inserted many corrections on the margins, and evidently used H's transcript as printer's copy.

The other MS. (Library No. ii 3) of the Egyptian Recension which H possessed is a small quarto of 114 pages, not, I judge, in H's hand, but still modern. The Nights are divided with *وادرك شهرزاد الصباح فلما كانت* *الليلة القابلة*, but they are not numbered. The arrangement and selection of the stories are peculiar, but clearly of the Egyptian Recension. It begins with the "Story of the Bang-eater in the Bath" (*Calc.*, vol. i, pp. 692-4), called here the "Story of al-Muhārif, the Gambler" (*qammār*, pp. 1, 2). The name of the teller is *بنياولن*.

Then there is a link in which the mother of Kān mā kān comes in time to save his life and sits down by him (p. 3 = *Calc.*, vol. i, p. 694). بنبالون then tells the "Story of the Sleeper and the Waker" (pp. 3-21). On the insertion of this story here compare Zotenberg's '*Alá al-Dīn*', pp. 19, 23, where the same insertion occurs in two MSS. of the Bibliothèque nationale. The story here given agrees, with some verbal deviations, with that in *Breslau*, vol. iv, pp. 134-89, but the text there was certainly not set up from this MS. The Nights in the MS. are not numbered, and even the division into Nights is different in *Breslau*. Then follows the conclusion of the "Story of Kān mā kān", etc. (pp. 21-70 = *Calc.*, vol. i, pp. 695-716). It is a very different recension from that in *Calc.* and much fuller. The wazīr's name is درندان, and it contains the "Story of 'Āmir and 'Ādhir and their children Jamil and Batina" (compare Zotenberg, '*Alá al-Dīn*', p. 38). Then comes a series of stories about birds, beasts, etc., with a preface more extended than that in *Calc.*, vol. i, p. 716, and hanging better together. That in *Calc.* seems a clumsy abbreviation. (1) The "Story of the Peacock, the Duck, and the Gazelle" (pp. 70-8; Chauvin, *Bibl. ar.*, part ii, p. 154, 1); from it comes naturally (2) the "Story of the Devotee and the Pigeons" (pp. 78-9; *Calc.*, vol. i, p. 726; Chauvin, 2); (3) the "Story of the Devotee and the Shepherd" (pp. 79-81; Chauvin, 3); then the link corresponding to *Calc.*, vol. i, p. 730 (top), is rather longer—

فقال الملك والله يا شهزاد لقد زهدتيني في ملكي وندمتيني
على ما فات من امري وقتل النساء والصبيان فهل هو مليح اما
لا فقالت للملك كله مليح.

(4) the "Story of the Water-bird," very much abbreviated (Chauvin, 5); (5) the "Story of the Wolf and Fox" (extends to p. 85, but much shorter than in *Calc.*, pp. 732-47; Chauvin, 6); (6) the "Story of the Wild

Beasts" (pp. 85-6; not in *Calc.*; the following names are in it: سمعان, كيפור, فيروز); (7) the "Story of the Mouse and the Maize" (pp. 86-7; *Calc.*, p. 747; Chauvin, 10); (8) the "Story of the Crow and the Cat" (pp. 87-8; *Calc.*, p. 748; Chauvin, 4); (9) the "Story of the Fox and the Crow" (pp. 88-92; *Calc.*, p. 749; Chauvin, 11); (10) the "Story of the Hedgehog and the Wood-pigeons" (p. 72; *Calc.*, p. 755; Chauvin, 16); (11) the "Story of the Merchant and the two Sharpers" (p. 93; *Calc.*, p. 757; Chauvin, 17); (12) the "Story of the Sparrow" (p. 94; *Calc.*, p. 758; Chauvin, 20). *Calc.* (p. 760) here begins the "Story of 'Alī ibn Bakkār" in spite of Shahramān's request that Shahrazād should continue the same kind of story زيدني من هذا الحديث. But this MS. goes on with similar stories. (13) The "Story of the Owl and the Weasel" (p. 95); in it is (14) the "Story of the King and his Wazīr"; (15) the "Story of the Crane and the Owl" (p. 97); (16) قصة الدارج والشبيكه (p. 100); (17) the "Story of the King and what happened to him with his Son" (pp. 100-2); (18) "Anecdotes of Misers" (p. 102); (19) "Anecdotes about a certain مزيل"; (20) the "Story of King شهد بخت and his Wazīr ar-Rahwān" (pp. 109-end). (20) is parallel to *Breslau*, vol. xi, pp. 84-100. From Fleischer's preface to that volume (p. 6), where he says that only one text lay before him, i.e. the so-called Tunisian, he cannot have noticed the existence of this part. The MS. breaks off abruptly on p. 114.

From the above it will be evident with what freedom Habicht handled his materials. He arranged them to suit himself; divided them into Nights; supplied the 'necessary links. On the other hand, it is to his credit that he made no attempt to emend his texts. He printed them exactly as they stood without considering grammar, sense, or style. In fact, his editing compares in this respect favourably

with that of Fleischer, and is indefinitely superior to that of the editors of all the other longer printed texts.

For the sake of ease of reference and of clearness, I shall now go through *Breslau*, volume by volume, and give its sources as traced above.

Breslau, vol. i. The whole is from MS. Vols. I a and I b; I a is in H's hand; recension unknown.

Breslau, vol. ii. The whole is from MS. Vol. II, in IN's hand; so-called Tunisian Recension.

Breslau, vol. iii. Up to p. 102 from MS. Vol. II, as above; pp. 102-13 from MS. Vol. II, copied by H from an unknown source; pp. 113-66 similarly copied by H from De Sacy's MS., and therefore of Egyptian Recension; pp. 166-326 from MS. Vol. III of unknown recension; pp. 326-67 from MS. Vol. IV in IN's hand and of so-called Tunisian Recension; pp. 367 to end from MS. Vol. V a, bought in Egypt and of unknown recension.

Breslau, vol. iv. Up to p. 133 from MS. Vol. V a as above; pp. 134-89 are from what must have been a sister MS. to MS. of Egyptian Recension II; pp. 189-318 from MS. Vol. I a in IN's hand and so-called Tunisian Recension; pp. 318-65 from MS. Vol. VI in IN's hand and so-called Tunisian Recension; pp. 365 to end in H's hand in De Sacy MS. a of Egyptian Recension.

Breslau, vol. v. Up to p. 34 as at end of last volume; pp. 34-264 from MS. Vol. VII in IN's hand and of so-called Tunisian Recension; pp. 264 to end from MS. Vol. IV in IN's hand and of so-called Tunisian Recension.

Breslau, vol. vi. Up to p. 179 as at end of last volume; pp. 179-91 are from an unknown source; pp. 191-343 from MS. Vol. VIII of unknown hand and origin; pp. 343 to end from MS. Vol. VI in IN's hand and of so-called Tunisian Recension.

Breslau, vol. vii. All is from De Sacy MS. c and of Egyptian Recension, except pp. 171-4 and 251-62 taken from other and unknown sources.

Breslau, vol. viii. Up to p. 184 taken from an unknown source ; pp. 184 to end from De Sacy MS. c and of Egyptian Recension, except pp. 225-9 from an unknown source and pp. 273-8 from *Ḥadīqat al-afrāh*.

Breslau, vol. ix. Here Fleischer enters ; up to p. 311 from De Sacy MS. c as above ; pp. 311 to end from a Gotha MS. corrected by Būlāq I ; still Egyptian Recension.

Breslau, vol. x. All from Gotha MS. as above.

Breslau, vols. xi, xii. pp. 1-84 of vol. xi from Gotha MS. as above ; pp. 84 to end of vol. xii from MS. Vol. IX in IN's hand and of so-called Tunisian Recension.

It may be convenient to have the manuscript volumes arranged according to Library numbers. Library No. ii 1 = De Sacy MS. b ; ii 2 = De Sacy MS. c ; ii 3 = Egyptian Recension II ; ii 4 = Vol. V a ; ii 5 = Vol. VII ; ii 6 = Vol. IX ; ii 7 = Vol. VI ; ii 8 = Vol. I a ; ii 9 = Vol. II ; ii 10 = Vol. IV ; ii 11 = Vol. VIII ; ii 12 = Vol. III ; ii 13 = Vol. V b ; ii 14 = De Sacy MS. a ; ii 15 = al-Hayf (H's copy) ; ii 16 = al-Hayf (Mikhā'il Ṣabbāgh's copy) ; ii 17 = Vol. I b.

Habicht's own arrangement of the volumes of his so-called Tunisian MS. appears to have been as follows:—His I = I a above ; I b does not seem to have been reckoned or was lumped with I a ; II = II above ; III = V a and V b reckoned together (*Breslau*, vol. i, p. vi) ; IV = III above ; V = VII above ; VI = VI above ; VII = IV above ; VIII has been lost, may have been source for "Story of Kil'ād and Shimas" ; IX = VIII above ; X = IX above. Of these, Vols. I, II, and X are fragments of MSS. of the *Nights* ; the rest are simply collections of stories. Also, of these, Vols. I, III, IV (probably), and IX never had any connection with Tunis, even through having been copied by a Tunisian.

Finally, I take this opportunity publicly to thank Professor Carl Brockelmann for his great kindness in collating for me a part of *Breslau* with its original.

XVII

THE PAGAN RACES OF EAST SUMATRA

By M. MOSZKOWSKI, M.D.

THERE is a close affinity between the aboriginal tribes of Sumatra and the Sakais of Malakka, so well studied by a long series of English authors. From the long list of eminent works about these interesting peoples I can cite only a few of the most important. A complete bibliography is to be found in the standard work of Skeat and Blagden, *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, which can be regarded as an encyclopædia on this matter. The first researches were made by Anderson, Crawford, Newbold, Logan, then by Hale, Campbell, Clifford, Annendale and his companions Nelson and Robinson, and last, but not least, by Skeat and Blagden as described in their works. Besides, we can cite the Frenchmen Favre and Morgan, the Russian investigator Miclucho-Maclay, the eminent German linguist P. Schmidt from Vienna, and Professor Martin from Zurich, to whom we owe the sharp distinction between the Sakais and the Semangs, a negrito people. I omit the numerous papers of the Norwegian adventurer Vaughan Stevens, because his data are very doubtful and must be first re-examined.

In comparison with these numerous papers about the aboriginal races of the Malay peninsula there are only very few and very compendious notices about the primitive tribes of Sumatra. The best known of them are the so-called Kubu in the Residencies of Palembang and Djambi in southern Sumatra. A number of incredible tales and fables propagated by the Malays and believed by the Europeans flourished about these peoples. They were said to have claws like tigers and feet like the apes, their bodies were said to be hairy all over, their forearms

were believed to be sharp like a knife, so that they could cut big trees with them. Such things are told amongst the Malays down to the present day, and I myself heard more than once tales of this kind. Probably the primitive human inhabitants of the wild forests were often confounded with the big anthropoid, the orangutan, of whom, as we know, people say in the Malay country that he is a real human being, only clever enough not to speak. I was told, for instance, that a Kubu when pursued by a Malay saves himself by climbing on the trees, and that he jumps from tree to tree like an ape. Lately a very good monograph about the Kubus has been published by Mr. B. Hagen, of Frankfurt, one of the best authorities on Malay anthropology. But notwithstanding the great value of this book, and without wishing to detract from this fine work, I claim nevertheless that the Kubus examined by Hagen were already partly domesticated and had thoroughly adopted the customs of the surrounding Malay peoples. But combining the description given by Hagen with what we know from his precursors, we shall attain to a sufficiently clear picture of the life of the wild Kubus. Amongst these precursors of Hagen are to be cited Sturler, the discoverer of the Kubus, Olivier, Boers, A. L. van Hasselt in his celebrated Mitten-Sumatra-Expeditie, Valette, van Dongen, a very good monograph about really wild Kubus, and Winter-Rookmaker. The first investigator, who gives anthropological measures and who procured one skull and one skeleton, was an English naturalist, Forbes. His slight anthropological material has been augmented during the last year by Voltz, who measured seventeen, and Hagen, who measured twenty-one individuals, men and women. Hagen was also happy enough to find three complete skeletons. The orang Kubu are still absolutely pagan, and this paganism preserves them from the mixture with Malayan blood. It is true that the *laws of Islam* forbid only the *mésalliance of the women*, not of the men ; but

it seems that the Kubu women are so dirty that even the Malays, who of course are not models of cleanliness, dare not marry them, and if they do so the children will surely become Malay, i.e. Moslems, and have the deepest contempt for their Kubu ancestors. From the other tribes who can be regarded as aboriginal many have been converted to Islam in the last few years, and have thereby lost much of their originality, for once converted they take the greatest pride in imitating the Malayan customs and in forming alliances with their representatives. To this group are to be added the orang Mamaq of Indragiri, the orang Abung of the Residency of Lampong, etc.; to the other group the well-known Battaks, who have a relatively very high culture of their own; the Gayos, described in a splendid monograph by Snouck Hurgronje; and the orang Ulu and Lubu, who have now thoroughly adopted the customs and the culture of their neighbours, the Mandeling, an Islamized Battak tribe. All these peoples are at the present time, with the exception of the Kubus, very little suited for the study of the character and the customs of the aboriginal population of Sumatra. So I think it must be regarded as a very happy chance that I discovered in the forests which cover the interior of the sultanat Siak on Sumatra's east coast an aboriginal tribe in a relatively untouched state, the orang Sakai. These orang Sakai are already made known by two Dutch writers, van Rhijn van Alkemade and Hymans van Anrooij, in 1884. But these two neither penetrated into the interior of their forests nor visited them in their settlements. The few ethnological data they give are for the most part founded on the reports of the Malays; besides, obviously, the two Dutch authors had a certain knowledge about only the smaller part of this people, the so-called batin lima (the five tribes), whilst the greater part of them, the batin sêlapan (the eight tribes), were almost completely unknown to them. They did not even know the name of the single

tribes, and the official maps bought by me in the Batavian Topographical Institute give an absolutely false localization of their settlements. The names of the single tribes have first been given by me, and also the names of the different kampongs. The names of the batin lima (already given by my Dutch precursors) are borumban Minas, batin Belutu with the kampong Kandis, batin Tingaran with the kampong Pungatan on the right side of the Mandau, an affluent of the Siak, and batin Panasa with the kampong Ayer mabu and batin Beringin on the left side of the Mandau. The respective names of the tribes correspond to the names of the rivers on the borders of which they are established. But the batin lima have abandoned their kampongs and have gone into the territory of the batin sëlapan, at least the majority; the cause is probably that the ground on the lower course of the river is less fertile than on its upper course, where the batin sëlapan have their settlements. The name of the batin sëlapan are batin Madjilelo, considered as a kind of *primus inter pares*, with the kampong Pingger and Grosam bësar, the batin borumban Pëtani with the kampong Ayer gumai, the batin sutan Bertoa with the kampong Si-tupang, the batin Sinunai, kampong Paoh kayu mungkup, the batin Sinangar, kampong Bansal, the batin Bertoa, kampong Lubu. These six stay on the left side of the Mandau; they take their names too from the corresponding rivers. On the right side are the settlements of the batin Singa mërädja kampong Samsam and batin borumban sri Paoh, kampong Paoh. Batin is the title of their chiefs, and for this reason they like to be called orang batin, Sakai being a great insult to them. The division into two big tribes, the batin sëlapan and batin lima, is, as I have suggested, perhaps an equivalent to the so-called phratries, found, for instance, in Australia. They are still Sakais on the border of the Rokan kiri, which countries have only in the last six years really been subject to the Dutch, but these

Sakais are converted to Islam and have almost completely changed into Malays. The Mandau Sakai are subjects of the Sultan of Siak.

The Sultan, who unfortunately died last year, helped us in a very liberal manner by giving us boats and native companions as guides and servants. The alluvial plain of East Sumatra is all covered with almost inaccessible forests, to which entrance is made possible only by means of the numerous rivers and affluents, so the only means of conveyance is the boat. The first of the pagan tribes we met with were the orang Akit, whose village is called kampong Panasa, at the mouth of the Panasa River in the Mandau. All the houses of this village are built upon rafts of large trunks attached to the shore of the river by means of ratan cords. The walls of the houses are constructed of tree-bark, the roof covered with dry palm-leaves, especially the leaves of the kēpau-palm, a kind of *Livistonia*. The hearth is of the ordinary Malay form, i.e. a simple quadrangular wooden frame filled with earth and ashes. Three stones serve as supports for the cooking-pots. The furniture of the houses is of the most primitive kind—a few mats of pandanus leaves, some bottles made of the bottle gourd, some knives of different sizes, a chopper, some iron pots and plates, and fishing instruments. But none of these things are made by the Akits themselves; all they use is of foreign origin and acquired by them from Chinese pedlars, who are to be found everywhere amongst the pagan tribes. An Akit culture of their own does not exist, even the clothes are Malayan work, whilst formerly they only wore girdles of tree-bark. The Akits were originally inhabitants of the sea-coasts. Settlements of this people are to be found along the Bengkalis Straits. But these have completely adopted the customs of real Malays and must therefore be excluded from our consideration. Two Akit tribes have emigrated into the interior of

the country, the Panasa Akits and the Siak Akit on the upper course of the Siak near Pëkan baru. The Panasa, from which this tribe has taken its name, is a small left-hand affluent of the Mandau. As it is far too narrow to carry rafts, the men who have their settlements higher up are forced to build their houses on the land. These huts are the most miserable human settlements one can imagine. They consist only of a platform on piles with an oblique roof, and are so low that not even one of the small-sized Akits can stand upright in them. They look more like hen-houses than anything else. Even the Veddas of Ceylon were better lodged. But in one of these miserable huts I found an instrument of the highest ethnological value: a wooden blowpipe with a wooden bayonet and a wooden visor attached to the top, a bamboo quiver of the same type as used by the orang Jakun of Malakka, with tube system for the darts and darts poisoned with ipuh. This ethnological resemblance between orang Jakun and Akits is in conformity with anthropological researches. I measured fourteen Akits of Panasa. Amongst these eight are of the same anthropological type as the orang Jakun, i.e. of very small size, between 143 and 153 cm., with smooth hair, and a brachycephalic head index (with a slight tendency to mesaticephaly) varying from 80 to 90. But more striking than these numbers is, I think, the general aspect of the people. Four of the Panasa men were taller and had wavy hair. I presume that these are the issue of alliances between Akit men and Sakai women. The settlements occupied now by the Panasa Akits were formerly inhabited by the batin Panasa, a Sakai tribe who, as I mentioned before, left their settlements. It seems that some Akits, having a great lack of women, married Sakai wives who had remained in the old settlements of their tribe. So, at least, I was told by the Akits themselves. But two

of the persons examined were of absolutely different character. These two had, in my opinion, a striking resemblance to the Malakka-Semangs, but the hair assumed the woolly character only on the back of the head, whilst on the forehead it was more wavy. I think they are to be regarded as a Negrito-Akit mixture. The existence of a Negrito element was unknown till now, but I think there can be no longer any doubt about it. A few months later I visited the Akit settlement on the Siak and took the anthropological measures of twelve more individuals. Amongst these only three were of the typical Jakun type with smooth hair; one had his hair cut *à la* Malay, so that I could not recognize the character of it; seven were of decidedly smaller size with wavy hair. The average of the cephalic index of this tribe shows a greater tendency to the mesaticephalic state than the average of the Panasa Akits, i.e. 83·2 to 84·4. One of the Siak Akits is noted in my diary as having nigger hair. The colour of his skin is noted as much darker than the other, his size is 155 cm., his cephalic index 81·52. It is a pity that I had not the permission to measure the women. In these countries with their strictly matriarchal usages the women represent even more than in the West the conservative element. But I had no means of obtaining this permission. It is a general belief that he who possesses the measures of somebody is able to exercise all kinds of magic power over him. It often took me more time to persuade a man to give me the permission to measure than the measurement itself. But if I did not happen to procure a sufficient number of measurements of women, I console myself with the reflection that good photographs have perhaps more value than long series of measurements.

The Akits are not very fond of land cultivation; they prefer to get their food by hunting and fishing. The few articles of luxury they have need of, such as clothes, axes,

knives, tobacco and betel, of which they are very fond, are obtained by them from the Chinese in exchange for the produce of their forests—ratan, caoutchouc, wax, and damar. They eat all kinds of animals—monkeys, bats, lizards, turtles, etc. To hunt monkeys they make use of the blowpipe; other animals, especially their favourite food, the wild pig, are caught in traps. They are very clever fishermen. The method they find most convenient is the poisoning of the water with the well-known root of *Derris elliptica* called tuba. The root is sharply struck in the water and the white, milky sap poured out; the fishes are stupefied by the poison, and come to the surface of the water, where they are caught with harpoons, or with ratan instruments called tangkul. Sometimes rods with ratan lines or nets are used. Another method in vogue amongst them consists of closing smaller rivers by palisades with very narrow intermedial spaces. In the middle of the palisade they build a platform and catch the fish there. Naturally, they use also the numerous kinds of fish-traps known all over the Archipelago. Perhaps the only method of their own is to close the river entirely with twigs planted in the ground, and to collect the fish which stick fast between them. They eat the fish even when they are more than half decayed.

The only plant they cultivate is the tapioca plant (*Manihot utilisima*). But even the cultivation of this plant is very irregular. Notwithstanding the strict orders of the Sultan of Siak, their suzerain, they cannot be brought to cultivate rice.

Their religious needs are very few. They have, it is true, certain animistic ideas, but even these are borrowed from the Malays. In Panasa I assisted at a charm ceremony described in a paper of mine in the *Globus*. The resemblance to similar ceremonies described by Skeat is so striking that I can pass them over. The sorcerer bears the name of kementan (pawang in Malakka).

I do not think that the Antu language, known also to the Akits, contains elements of the old Akit or Sakai language which has obviously completely disappeared, as suggested by several authors. For the Antu cult being of Malay origin, can have preserved, perhaps, old Malay elements, but nothing else. As for musical instruments, I found only drums, jews' harps, and a kind of viola called rebab. These rebab are known elsewhere too in the Archipelago, but those I found myself are of a special kind, the strings being made of pine-apple leaves, and the drum of half a cocoanut shell covered with the thorny skin of a fish called buntal (*Ostracium cubicum*).

The social institutions of the Akits are very simple, but the beginnings of matriarchal institutions are not to be overlooked.

As the Sultan of Siak possesses a rubber plantation near Panasa, the Māndau has been cleaned down to this place. But from there, at least in the dry season, the river is only navigable for very small boats built out of a single big tree. Soon the river, becoming narrower and narrower, at last loses itself completely in the forest. The best paths in the Sumatran woods are the tracks of the elephants. Where such are not to be found the way must be cut with axes and choppers. Often the path lies for hours and hours over fallen trees. The coolies were really to be admired; they walked with 50 kilo on their backs or on their heads quite easily over the narrow trunks where I and my friends stumbled at each step. But the biggest obstacles appeared when we approached the Sakai settlements. To protect their kampongs against the attacks of wild animals—pigs, tigers, and elephants—the Sakai have surrounded their settlements with big trees laid down crosswise. It was difficult to climb over these barricades, and when we came at last into the kampong all the inhabitants had run away, fearing the contact with a stranger. Outside one or two old

women had been left to receive us ; but one of our guides, the sergeant-major of Siak, was well known and welcomed by the people generally so shy, and he succeeded in every case in calling them back. The Sakais are mostly dolichocephalic, with a slight tendency to mesaticephaly. I measured about 183 men ; the head index varies from 70 to 83. In the still more untouched kampongs of the left border of the Mandau the average index of the head is between 75 and 76 ; in the kampong Paoh, whose inhabitants are in closer relation with the Malay people, the average lies between 77 and 78. The hair is wavy and often very thick and long. The eyes lie deep, because the glabella and the arcus superciliares are very strongly developed ; the nose is broad and flat. The eyes are horizontal, dark brown to black, often half closed ; the mouth generally large, thin-lipped, with two characteristic oblique folds on either side. The lower lip is often thicker than the upper lip. A marked prognathism is quite general. The forehead is high and a little receding, the chin still more so, but often sharply pointed. The face is broad and somewhat square. A beard, as a rule, is non-existent. I remember having seen one in three cases, but it only consisted of a few hairs under the chin and the corners of the mouth. The average height of the Sakai is between 156 and 157 cm. ; they are, generally speaking, taller than the orang Akit, but there a great variability must be observed. The height varies between 144 and 168 cm. It must be noted that I found this variability in almost the same degree in each of the eight tribes of the Sakais examined. The skin colour is rather variable, but more often lighter than the skin colour of the Malays with a slightly yellowish-green tone. The resemblance to the Veddas of Ceylon is very striking. I had the impression that the prognathism was somewhat stronger in the women than in the men. This relation appears very clearly in the two skulls I procured. Hagen and

Martin report a remarkable singularity of the Kubu and Senoi foot. I think the same singularity is to be found also in the Sakai foot. The foot is flat, the instep not very high, the outline quite straight. It is a foot which bears too heavy a weight. The big toe is separated from the second by a wide interval, the four exterior toes are somewhat bent over the inner edge.

Skin diseases prevail, especially the so-called kurab, an itching and tormenting malady. Almost 80 to 90 per cent. of the Sakais suffer from this disease. In old times the Sakai of the Roken refused to acknowledge children as theirs who had not acquired kurab. They have no remedy at all either for this or for other maladies. When a man falls ill the sorcerer makes his hocus pocus, and then the patient is left to himself and recovers or dies. Besides the kurab they are tormented by a series of other skin diseases caused by their dirty habits. Of internal maladies smallpox is prevalent, then malaria and stones. As a rule the Sakai do not get very old; I rarely saw persons over 60 years. When a Sakai dies he is left for one day in his house, then come his relations, and the oldest men cut themselves across their heads and let drop a little blood over the corpse; then a grave is dug and a roof erected over it. The interior of the grave is now mostly like the Malay graves, with a thick plank laid obliquely over the body. The wife and children of the dead must stay near the grave for three days by great fires, and in the case of the death of a chief seven days. They decorate the graves with simple geometrical patterns in black and white. I could not find out if these patterns have a special significance. Over the grave they hang plates with sacrifices for the antus, or put these sacrifices directly on the top of the grave. The sacrificial plates are called Isemar in these countries. Taking into account the strictly matriarchal institutions of the Sakais, to be discussed later on, they give to a dead woman one-third

of her property in the grave. I found in one grave, for instance, three plates, some knives and choppers, one dollar, copper bracelets and rings, a complete set for chewing betel, etc.; whilst a man, who, as a rule, has no possessions at all, receives at the most one knife and a small copper-piece of money with him. No ceremonies exist at weddings. In former times the young man slept simply with the girl till he was caught by the parents, then he had to pay a trifle and the marriage was complete. Now it is the custom to ask the girl's mother beforehand. I never met with polyandry or polygamy. Divorces are very frequent. I was told that no one woman has less than eight or ten husbands during her life. The woman can simply send away her husbands; houses, children, and furniture remain in every case the property of the woman. The man too can go away, but if he did not build a house for his wife he is obliged to return the expenses incurred for him by the family of the woman. During the marriage men and women are as a rule faithful, but the men are very jealous, and beatings for this reason are very common. A strange custom is in vogue among some tribes of the Sakais. When a man seduces the wife of another, he must run away with her and hide himself in the woods for seven days. If the deceived husband catches him within this time the woman must take back the old husband and the seducer must pay a fine. In the same kampongs I find a custom that a young man, wishing to ally himself to a girl, must first catch her while running round a mound. The same custom is reported by Skeat from the Malakka Sakais. The greatest festival day for a Sakai community is the day where the incision is made to the youths of a kampong. As to their religious feelings, they are not highly developed. I think they have no more than a very superficial animistic creed. I know that it is very difficult to get to know anything about the religious views of these primitive

peoples, especially reserved with regard to this point; but I lived amongst them for several months, slept in their huts, and took part in their daily life, and besides the well-known antu ceremonies adopted from the Malays I never remarked the slightest religious interest, so I dare say the Sakais of Sumatra have none. Birth takes place with the assistance of a midwife. When the child is born the blood is pressed in the umbilical cord back to the mother, then the cord is tied with thread of tree-bark (têrup) and cut off with a bamboo knife. The after-birth is thrown into the river or buried. A provisory name is given to the new-born by the mother, the definite one being given only when the child attains its third or fourth year. The next forty days the young mother is compelled to have a big fire at her back; this, however, is not a typical Sakai custom, but quite general in the whole of the Archipelago.

The original dwellings of the Sakais are the well-known leaf-screens found in all places of primitive culture. I think that in the beginning the screen had simply the purpose of protecting the fire, men finding a refuge under any tree or in the brushwood. In the dry season a screen put on the ground will do, but in lower regions, and especially during the rainy season, it is absolutely impossible to be on a level with the ground. It is my firm conviction that these are the primitive reasons for constructing platforms on piles. Naturally the construction on piles affords some other advantages besides, but these are surely secondary and account for their continuance even during the dry season. In the rainy time all the forest is under water for miles and miles. I walked once a fortnight or so up to my knees in water.

The furniture of the houses is very poor. The floor is generally covered with mats of pandanus leaves; the hearth is the common Malay hearth. Indeed, all the Sakais have

is borrowed from the Malays. They are utterly devoid of any culture of their own. Perhaps the only instrument of their own invention is a pointed stick, used to dig up yams and also as lances in former times, whilst now they use iron spears. Some of them understand how to shape these iron points. In one village I found also wooden fishing-hooks, and I have already spoken of the use of the bamboo knife. The lighting is done by damar-resin put into a rolled-up palm-leaf, which is fixed into a ratan-made stand. Then the usual Malay choppers and knives are to be found. Fire is made with flint and stone; as tinder they use the soft pith of a still undetermined palm-tree called sumpitlana. They are very much afraid of using matches. They told me that formerly they made a fire by rubbing sticks, but none of them were still in possession of this art. Their cords are made mostly of the bark of the tērup-tree (*Artocarpus Blumii*) and other trees of similar species. The same trees used to furnish them the material for their clothes. As axes they use the common Malay bliong. Lately they have begun to cultivate rice. Their teachers, of course, were the surrounding Malays. The rice is cultivated only in the dry way. But the Sakais do not care much about rice, and though they must plant it they mostly forget to harvest it, as they are only ordered by the Sultan to *plant* rice. Their favourite food is tapioca; besides they plant some sugar-cane and a few spices. In some villages I also saw bananas and pine-apples, in two even cocoa-nuts and areca-palms. The latter are already a sign of fixed habitations, whilst as a rule the Sakais do not remain longer than two or three years in their settlement. The reasons of these frequent changes are the exhaustion of the land and accidental causes, like frequent death, maladies, and change of the water current.

But all these village occupations do not show the true

character of the Sakais. They are, of course, a jungle people, and they only attain full vitality in the forest. And the forest gives its children all they need, game and fruit, bark for cords and cloth, ratan and caoutchouc for barter. The only men who trade with them are, as I said before, the Chinese. These are to be found even in the deepest forest, and, though they are good for teaching the natives to have wants which force them to work, on the other hand they have introduced all such criminal practices as lying, stealing, and cheating, unknown till then amongst these harmless savages. I am afraid that in a short time this idyllic life will have disappeared, and the brave, honest, trustworthy Sakais will have changed into cunning and fraudulent cowards, half-civilized beings of the type of the Malays. A very valued produce of the Sumatra forest is also the wax of the wild bees. The wild bees build their nests on the top of high isolated trees, which must be free from all kinds of epiphytes and creepers. The Sakais do little fishing, but are very clever hunters. Elephants are caught, but very rarely by them, by making pits near the drinking-places during the dry season. I was told that two of them, armed only with the lance, dare attack the tiger, but I have my doubts about this tale, for I never met with a tiger who would give anyone the chance of attacking him. Generally they prefer to catch this dangerous robber by means of traps like the common Malay trap, or by spring-traps of their own, similar to those known in the forests of the Malay Peninsula, and so well described by Skeat, Hale, and others. Birds and smaller animals, such as pheasants, jungle fowl, mouse-deer, porcupines, etc., are caught by snares. • But a real Sakai hunting is of the so-called umei, an animal living in holes on swampy ground, whose zoological position is between the porcupine and rat. This animal suffers often from bile-stone. This stone, called guliga, is said to have magic and medical powers. The Sakais

are, it is true, compelled to surrender all stones they find to the Sultan, but the Chinese would not be Chinese if they missed the opportunity of acquiring at a low price these precious stones from the ignorant wild men. The way to catch the umei is as follows:—One hole has, as a rule, several outlets; the hunter closes all these outlets with the exception of two. Then he puts before one a net and into the other he sends a dog, which, except for a few fowls, is the only domesticated animal they have. But they must kill often more than a hundred animals before they find one suffering from the precious stone. The flesh of these unhappy animals is eaten, but is not very highly esteemed. Monkeys, of which the Malakka Sakais are so very fond, belong to the few animals not eaten by the Sumatra Sakais, probably because they have no means of catching them, the blowpipe, curiously enough, being absolutely unknown to them.

Their artistic talents are very slight. However, they are pretty clever in carving. I tried to have pencil designs from them in my diary, but they were absolutely unable to make one. They know how to produce three colours only: white with chalk, black with charcoal, and yellow with the saffron-root. Of poetical works I was only able to collect three love-songs and one incantation, all four without rhymes, and quite different from the Malay pantuns, but naturally in the Malay dialect, their own dialect being absolutely lost. As for musical instruments, they have wooden jews' harps, drums, and rebabs, like the Akits. I never saw any kind of flute, as the bamboo is almost completely wanting in their country. As I said before, there are Islamized Sakais on the border of the Rokan. But these Rokan Sakais are hopelessly Malayized, and not able to furnish special problems to the investigator—at least, not from the cultural point of view.

XVIII

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

BY HERMANN G. JACOBI

IN a review of Professor Louis de la Vallée Poussin's book *Le Védisme*, p. 472 of this Journal, Mr. A. Berriedale Keith makes the following remark: "He [Poussin] is inclined with Barth and Winternitz¹ not to reject as wrong Jacobi's great chronological argument: we think this is to be much too favourable to it. It cannot survive Whitney, Thibaut, and Oldenberg's onslaught." As Mr. Keith probably does not stand alone in this opinion, may I be allowed to say a few words on this head?

If we knew for certain by direct evidence that Vedic culture was already in existence between 3000 and 2000 B.C., nobody would doubt—(1) that the star which is called *dhruva*, "the immovable," denotes the polar star of those years, α Draconis; (2) that the beginning of the year whose first month was Phālguna was marked by the winter solstice; (3) that Kṛttikās (Pleiades) was counted the first Nakṣatra because it then coincided with the spring equinox.

But if, on the contrary, we were quite sure that Vedic culture was not older than 1200 or 1500 B.C., we should have to admit—(1) that the Indians called a particular star immovable, *dhruva*, though nobody could be ignorant of the fact that it was altering its place very perceptibly with reference to the horizon; (2) that when the ancient Indians made Phālguna the first month of the year because it coincided with spring, *vasanta*, they differed in

¹ Bühler ought not to be omitted: see his important paper in *Indian Antiquary*, 1894, p. 246 ff.

the conception of the seasons from the Hindus of to-day, since the latter reckon the same period of the year as winter, *śiśira*; (3) that the ancient Indians reckoned *Kṛttikā*s as the first Nakṣatra for no astronomical reason whatever, but either by mere chance, or else because 1500 years before their time the Babylonians had done the same. We should have to be satisfied with these improbable explanations if the theory of the later origin of Vedic culture (say about 1500 or 1200 B.C.) were a fact beyond doubt. As long as this fact remains in suspense, either my arguments or these three subversive interpretations given to them by my opponents will appear plausible in accordance with the estimated age which critics assign to Vedic culture. When the new theory on the antiquity of the Veda was first discussed, I made this same statement to Mr. Tilak, who wished to enter upon a campaign against all opponents. I told him that the discussion would have no definite result unless excavations in ancient sites in India should bring forth unmistakable evidence of the enormous antiquity of Indian civilization. As yet such excavations, like those of Schliemann in Troja, have not been undertaken in India. But the required evidence has come from a quite unexpected quarter. The excavations in Asia Minor at Boghazköi during the summer of 1907 have yielded results which give an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization.

Professor Hugo Winckler has as yet given only a preliminary notice of his results.¹ But so long as the present state of health of the brilliant discoverer lasts, a full account will be necessarily delayed, and I shall therefore wait no longer before discussing the bearing of these discoveries in so far as they refer to India and to the problem of the antiquity of its civilization.

¹ "Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Ausgrabungen in Boghaz-köi im Sommer 1907," in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Nro. 35.

Among the documents found by Hugo Winckler there are treaties between Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites, and Mattiuaza, king of Mitani (Northern Mesopotamia), of the time about 1400 B.C. In these treaties deities of both these nations are invoked. Among the Mitani gods Hugo Winckler found the following:—¹

	ilāni	<i>mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il</i>	ilāni	<i>uru-w-na-aš-ši-el</i>
(variant)			<i>a-ru-na-aš-ši-il</i>	
	ilu	<i>in-dar</i>	ilāni	<i>na-ša-a[t-ti-ia-a]n-na</i>
(variant)		<i>in-da-ra</i>		<i>na-š[a]-at-ti-ia-an-na</i>

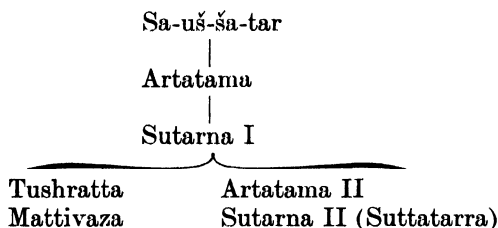
The affixes *aššil* and *anna* are not yet clear; they probably belong to the Hittite idiom. The word *ilu* is the Babylonian for "god", and *ilāni* is the plural.

Here, then, we have Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas or Aśvins. The plural *ilāni* before Mitra and Varuṇa indicates, according to Professor Eduard Meyer's plausible explanation, that both formed an aggregate, a pair; for in the usual *dvandva* - compound *Mitrā-Varuṇau* both words are in the dual, which is represented by the plural *ilāni*, since the Babylonian language has no dual.

These five gods not only occur in the Rgveda, but they are grouped together here precisely as we find them grouped in the Veda. In my opinion this fact establishes the Vedic character and origin of these Mitani gods beyond reasonable doubt. It appears, therefore, quite clearly that in the fourteenth century B.C. and earlier the rulers of Northern Mesopotamia worshipped Vedic gods. The tribes who brought the worship of these gods, probably from Eastern Iran, must have adopted this worship in their original home about the sixteenth century. At that time, then, the Vedic civilization was already in its full perfection. This fact makes the late date of the Veda usually adopted impossible, and is distinctly in favour of my theory.

¹ Ibid., p. 51.

But there is one difficulty which must be discussed. There is doubt as to the nationality of the kings of Mitani who worshipped the Vedic gods. According to Winckler (p. 37) the dynasty of those kings was as follows :—



These names are certainly not Sanskrit, but look like Iranian names ; and similarly the names of two later kings of Kommagene, who probably descended from the same stock, Kundaspi (854 B.C.) and Kustaspi (743 B.C.).

In two articles¹ Professor Eduard Meyer fully recognizes the Iranic character of these names, and at the same time he is of opinion that the Vedic gods were *native* gods of the tribe from which the rulers of Mitani descended. He supposes, therefore, that that tribe was a member of the still undivided Aryan branch of the Indo-Germanic family, and that their gods were Aryan gods. For Mitra is not only an Indian, but also an Iranian god. Indra, the Vedic god, is also mentioned in the Avesta, but only as a demon ; and so is a Nāonhaithya (= Nāsatya). And Varuṇa is thought by Professor Meyer to be identical with Ahura-mazdā. Furthermore, the form Nāsatya of the inscription, instead of the Zend form Nāonhaithya, would, in his opinion, prove that the inscription belongs to a time when, in the undivided Aryan language, *s* had not yet been changed into *h*, as in the Iranian languages. According

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1908, p. 14 ff. ; and in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, vol. xlii, p. 24 ff. The latter article is a postscript to an article by the same author, written a year before : “ Die ältesten datierten Zeugnisse der iranischen Sprache.”

to Eduard Meyer the Aryan period, which is theoretically constructed by comparative philology, is now, for the first time, verified by documentary evidence.

With reference to the antiquity of Vedic culture, let us now consider this theory that in the fifteenth century B.C. the Aryan branch of the Indo-Germanic family was as yet undivided. It is obvious that if this theory be true the Indians cannot have been settled in the Punjab in the fifteenth century B.C. as an independent people, as Eduard Meyer contended a year before Winckler's discoveries had been made known.¹ But it would be unfair to take him now at his word; however, the question which requires an answer is this: what length of time would be needed for the development implied in Meyer's hypothesis with regard to the Aryan character of the Mitani gods. This development would pass through four stages — (1) the differentiation of the undivided Aryan branch into two different peoples, Indian and Iranian, and of the one Aryan language into two distinct languages, the Sanskrit and the Iranian; (2) the conquest and settlement of at least a part of Western India by the Indians; (3) the development of Vedic culture; and (4) the rise and perfection of Vedic poetry, of which the Rgveda would be the later and riper portion then extant. Now all these are slowly progressing racial changes and historical and social movements of great moment. And the time required for them cannot be estimated with anything like exactness even within the limits of one or two centuries. But this much may be said, that the process of development must have been a rapid one if completed within 500 years. With this in mind, if we assume that the fifteenth century B.C. be the starting-point for the differentiation of the Aryan branch into the Indians and the Iranians, we should be obliged to place the Rgveda as it now stands a considerable time after 1000 B.C. I venture

¹ *Zeitschrift*, l.c., p. 22.

to think that few scholars who, without prejudice, consider the great religious, social, and historical changes which happened between the R̥gveda and the rise of Buddhism, will be prepared to accept so late a date for the R̥gveda. Therefore, since Eduard Meyer's theory leads to consequences inconsistent with the facts of Indian history, must we not reject his theory of the Aryan origin of the Mitani gods? And must we not insist that it is highly improbable that the undivided Aryans should have worshipped six¹ gods just as they appear in the R̥gveda, while the Iranians retained only Mithra as a god and entirely changed the character of the remaining ones?

How, then, can it be explained that an Iranian tribe worshipped Vedic gods? I assume that the tribes in question (Kharri?) came from the east of Iran. There, as we know from the R̥gveda, Vedic culture once prevailed. And these tribes, being neighbours and perhaps subjects of Vedic tribes who had reached a higher level of civilization, adopted the Vedic gods, and thus brought the Vedic worship with them to their new homes in Mesopotamia. Probably the entrance into India was barred to them because at that time the Vedic people in Western India was at the height of its power, and accordingly they migrated towards the West. They were perhaps attracted by the riches of the ancient monarchies in the plains between the Euphrates and Tigris. I know this is but a guess, but it accounts for the facts better than any other I can imagine.

In view of the facts I have adduced in this paper, I may perhaps think that my chronological argument will yet survive.

¹ For to the five gods of the kings of Mitani must be added the Sun-god Šurias̥ of the Kossæans (Kašši), who conquered Babylonia in 1760 B.C. See E. Meyer in *Zeitschrift*, l.c., p. 26.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A NOTE ON THE BHABRA EDICT

The Bhabra edict to the clergy is one of the most important of the Aśoka inscriptions, because it mentions the Buddhist triad (Buddha, Dhamma, Saṃgha) and a number of canonical texts. It will therefore not be considered superfluous to draw attention to two slight corrections which suggest themselves to me, and enable me to improve the published reading of the first sentence of the inscription and the explanation of the fourth.

1. After the fourth word of the first sentence Professor Kern read *abhivādetā nam* and M. Senart *abhivādemā nam*, which he subsequently (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 20, p. 165 f.) changed to *abhivādanam*. I have no doubt that the actual reading of the stone (see the estampage in the *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 8, vol. 9, p. 498) is *abhivādetūnam*, a regular Prākṛit form of the gerund of *abhivādeti*; compare in the Pallava inscriptions *kātūṇam* and *nātūṇam* (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 3), *kātūṇa* and *nātūṇa* (vol. 8, p. 144), and Professor Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, §§ 584–6. As regards the third word of the inscription, I adhere to the earlier reading *Māgadhe*. In the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 20, p. 166, M. Senart adopted Professor Kern's reading *Māgadham*. But the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an *anusvāra* is in reality a horizontal dash. The first line of the Bhabra edict would then run thus :—

* P[i]yadas[i lā]jā Māgadhe saṃgham abhivāde[tū]nam
āhā ap[ā]bādhatam cha phāsuvihālatam chā.

“The Māgadha king Piyadasi, having saluted the clergy, hopes they are well and comfortable”: literally,

“pronounces (*their*) being in good health and being (*in the enjoyment*) of pleasant life.”

2. In the third line M. Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 20, p. 167) explained *diseyā* as the first person singular of the potential of the Sanskrit root *dis*. The preceding instrumental *hamiyāye* rather requires a passive form. I therefore follow Professor Kern (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 5, p. 257) in taking *diseyā* as the third person singular of the potential of *dissati* (Sanskrit *drīśyatē*), and translate the fourth sentence of the inscription as follows:—

“But, Sirs, what would appear to me (*to be referred to by the words of scripture*): ‘Thus the true religion will be of long duration,’ that I feel bound to declare.”

The late Professor Hardy has shown in this Journal for 1901, p. 314, that the words *hevaṃ sadhanime chila-^[thi]tike hosati* contain a quotation from the Buddhist scriptures.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE (SAALE).

April 17, 1909.

A NOTE ON THE RUPNATH EDICT

One of the knottiest points of Buddhist chronology is the explanation of the term *vivāsa* in Aśōka's Rūpnāth edict. In this Journal for 1908, p. 817, Dr. Fleet has enumerated eight different explanations of this word, which were suggested by various scholars before Mr. Thomas proposed still another.¹ May I be permitted to state that I feel inclined to adopt the view of Professor Rhys Davids² and M. Boyer³? My reasons for identifying

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 37 (1908), pp. 21-3.

² *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon* (1877), pp. 57 ff.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 9, vol. 12 (1898), pp. 485 ff.

vivāsa with the Pāli terms *abhinikkhamanaṃ* and *pabbajjā* are the following:—

1. The use, in l. 5 of the Rūpnāth edict, and in l. 10 of the Sārnāth edict, of the causative *vivāsayati*, which can hardly mean anything but “to cause (*people*) to renounce the world”, “to convert (*them to Buddhism*)”.

2. The parallel expressions *pakama*, *pakamati*, and *pakata* in the former edict, which are intelligible only if they are understood as synonyms of the Pāli *pabbajjā*, *pabbajati*, and *pabbajita*.

At the end of the Rūpnāth edict I take *vyuṭha* as an equivalent of *pakata* in ll. 1 and 2, and refer it to Aśoka himself. The instrumental *vyuṭhena*, which depends on *sāvane kate*, cannot possibly apply to Buddha, because the preceding text of the *sāvana* shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*lekhāpeta*, l. 4, and *tupaka*, l. 5).

In the words *sata-vivāsā* (Rūpnāth) and *satā vivuthā* (Sahasrām) I take *sata* in the sense of the Pāli *mahāsatta* or *bodhisatta*, and translate the former by “after the renunciation of the (*great*) being”, and the latter by “after the (*great*) being had renounced the world”.

I subjoin my new version of the Rūpnāth edict:—

(Line 1.) Devānāmpiya speaks as follows:—“More than two and a half years¹ (*had passed*) after I became a lay-hearer, but did not quite renounce the world. But more than six years (*have elapsed*) after I joined the clergy and quite renounced the world.

(Line 2.) “Those who at that time were (*considered by me*) the true gods of Jambudvīpa are now considered false (*by me*). For this is the fruit of renunciation. And this is not to be reached by might (*alone*). Even a lowly (*person*) may attain even the great heaven if he renounces the world.

¹ The syllable *ra* seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*.

(Line 3.) "And for this object (*this*) edict is issued, (*viz.*) that both the lowly and the exalted shall renounce the world, and that even the frontier tribes shall know (*it*). This very renunciation shall be a rule of long duration.¹

(Line 4.) "For this matter will grow and grow, and it will grow greatly. It will grow at least to one and a half. And cause ye this matter to be engraved on mountains. It is to be caused to be engraved on (*every*) stone column (*where*) there is a stone column, elsewhere and here.

(Line 5.) "And on the strength of this document (*people*) are to be caused to renounce the world everywhere, as far as your district (*reaches*)."

(*This*) edict is issued by (*the king*) who has renounced the world, 256 (*years*) after the renunciation of the (*great*) being (i.e. of the Bōdhisattva or prospective Buddha).

M. Senart has demonstrated² that the period of more than two and a half years during which Aśōka was only a lay-hearer fell between the beginning of the eighth and the end of the tenth years after his anointment. Consequently, the date of the Rūpnāth edict, which was issued more than six years after his renunciation (or after he "set out for the *sambodhi*", as the eighth edict expresses it), will be his seventeenth year. M. Senart has further shown³ that his twelfth year corresponded to about B.C. 259. Consequently, the Rūpnāth edict would fall in about B.C. 254, and the "renunciation of the (*great*) being" in about B.C. 254 + 256 = 510.

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HALLE (SAALE).

April 20, 1909.

¹ For *paka[rā va]* . . . *kiti* I restore *pakame va pakiti*.

² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 20, p. 231.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 242.

THE DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA

By reference to the description in the *Raghuvamśa* of the military expedition of Raghu against the Hūṇs the earliest and the lowest limits of the time during which Kālidāsa flourished have been approximately fixed by many learned scholars. The accounts which we get of the movements of the Ephthalites render it highly improbable that Kālidāsa could have flourished earlier than the fifth century of the Christian era. But it appears to me extremely doubtful whether the state of things disclosed by the poet in his description can justify us in placing him in the time of Yaśodharman.

The main proposition of Dr. Hoernle (JRAS., 1909, pp. 89-144), that the Śākāri-Vikramāditya, with whom the Mālava era is associated in the popular tradition of India, is no other than Yaśodharman, has been, in my humble opinion, very ably propounded and established. My contention is only in respect of a corollary regarding the time of Kālidāsa.

Anticipating as it were the suggestion of Dr. Hoernle, I scrutinized some time ago very carefully the writings of Kālidāsa to find out if there be any mention, by way of pun or otherwise, of any persons or incidents of historical note. It is the result of this investigation that I publish now to show that Kālidāsa could not be the court poet of Yaśodharman, and that the former must have preceded the latter. I shall set forth some historical facts first, and shall then show that we find them mentioned in the works of the poet.

1. However extensive the conquests of Yaśodharman may have been, that he, born in the country of Maru (Mālava), was known principally as the mighty king of Ujjayini, is amply proved by the very documents which have been adduced by Dr. Hoernle to make out his case. We learn also from his Mandasor inscription that

Yaśodharman, far from acknowledging the overlordship of the Imperial Guptas, most openly defied their authority.

It must again be noted regarding the Imperial Guptas that during their prosperous times they had at Puṣpapura (no matter whether it is Pāṭaliputra or not) a royal residence (F.G.I., pp. 5, 6). From the information which we can gather from the Purāṇas, we can say that though they had now this town and now another for their capital, these Guptas were regarded in local consideration as the lords of Magadha. On reference to the list of countries conquered by Samudra Gupta, we can see that excepting the Magadha-deśa all other countries are mentioned as annexed to his kingdom. Even though they were overlords, the Imperial Guptas were "Magadheśvaras".

Bearing these historical facts in mind, let us refer to stanzas 20-36 of the 6th canto of *Raghuvamśa*. In the assembly of the Rājās of all India, the "Magadheśvara" is described in very clear and unmistakable words as the overlord in India (vi, 22). It is for this reason that Indumati approaches him first (vi, 20); and though she does not elect him as her husband, she bows down to him (vi, 25) to do the honour specially due to the overlord of the country. The name of the capital of this overlord is given as Puṣpapura (vi, 24), the very name which we meet with in the inscription just referred to. The mention of continual celebration of the Vedic sacrificial rites in the 23rd stanza is of much importance, for we know that the Imperial Guptas have repeatedly mentioned in all their records that they restored the Vedic rites of sacrifice which had been long in abeyance.

I should also mention in this connection that though we do not find either in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or in the old Purāṇas, that the Rājā Dilīpa celebrated any Aśvamedha, yet this is a special subject for the delineation of the poet in the 3rd canto of the *Raghuvamśa*. It is also evident that the poet alluded to the lords of Magadha

of his time, for neither according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, nor consistently with the poet's own statement of the unrivalled supremacy of the Rājās of Kosala in the 1st canto, could the lords of Magadha be described as overlords in India when Aja married Indumati.

The Rājā of Ujjayinī is only third on the list (vi, 31), while Aṅga-rāja, belonging very likely to the Licchavi family, is second. Of the "Sāmanta" Rājās, no doubt the Rājā of Ujjayinī is described as the leader (vi, 33); but all the same he is but a "star" before the moon (vi, 22). Could such description be pleasing to Yaśodharman, who declared himself superior to the Imperial Guptas? Even if it be conceded that Kālidāsa flourished in his time, it cannot be said that Kālidāsa was the court poet of Yaśodharman.

2. We get the name of Śrī-Gupta as the first Rājā of the Imperial Guptas. The first Rājā of the kings of the Solar family has been described in the *Raghuvamśa* by the words *Praṇavaś chandasām iva* (i, 11). *Praṇavaḥ*, as is well known, is represented by one compound letter *Om*. The name of the first Rājā of the Guptas is also required to be written by one compound letter *Śrī*.

Clearer becomes the reference when we come across the words *Āsamudrakṣitīśānām* (i, 5). Those who became *kṣitīśas* (lords of the world) from the time of Samudra (i.e. Samudra Gupta) may be another meaning of the words. That a pun was intended by the poet is evident from the following fact:—*Āsamudrarājya*, or a phrase similar to that, would be the usual expression according to grammar and idiom. This construction, namely, the lords of the *kṣitī* which is *āsamudra*, or extended to the seas, is rather roundabout, though quite correct. We know that it was from the time of Samudra Gupta that the Gupta emperors assumed the title Mahārājādhirāja, and thus we can discover the allusion easily.

We then notice the line *Dilīpa iti rājendur induḥ kṣīranidhāv iva* (i, 12). Like Indu (i.e. Candra or moon) from the *kṣīranidhi* (i.e. Samudra or sea), it suggests the name of Candra Gupta II, son of Samudra Gupta.

The words *kumārajanma* (iii, 16) and *kumāro 'pi Kumāravikramah* (iii, 55), with reference to Raghu, son of Dilīpa, point perhaps by way of pun to Kumāra Gupta I, for he is also said to have derived his lustre from the sun (Vikramāditya), like a Bāla-Candramāḥ (iii, 22). The words *ā-kumāra-kathodghātam*, etc. (iv, 20), are similar in meaning and almost in form with what we read in the 12th line of the Bhiṭāri inscription (F.G.I., p. 54). Again, the words *Śriyam Mahendranāthasya jahāra* seem to allude to the title Mahendrāditya of Kumāra Gupta I (iv, 43).

Then again, with reference to the birth of Aja, it has been said that the queen of Raghu delivered (*susuve*) a Kumāra (son) who was Kumāra-kalpa (like Kumāra himself) (v, 36). The pun is quite complete here, for Kumāra and Skanda are the names of one god.

If all that I have stated be not considered untenable, can it not also be supposed that the work *Kumārasambhava* was so entitled with a view to please or humour the Rājā Kumāra Gupta I? There is a special reason for offering this suggestion. It was believed in the olden days, as we learn from the works on rhetoric, that the composition of a Mahākāvya had the effect of removing and avoiding diseases and calamities. If, however, during the composition of such a work any new disaster befell, the work might be considered to be inauspicious. We know that Kumāra Gupta met with some reverses, and Skanda Gupta (then a Yuvarāja) had to restore the family glory. It is not unlikely that for some such reason the completion of the *Kumārasambhava* was abandoned, and some choice stanzas of that work (vii, 56-67), as might be fittingly introduced, were

inserted subsequently in the *Raghuvamśa* (vii, 5-16). I need hardly mention that Kālidāsa is the author of only the first seven cantos of the *Kumārasambhava*.

Following thus in regular order the names of the Imperial Guptas, when we come upon the line *Skandena sāksād iva Devasenām* (*Raghuvamśa*, vii, 1), in the description of the happy union of Aja and Indumatī, we are inclined to regard it as an allusion to Skanda Gupta.

3. Let us suppose, just for the sake of a theory, that Kālidāsa commenced his career as a poet when quite a young man during the last decade of the reign of Kumāra Gupta I (say, by about 445 A.D.), and died a few years after the death of Skanda Gupta. We may proceed then to test the possibility of it by the facts which we may gather from the works of the poet.

I have already suggested a reason for the unfinished condition of the *Kumārasambhava*. I consider next a point of some importance regarding the purpose which Kālidāsa had in view when he commenced the composition of the *Raghuvamśa*. It has been stated in the introductory portion of the poem that the poet would sing the unmingled glory of the heroes he undertook to describe (i, 2-9). But the subsequent development of the poem shows another state of things. From the 16th to the 19th canto the decline and fall of the Kosala Rājās has been depicted. Lakṣmī (the goddess of good luck) grew restless when a partition of the kingdom was effected. The pitiable condition of the empire as described by the goddess may be easily imagined to be the exact picture of what took place at the death of Skanda Gupta when the Hūṇs became powerful (xvi, 1-22).

Consistently with the original purpose of the poet as declared in the beginning of the 1st canto, the poem perhaps ended with the 15th as the last canto where the career of the ideal hero Rāma comes to an end. Cantos xvi to xix may have been added subsequently

to impart some wholesome advice to the unworthy successor or successors of the departed Mahārāja, when a gloom was cast over the whole country.

We know that after the death of Skanda Gupta one branch of the family commenced to reign in the eastern country, while another branch was exercising its influence over the tract lying between the Kālindi and the Narmadā (F.G.I., p. 89). The partition mentioned by the poet in the 16th canto refers very likely to such a state of things, for in the word *purojanmatayā* of the 1st stanza the name of Pura Gupta seems to be suggested.

4. We are not in possession of any definite information regarding the Puṣyamitras who had to be subdued by Skanda Gupta when he was Yuvarāja. In view of the political condition of India in those days, it may be supposed that troubles came from or arose in Mālava. It might be that when Skanda Gupta was Yuvarāja he had to stay for some time in Mālava to quell some disturbance. It is a supposition merely, but I seek to connect with it the stanza of the *Meghadūta* (pt. i, 47),¹ wherein the cloud is asked to shed flowers and holy water on the head of *Skanda* while going to Daśapura from Ujjayinī. *Skanda* is there said to have been stationed by his father to subdue the enemies.

5. I now examine the accounts of the military expedition of Raghu against the Hūṇs. Whatever may be the true interpretation of the passage in the *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara* (T.K.S., ii, 563 ff.), there is no doubt of the fact that during the early years of his reign Skanda Gupta had come in contact with the Hūṇs before the latter conquered Gāndhāra (F.G.I., p. 56). Even if as a matter of fact Skanda Gupta did not make any such expedition as a *digvijaya*, a poet admiring him for his success in the conflict with the Puṣyamitras and the Hūṇs may invent

¹ The edition of G. R. Nandargikar is referred to. In other editions this is the 44th stanza of the Pūrva-Megha.

a *divvijaya* for him. The only thing we have carefully to consider is whether the description of the poet is consistent with the state of things of the time of Yaśodharman.

When, during the last days of the reign of Bālāditya, Yaśodharman defeated Mihirakula, the Hūṇs had their settlement in India proper, and the town of Siālkoṭ was the capital of Mihirakula. But the Hūṇs are described by Kālidāsa as foreigners like the Persians, and Raghu's soldiers had to proceed farther north (*kauverīm diśam*), after having defeated the Persians, to meet the Hūṇs in their own land (iv, 66-68). As Kambojas were conquered next in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Hūṇs (iv, 69), the Hūṇs had not become by that time the lords of Gāndhāra. The Bhitāri inscription proves clearly that even before the Hūṇs acquired supremacy over Gāndhāra, Skanda Gupta had to fight against them.

6. It remains to be seen whether Dignāga, the famous disciple of Vasubandhu, could be a contemporary of Kālidāsa, if for the literary career of Kālidāsa, who produced so many works, a period of thirty-five years, from 445 to 480, be assigned.

Without going into minor details in respect of dates, it may be asserted on the authority of Dr. Takakusu (JRAS., 1905, 33 ff.) that Vasubandhu was very old when Skanda Gupta was the emperor of Northern India. This fact is alone sufficient to show that what Mallinātha writes in his commentary in the thirteenth century A.D. on the 14th stanza of the *Meghadūta* can be easily reconciled with the date set forth above. As Dr. Takakusu accepted wrongly the year 480 A.D. as the date of Skanda Gupta's death, he set down 420-500 as the whole lifetime of Vasubandhu. Vasubandhu, who was very old when Skanda Gupta was reigning, and died only a short time after Bālāditya had ascended the throne, cannot be supposed to have died twenty years after 480 A.D. Conceding the date 480 to be the correct

time when Skanda died, the date of Vasubandhu's death cannot be later than 485. In that case Vasubandhu was 40 years old in 445. The disciple of his, who was very intelligent, can be taken to be younger than him only by ten years or thereabout. Dignāga can be imagined to have been a grown-up man of some fame when Kālidāsa composed his *Meghadūta*.

Let me, however, consider carefully as to the exact date of Skanda Gupta's death. When a loyal governor of the Guptas at Daśapura recorded the fact of some repairs having been done to a temple originally built during the time of Kumāra Gupta I, he did not fail in his loyalty to mention the name of Kumāra Gupta in 472 A.D. (F.G.I., pp. 79-84). Could it be possible for such a loyal governor to omit the name of Skanda Gupta (even though the latter might have been reduced to insignificance) if he were then alive? Merely because no epigraphic record can be found of the successor of Skanda Gupta earlier than 480, it cannot be held that Skanda Gupta lived till that date. It is difficult to believe that Skanda Gupta Vikramāditya was transformed into Pura Gupta Prakāśāditya (JRAS., 1909, p. 129).

The plate of Bandhuvarman just referred to discloses also the fact that many other Rājās became powerful since the time of Kumāra Gupta I (F.G.I., p. 83, l. 20). What this means we can understand by reference to the then rising power of the Hūns, and also with reference to F.G.I., p. 89, which informs us that the tract of the country lying between the Kālindī and the Jamnā came under the rule of one who was in some way or other connected with the Gupta family.

It is pretty certain that Skanda Gupta died without leaving any male issue. In that case he must have elected a son of his brother (as was, and is still, customary in India) as his successor, and made him a crown prince. Possibly Pura Gupta, taking advantage of the situation,

himself became the king. It may also be possible that Pura Gupta and Bālāditya commenced to rule the eastern countries simultaneously by splitting up the kingdom, as is expressed by Kālidāsa by the words *bhinno 'ṣṭadhā viprasasāra varṇsah* (*Raghuvamśa*, xvi, 3).

Thus, as in 472 A.D. the duly elected successor of Skanda Gupta did not become supreme over Mālava, the loyal governor of the Guptas at Daśapura had reasons not to mention the name of any overlord when the temple was repaired.

Skanda Gupta then must have died some time between 468 and 472 A.D. According to this calculation the date of Vasubandhu's death must be fixed at about 480. Readjustment of these dates has become very necessary, and scholars like Dr. Fleet and Dr. Hoernle may be requested to undertake the task.

7. I must mention another fact before I conclude. Kālidāsa does not appear to have been the court poet of any Rājā at all. He must have earned a good deal by writing his works, and by being rewarded by the Imperial Guptas. He seemed to have lived principally at Ujjain, where he composed his drama *Śakuntalā*. He did not dedicate this drama to any Rājā, but presented it for being enacted at the local festival of the god Mahākāla. It may be that during his last days the poet became very closely associated with the Imperial Guptas.

When the poet commenced to compose the *Raghuvamśa* he must have had the Imperial Guptas in view; for, had his subject been only the ancestors of Rāma, he would not have stated that his imagination was fired by *hearing* only the glorious deeds of the heroes, and not by *reading* them. *Tad-guṇāṇiḥ karṇam āgatya cāpalāya pracoditah* is the line in the Introduction (i, 9). This also shows that the poet lived far away from the capital of the Guptas, though he was attached to the Rājās.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

THE ROOT GUP AND THE GUPTAS

In the latest number of the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* (ZDMG., lxii, pp. 671–6) Dr. Bloch has revived the theory of Mr. Cakravarti (see this Society's *Journal* for 1903, pp. 183–6; 1904, pp. 158–61) to the effect that the *Raghuvamśa* belongs to the time of the Guptas, and also Dr. Grierson's suggestion (*id.*, 1903, p. 363) of a punning reference in the poem to their name. He cites the verse IV, 20—

रघुच्छायनिषादिन्यस्तस्य गोप्त्रगुणोदयम् ।

आकुमारकथोद्घातं शालिगोष्यो जगुर्यशः ॥

and urges that the combination of the words रघु with गोप्त्र and गोष्यो is meant to imply a comparison of the Gupta family with that of Raghu, the Ikṣvāku.

As Dr. Bloch remarks, there is nothing specially noticeable in the mention of sugar-cane plantations near to rice-fields (*cf.* *Harṣacarita*, ed. Bombay, 1892, p. 104, ll. 10 and 13); nor should I see any reason for thinking of the Ikṣvākus were it not for the fact (to which Dr. Bloch has not drawn attention) that the second line begins with आकु. This does indeed render it possible that Kālidāsa may have meant the śloka to ring with the name Ikṣvāku; and what wonder, considering that it is the family of Ikṣvāku that he is celebrating? I seem to remember having met elsewhere with native etymologies of the name.

I must, however, demur to the supposition that any reference to the Guptas is contained in the syllables गोप्त्र and गोष्यो. I may urge the following reasons:—

1. The root गुप् in the sense of “protecting” or “governing” is far from infrequent in all periods of Sanskrit literature, beginning with the R̥g-Veda (राष्ट्रं गुपितं चक्षियस्व). See Böhtlingk & Roth's lexicon *s.vv.* गुप् and गोप्त्र. It is often found side by side with रक्ष.

2. Forms from the root are quite common in Kālidāsa's works. I may cite—

Kumārasambhava :—

- II, 52. गोप्तारं सुरसैन्यानां.
[VI, 38. गुप्तावपि मनोहरं.]
VII, 50. नगेन्द्रगुप्तं नगरं.

Raghuvamśa :—

- I, 21. जुगोपात्मानमत्रस्तो.
55. तस्मै सभ्या सभार्याय गोप्ते गुप्ततमेन्द्रियाः.
II, 3. जुगोप गोरूपधरामिवोर्वीम्.
4. न चान्यतस्तस्य शरीररचा
स्ववीर्यगुप्ता हि मनोः प्रसूतिः ॥
14. तस्मिन् वनं गोप्तरि गाहमाने.

Vikramorvaśī :—

- V, v. 1. येन तत्प्रथमं स्त्रियं गोप्तरेव गृहे कृतम्.

Mālavikāgnimित्रा (Bombay Sanskrit Series) :—

- p. 153. वसुमित्रं गोप्तारमादिक्ष्य.
p. 162 (Act V, v. 20).

आशास्त्रमीतिविगमप्रभृति प्रजानां
संपत्स्यते न खलु गोप्तरि नापिमित्रे ॥

The word गोप्तृ is also employed by Bhavabhūti in the *Mahāvīracarita*, Act II, v. 7 ; III, v. 35 ; V, v. 30 ; and *Uttararāmacarita*, Act VII, v. 13.

3. It is not likely that anyone will seek a reference to the Guptas in all the passages from Kālidāsa. But we may point out that in at least two of them such an allusion, if it really existed, would be contemptuous, and would therefore imply that the author belonged to a power opposed to the Guptas ; these are—

Kumārasambhava, VI, 38, गुप्तावपि मनोहरं ;

Raghuvamśa, II, 4, स्ववीर्यगुप्ता, etc. ;

the latter of which would suggest a contempt for a king

who was not स्ववीर्यगुप्त, but Candragupta, Kumāragupta, Samudragupta, Skandagupta, etc.

With these two passages we must associate one of the two in which an allusion to the Guptas has actually been recognized, namely—

Raghuvamśa, I, 21, जुगोपात्मानमत्रस्तो,

concerning which I may also point out, (a) that a similar expression occurs in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, III, 6, 2, 9 (आत्मात्मानं गोप्स्यति), (b) that the appropriateness of the expression has been made quite clear by Mallinātha in his explanation of the passage, where he points out that the king (in accordance with the precepts of *Niti*) guarded his person (आत्मानं = शरीरं, and cf. the passage II, 4), without fear, as being the chief vehicle (साधन) for attaining the three objects, *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*. The whole description, of which the verse forms a part, refers to the lessons of the *Nitisāstra*.

I now return for a moment to the passage IV, 20, cited by Dr. Bloch. Here Kālidāsa has been finding in all the features of the autumn season a bearing upon his hero's praise. Coming to the sugar-cane fields and rice-fields, he says that "the women guarding the rice-fields, as they sat in the shade of the sugar-canes [which they could do if the canes grew thickly, as is implied by the form छाय; see Mallinātha's note and reference to Pāṇini, II, 4, 22, where the word दृष्टुच्छाय is quoted by the *Kāśikā*], sang the well-merited glory of him their protector, beginning with his boyhood [or 'together with their boys' ¹]. The appropriateness of the word गोप्तुर् here lies in the fact that it was the monarch's protection which really rendered the rice and sugar crops safe (a common idea in Indian rustic folk-song), and in the assonance with the word गोप्तो. I can find no room for an allusion to the Guptas,

¹ This second rendering is the more probable in view of the above-cited passage from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II, 6, 15).

which must in any case have been difficult to effect owing to the passive form of the name. And this brings me to what I cannot but consider a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory. In the Mandasor inscription of A.D. 473, which Mr. A. B. Keith has adduced above (pp. 433 sqq.) with reference to Dr. Hoernle's article, there occurs this passage :—

कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी प्रशासति ॥ २३ ॥
 समानधीः शुक्रबृहस्पतीनां
 ललामभूतो भुवि पार्थिवानाम् ।
 रणेषु यः पार्थसमानकर्मा
 बभूव गोप्ता नृपविश्ववर्मा ॥ २४ ॥

Here Viśvavarman is गोप्ता, and his overlord is Kumāragupta.

F. W. THOMAS.

THE ELEPHANT STATUES OF AGRA AND DELHI

Much has been written about these statues by Cunningham, Keene, and others. But apparently no notice has hitherto been taken of the statement of Jahangir to the effect that in the 11th year of his reign he had full-sized figures of the Rānā of Chitor (Amr Singh) and his son Karan carved out of marble, and that he directed they should be taken to Agra and set up in the garden below the Darshan Jharoka (exhibition window). He does not say they were mounted statues, unless the word *tarkīb* in the clause *ba tarkībī ki dārand* (Persian text, p. 162) means this. But even if not originally mounted statues, may they not afterwards have been set up on Akbar's stone elephants, or on the Gwalior elephant? The earliest mention of elephant statues is in the Ayin Akbari, where we are told (Persian text, ii, 441) that "At the Western Gate are two elephants of stone with their mahouts

(*pīlbānān*) graven with exquisite skill". In Colonel Jarrett's translation, ii, 180, the word "western" is rendered "eastern", and Cunningham, who translates the word in the same way, remarks in consequence that the elephants were set up in front of the river gate, saying, "The *eastern* gate of the Fort of Agra is the *river* gate." Upon this Mr. Keene remarks, "By no possibility can the situation ascribed to them [by Abul-Fazl and Finch] be understood as in front of the river gate." But General Cunningham's remark and Mr. Keene's difficulty seem to be negatived by the fact that the word translated "eastern" is *bākhtar*. Now, Colonel Jarrett, in a note at p. 278 of vol. ii of his translation, tells us that although the terms *khāwar* and *bākhtar* are often misapplied, Abul-Fazl invariably uses *bākhtar* for west and *khāwar* for east. This will be seen to be correct from the original of p. 278 (ii, 513, of Persian text), where Agra is described as being *khāwarrūi* from Delhi (i.e. east of it). Similarly, it will be found that in the description of the boundaries of Tirah and Kūch Bihar at pp. 512 and 716 of vol. iii of the *Akbar-nāma*, the word *bākhtar* is used to mean west. It must, then, have been through inadvertence that the accomplished translator has rendered *bākhtar* at p. 180, i.e., as "eastern". In the same passage the word which has been rendered "riders" by Cunningham and Jarrett is *pīlbānān*, literally, elephant-drivers, and this must, I think, mean mahouts and not rajahs. If, then, Bernier saw two rajahs on the elephants, it seems probable that there were four figures in all. And this is what Mr. Keene tells us in his Delhi Guide, App. A, for he says the "resolute riders are to be found in the verandah of the Museum, and two other mutilated *torsos* are by them and are supposed to have represented the mahouts". Two of the four, then, may possibly be the statues of the Rānā and his son mentioned by Jahangir. The difficulty, however, and it is a serious one, is that Jahangir speaks

of the statues being of marble, whereas those now at Delhi appear to be of red sandstone.

As pointed out by Cunningham, neither Hawkins nor Finch say anything about elephants, and Finch's description of the position of the figures as being *over* the gate seems to negative the idea that there were elephants, for stone elephants would be too heavy for such a position. Of course, the figures that Finch saw could not have been Jahangir's statues, for Finch was in Agra in 1611, and Jahangir's statues were not sent there till at least August, 1616. Jahangir's statues may have been the figures mentioned in Purchas's note, which was probably made about 1625, but Purchas never was in India, and his note is too incorrect to be relied upon.

The Catalogue of the Delhi Museum contains in Appendix I an article on the elephant statues by Mr. Froude Tucker, the Curator. It states that "the theories which derive them [the elephant statues] from Gwalior, and again from Agra Fort, can easily be proved without foundation". This does not seem to be quite accurately expressed, for apparently it was only one elephant that was supposed to have been brought from Gwalior. Nor was anything said in the inscription on the statues which used to stand in the Queen's Gardens, Dehli, about the statues once having been at Agra. The inscription, which may be read in Eastwick's Handbook for Bengal, etc., p. 322, only spoke of one elephant, and said that it had been removed from Gwalior to Shah Jahan's new palace, i.e. in Shahjahanabad or New Delhi, in 1645. This inscription was put up in 1866, and one would like to think that there was some authority for the statements made in it. If the Queen's Garden elephant was not the Gwalior elephant, what has become of the latter? It does not seem to be at Gwalior now, and that there was a stone-elephant at Gwalior we know from Bābar and Finch. Bābar in his Memoirs, p. 383 of

Erskine, says "on the outside of this gate [at Gwalior Fort] is the figure of an elephant", and he adds the interesting circumstance that it had *two* elephant-drivers (*filbānān*). This elephant was also seen by Finch in March, 1610. He says in his description of Gwalior, "At the top of all is another strong gate, at which is a curious colossal figure of an elephant in stone."

I regret to say that I have not seen the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey for 1905-6, but perhaps this is not of material consequence, as Mr. Tucker states that his note contains the essential facts of the case.

H. BEVERIDGE.

THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE KHUSRAU BĀGH AT ALLAHABAD

During my recent residence at Allahabad my attention was drawn to the interesting article on Sultan Khusrau by Mr. Beveridge, which appeared in the Society's Journal for July, 1907, and I took the opportunity of comparing my transcripts of the inscriptions on the three tombs in the Khusrau Bāgh with the copies supplied to Mr. Beveridge. In the case of the most westerly tomb, that of Shāh Begam, the inscriptions consist only of the two quatrains given by Mr. Beveridge. They are both perfectly clear and distinct and correspond with Mr. Beveridge's version, except that in the second quatrain آئینه مه, "the moon's mirror," should be read instead of آئینه مهر, "the sun's mirror."

The long inscription of twelve baits in Khusrau's own tomb is also well-preserved and quite clear and legible. The words گلبنی هرجاکه at the beginning of the fourth bait have become completely obliterated, but with this exception the inscription is perfect. The only actual mistakes made by Mr. Burn's copyist are in the third

line, the first half of which should read هركجا زد شعله ; خاکسترش برباد شد ; in the fifth line, where خار should be read for حاك ; and in the last line, where the first word should be سلمى . There are, however, some minor peculiarities which tend to show that an Indian copyist introduced his own individuality into the copy, e.g., عندليبانرا for عندليبانرا , the reading of the inscription, and لائق for لايق in the first chronogram.

The inscriptions in the third building are unfortunately in a very imperfect and incomplete state.

There are practically four inscriptions, a small one over the southern door giving the chronogram 1034 Hijri, while inside the square building two lines of inscriptions run completely round the four sides, the upper row being about 20 feet and the lower row about 9 feet from the floor of the building. The upper row consisted of a single poem in the Hazaj metre (catalectic and with the zihafs known as kharb and kaff), with ل as its rhyming letter, containing originally sixteen lines, ten of which are wholly or partially preserved.

The lower row comprises two distinct poems, the first of which is in the Ramal metre and has م as its rhyming letter, while the second is in the ordinary catalectic Hazaj and its rhyming letter is ا . The first poem originally contained eight lines, two of which exist complete, while two others lack the first half and part of the second half. The second poem is even more defaced, as only one line out of the original ten lines is preserved in entirety, and there are only three other lines of which as much as half still remains.

Mr. Burn's copyist has made a most extraordinary and inaccurate mixture of six and a half lines taken from various parts of the first two of these poems, ignoring the legible portion of the third entirely.

Fortunately I have found it possible to trace the second poem, which is a ghazal of the Persian poet *Khāqāni* and will be found at p. 1139 of the Lucknow edition of his *Kulliyāt*. The complete ghazal, according to the Lucknow text, runs as follows:—

وقت آنست کزین دار فنا در گذریم کاروان رفته و ما بر سر راه سفریم
 زاده هیچ نداریم چه تدبیر کنیم سفر دور درازد ولی بینجیم
 بدر و مادر و فرزند و عزیزان رفتند وه چه ما غافل و مستیم چه کوه نظیریم
 دمبدم میگذردند از نظر ما یاران اینقدر دیده نداریم که بر خود نگریم
 خانه و خانقه و منزل ما زیر زمین ما بتدبیر سرا ساختن و بام و دریم
 خانه اصلی ما گوشه خواستان ست خرم آنروز که این رخت بران خانه بریم
 گر همه مملکت و مال جهان جمع کنیم لبک جز پیرهن گور زد دنیا نسیریم
 باد شاها تو کریمی و رحیمی و غفور دست ما گیر که در مانده و بی بال و پریم
 یارب از لطف و کرم عاقبت خاقانی خیر گردان تو که مادر طلب خواب و خوریم

The sixth and seventh of these lines are still perfect, though the second half of the sixth reads ما بجز پیرهنی, "we carry away only a shroud from the world." The fourth line has only برخود نگریم missing at the end. Apparently the fifth line in the Lucknow edition was the line which was omitted. The second half of the sixth line, which Beale wrongly took to be the first line of the verses, is no longer visible. It is noteworthy that this poem and that above it, and also the inscription in *Khusrāu's* tomb, all begin in the middle of the western side of the building, i.e. on the side looking towards Mecca.

The only line completely preserved out of the third poem is the fourth—

بگفتی حال شان بودی زبان سوسن ارگویا
 چه میداند کسی حال گل اندامان بزرگ

“What can one know of the state of the rosy-bodied
neath the soil, only the lily if it became vocal could
describe their state.”

I am not devoid of hope that it may be possible to trace the two remaining poems in this cenotaph in the collected works of some standard poet, as it is evident that they are not the production of poetasters of the type responsible for ordinary memorial verses.

The *miṣrā'* **در شارع دین کوه صفت سنگی و کاهل** in the upper row, which Mr. Burn's copyist has represented as being the first half of a line, is in reality the second half, containing the rhyming letter.

It is not surprising that Mr. Beveridge found himself unable to translate the first line of the chronogram over the door of this tomb. The copy supplied to him apparently ran—

برد ملایک رحمت اسمیشه نور نثار

The correct reading is **برو**, “on it,” for **برد**, and **همیشه**, “always,” for the meaningless **اسمیشه**. The meaning consequently is “On it (i.e. the tomb) the angels of mercy are ever pouring light”, the metre being a common variety of the *Mujtass*.

R. P. DEWHURST.

THE METRES OF THE JAUNPUR PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS

The indispensable nature of a knowledge of the common metres employed by Persian poets is well known to all who have ever read any Persian poetry, and to the decipherer of more or less imperfect inscriptions in Persian verse such a knowledge is, naturally, quite as necessary. It is astonishing, therefore, to find in a volume issued with the imprimatur of the Archæological Survey of India a series of the most elementary blunders in Persian prosody.

In the volume on the Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur all the chief Persian inscriptions found at Jaunpur have been incorporated in the text, and in most cases the metre is specifically mentioned. I have noted the following errors :—

1. In one of the bridge inscriptions the chronogram

تاریخ بنای آن چو جستم از غیب گفتند پل محمد منعم خان
is said to be in the Mujtass metre, whereas it is really a common variety of the Hazaj, generally used in rubā'is.

2. The rubā'i inscription on the mosque of Hakim Sultan Muhammad is said to be in the Mujtass metre.

3. The inscription over the door of Shah Kabir's mosque, giving the chronogram

سال تاریخ تمامیش خرد کرد زقم منزل باک عبادت که اصحاب کبیر
is again described as being in the Mujtass metre, the metre really being catalectic Ramal.

4. The chronogram over the door of Zahid Khan's mosque, عبادت خانه زاهد رقم کرد, is noted as being Ramal instead of catalectic trimeter Hazaj.

5. The inscription over the door of the Zafarabad shrine, beginning بعهد ملک ذوالقرنین ثانی, is given as being Ramal instead of the variety of the Hazaj just noted.

6. The inscription on the pulpit in Babar's mosque at Ayodhya, beginning بمنتشای بابر خدیو جهان, is said to be in the Ramal metre, although really in an exceedingly common form of the Mutaqarib.

7. The inscription over the door of the same mosque, containing the following line mentioning the date, 930 Hijri, of its construction—

بنای عهد دین تاریخ میمون که نهصد سی بود هجرت بدانی
is described as being Ramal instead of the catalectic trimeter Hazaj.

It seems difficult, in the face of elementary errors of

this type, to endorse the eulogium in the preface to the "trained and varied scholarship" of the contributor of the letterpress, for which the Director-General of the Archæological Survey at the time was responsible.

R. P. DEWHURST.

IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM

In the new Catalogue of the Delhi Archæological Museum, p. 12, there is the entry of an autotype of a picture in Colonel Hanna's collection which is described as "Angels ministering unto Christ", No. 21. This is a mistake, though a very natural one, of Colonel Hanna's. The picture is really one of an alleged incident in the life of Leigh Hunt's saint Ibrāhīm bin Adham. This is proved by the fact, pointed out to me by Colonel Hanna, that at the bottom of the picture there are the words Ibrāhīm (bin) Adham in Persian. The story to which the picture refers is told in the *Siyaru-l-Aqṭab* of Allah Diyah; which work is described in Rieu's Catalogue, I, p. 358*b*. It occurs at p. 38 of Newal Kishore's edition of the book. The statement there given is that after resigning his kingdom Ibrāhīm came in the course of his travels to the bank of the Tigris. There he found a dervish to whom an angel used to bring every evening a plate of food. To Ibrāhīm, as he sat beside him, ten plates were brought. The dervish was envious, and said: "O God, I have established myself on this spot for many years, and there never has been brought to me more than one plate. This my guest has lately become a faquir, and to him ten dishes have been brought. What has he done that he should be brought so many?" A voice replied: "You were a poor man, and had much difficulty in getting any food. What has been brought is ample for such a one as you. But this dear man (Ibrāhīm) flung away his

kingdom for love of me. What has been brought for him is a very small recompense."

The figure on the right hand of the picture is no doubt intended for the discontented dervish.

H. BEVERIDGE.

BAUDHĀYANA PARIBHĀSĀSŪTRA, KHAṆḌA VII

In the last Śloka of the description of the tree of sacrifice in the *Baudhāyana Sūtra* the MSS. read—

*pākayajñā haviryajñāḥ somayajñās ca te trayah |
sthītā mūleṣu yajñeṣu pramādī teṣu sīdati ||*

Caland, in his interesting paper on the Sūtra,¹ renders, "Die Kochopfer, die Haviṣopfer und das Somaopfer, diese drei stehen an den Wurzeln, bei diesen Opfern sitz der Unachtsame." But in a note he adds, "Das bedeutet ? . . . Hat man vielleicht *pramāditeṣu* zu lesen."

The doubt as to the reading of the passage seems quite unnecessary if we realize the exact force of *pramādī* and *sīdati* and the point of *teṣu*, which Dr. Caland wishes to banish from the text. The verse says in effect that the three sacrifices named are the *mūlāni*, or fundamental categories of sacrifices in general, as is the case, the *pākayajñāḥ* representing the Grhya ritual, the *haviryajñāḥ* and the *somayajñāḥ* being the two great divisions of the Śrauta ritual.² It then goes on to say that "he who is careless in regard to these sacrifices comes to ruin", or perhaps "he who in sacrificing is careless with regard to these (sacrifices)", *yajñeṣu* either agreeing with *teṣu* or being taken independently: the sense in either case is practically the same; *teṣu* is emphatic, and its disappearance would spoil the sense of the passage. The locative is of

¹ *Ueber das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 35, n. 2.

² See e.g. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur*, p. 41.

course idiomatic ; cf. e.g. *Rāme pramādaṃ mā kārṣiḥ* (*Rāmāyaṇa*, ii, 40, 4), or *apramādo bale koṣe* (ibid., ed. Gorr., ii, 52, 6). So with the verb, e.g. *triṣv apramādyann eteṣu* (Manu, ii, 232).

The verse is interesting, as its language shows clearly its comparatively late origin.¹ *Pramādin* in the sense of "careless" is not known to the early Vedic language, and similarly the use of *sīdati* is only beginning to be found in the later parts of the Brāhmaṇas, as e.g. *paśavaḥ sīdanti* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi, 2, 7, 32), which refers to cattle becoming thin ; the use of men does not seem to be found in the Brāhmaṇas proper, and, like *pramādin*, the word is epic and Śāstra in character.

I may add that in *Śrauta Sūtra*, xxvi, 7, *abhipupūrayiṣet* must be read for the not only unparalleled² but impossible *abhipūrayiṣet*, and again in the passage from the *Gṛhya Sūtra*, ii, 2, cited by Caland (p. 31), it is not necessary to alter *patanty amoghās* into *patantv amoghās*. The present expresses the result desired by the user of the spell. The spell effects what it is desired to effect ; by representing the desired as actual, it is felt that it is made actual. Nor is there any need to manufacture a particle *veva*, or to convert it into *vāva*. All the examples can be otherwise disposed of. In xvi, 31 ; 32 ; xix, 4, the expression is *u veva*, which is only graphic for *u* plus *eva*, which properly gives *v eva*, as in *tad v eva* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i, 6, 3, 16) or *yad v eva* (ibid., iv, 3, 3, 17), but in all the cases cited the syllable preceding *u* is *a(h)*, and the irregular Sandhi is easily intelligible. In the last passage, xxi, 13, the MSS. read *evaṃ ha sma cuiva* (or

¹ Cf. Caland, op. cit., p. 30. I do not lay any stress on the evidence for late date from the astronomical date of the Karmānta section (ibid., pp. 37 seq., citing Barth). To take Indian dates of the pre-Greek period seriously is waste of time.

² Caland, p. 44. There is, however, a parallel in *Āitareya Aranyaka*, v, 3, 3, where the MSS. and edd. read *kīrtayiṣet* after a meaningless *ca*, but where I restore *cikīrtayiṣet* ; see my ed., p. 304.

dvaiva) *pūrve* 'bhīrāmyanti, and there is no good reason to deny *caiva* as possible.¹

In ii, 15, the series of *api* is confusing.² The passage reads: *nāgnyādheye gāṃ kurvīta ghorarūpam iti; kurvītaivāpi tv eva na kurvītāpi bahvīr api kurvītānu vaitusya bhavet puṇyā praśaṃseti Kātyaḥ*. The second last *api* cannot be *yadyarthe* as say Bhavasvāmin and Keśavasvāmin; the solution of the problem is simple: *api* in *api tv eva na kurvīta* and *api bahvīr . . . kurvīta* introduces a new sentence, giving an alternative: "he may sacrifice (one cow), or he may not sacrifice (a cow at all), or he may sacrifice even (*api*) many cows," the second *api* marking out *bahvīr* as contrasted with the solitary cow mentioned before, and being necessarily placed after that word, as *api* already stood before it in another sense.³ The use of *sa* in a quasi-adverbial sense⁴ is not confined to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* or *Baudhāyana*,⁵ and the uses of *iva* illustrated by Caland (pp. 49, 51) are common in the *Brāhmaṇa* style.⁶

The correct use of the tenses of the indicative⁷ is certainly a mark of the true *Brāhmaṇa* character of the passages in which the tenses are so used. But it should be noted that these passages are shown not to be very early by the fact that the perfect, as in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, occurs freely as a narrative tense,⁸ and again

¹ In the Atharvan *Prāyascitta Sūtra*, i, 5, for the MSS. *dvaicainam* I would read *haivainam*, and not *vainainam* as Caland, VOJ., xviii, 199.

² Caland, p. 51.

³ Cf. Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 526-7.

⁴ Caland, pp. 45-6.

⁵ See my *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 246.

⁶ Ibid., p. 165. Cf. also JRAS., 1908, p. 1192. Very possibly Professor Jacobi's version (JRAS., 1909, pp. 421-3) of *arthamātera* in *Parīṣiṣṭa Parvan*, ii, 317, is correct, but the use of *iva* as practically *eva* is certain. A good example is *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, iii, 160, *sa u tṛṇdanṇ iva* (or *evā*) *utariṣaṃ śirṣṇābhyayāt*, on which compare Hopkins' note, JAOS., xxvi, 66, n. 1.

⁷ Caland, p. 47.

⁸ See e.g. xx, 22, where the narrative tense is the perfect. For the criterion see references in my *Āitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 172; JRAS., 1909, p. 150.

the date of the Brāhmaṇa passages proves nothing for the date of the Sūtra passages.¹

The text of xxi, 1, presents, if correct, a curious example of the interchange of an indicative and an indefinite optative: *sa yad aśanānām kāmayera tasyāśito bhūtvā dīkṣate yad vā labhate tasya* | This is not impossible,² but I incline to prefer the obvious correction *kāmayera*, one palæographically very easy.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

A QUOTATION FROM THE AITAREYA ĀRANYAKA

The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* is so little noticed in the later literature—outside the philosophic Sūtras and the commentaries on them—that it is worth while calling attention to a citation from it which is found in a very unexpected quarter, a book of the Kāmasāstra, Revanārādhyā's *Smaratattvaparakāśikā*, which is certainly a late work.³ This worthless treatise illustrates the third verse of Viranārādhyā's *Pañcaratna* by a long series of quotations, in part Upaniṣadic. Following citations from the *Brhad-āraṇyaka*, vi, 4, 20, and the *Chāndogya*, v, 7, 1 seq., comes a quotation from a Yajurveda Upaniṣad (*athādiprajaṃ mātā pūrvarūpaṃ pitottararūpaṃ prajā⁴ saṃdhiḥ prajananaṃ saṃdhānam*), and then: *Aitareyakopaniṣadi | athātaḥ Prajāpatisaṃhitā jāyā pūrvarūpaṃ patir uttararūpaṃ putra(h)⁵ saṃdhiḥ prajananaṃ saṃdhānam* | This citation is not identified by Dr. R. Schmidt, no doubt for the same reason as has led Professor Geldner⁶ astray

¹ Cf. JRAS., 1907, p. 410. Caland is inclined, I think, to overestimate the age of the Sūtra; see p. 11.

² Cf. JRAS., 1909, pp. 152 seq.

³ See R. Schmidt's ed. in VOJ., xviii, 261 seq.

⁴ So we must read: not *prajāsaṃdhiḥ* as Schmidt, p. 274.

⁵ Schmidt reads *putrasaṃdhiḥ*, but this is impossible, and is simply an instance of the usual carelessness of MSS. in omitting Visarga.

⁶ See my note, JRAS., 1908, p. 366, n. 3.

with regard to another similar citation from the *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, viz. that the title *Aitareya Upaniṣad* is frequently, and quite correctly—for the contents are Upaniṣadic—applied to both books ii and iii of the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, and is not confined to *Āraṇyaka*, ii, 4–6, the Upaniṣad *par excellence*. The reference is to *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, iii, 1, 6, which is quite correctly cited. The parallel passage, *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, vii, 16,¹ is slightly more elaborate.

It is somewhat curious, in view of the accuracy of most of the citations in the *Smaratattvaparakāśikā*, to find the authorship of *nāputrasya loko astīti* (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 13, 12; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sutra*, xv, 17) ascribed² vaguely to the Yajus.³

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

“BALYO,” “VALEY,” = VALAI

In the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, on pp. 177–9, is a description by Teixeira of the Ceylon pearl fishery, in the course of which the writer says—

“They call the oyster[s] *chipo*. They may not open these until the day fixed by the officers of the camp, after the fishery is over. This is generally of two *balyos*, of eight working days each . . . When two *balyos* are not enough, they allow half a *balyo* more, or even a whole one. The fishermen or divers are regularly paid, and have also their own catch; save that every day they must give one dive each to the owner of the boat, at his choice; and at the end of each week, one whole day's fishing.”

In a footnote to the above I said: “I cannot explain *balyo*, unless (as Mr. H. Beveridge suggests) it represents

¹ See my *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 310.

² Schmidt, p. 276, is misled into making the quotation stop at *asti*. But it ends with *iti*, as in the original.

³ The *Nārāyana Upaniṣad* passage cited at p. 274 is 16, 5.

Sanskrit *pāla*, a turn of work." However, I have recently come across a passage in the *Batavia Dag-Register* for 1663 that throws light on the word. Under date November 27 is a lengthy summary of a letter of November 10 from the Governor of Ceylon, Ryklof van Goens, and Council at Colombo, in the course of which (pp. 575-6) is given an account of the pearl fishery that took place off Tutucorin in the previous March. From this I translate the following :—

"It is a custom with the owners of these boats that on the eighth day they take to themselves all the oysters that the divers then bring up. This they call *valey*, and they must leave them unopened on land until the fishery is done, in order to serve as a pledge of the Company's justice. In other times they had indeed eight or nine *valeys*, but now not more than two, on account of which the divers, for their daily sustenance, are generally obliged to open the oysters at sea and sell them out of hand."

It is evident that the *valey* of the Dutch writer is identical with the *bulyo* of Teixeira (who, writing in Spanish, would naturally substitute a *b* for a *v* and add a terminal *o*); while the origin of both forms seems to be Tamil *valai*, a net: in this case the small net used by the diver to bring up the oysters in.

DONALD FERGUSON.

A FOLK-TALE PARALLEL

The folk-tale of which Dr. Grierson gives various forms in the April number of the *JRAS.* (p. 449) is also found in Sicily. It forms the second half of the first story in Gonzenbach's *Sicilianische Märchen*. The tale is called "The Clever Daughter of the Peasant". A king who had lost his way has been hospitably entertained by a peasant family, and determines to make some acknowledgment.

The next day he took a fine roast fowl, a large cake, a keg of wine, and 12 *tarì*, called his running footman, and ordered him to carry these things to the peasant's house, with the assurance of his favour. The way was long, and the messenger soon became tired and hungry. At last he could no longer restrain his appetite, so he cut the fowl in two and devoured half of it. After a short time he became thirsty, and drank half of the wine. When he had gone a little further, he cast longing eyes on the cake, said to himself that it was undoubtedly good, and ate half of it. Then he thought that it was of no use to do things in an incomplete way, so, to equalize matters, he took 6 of the 12 *tarì*. When he arrived at the peasant's cottage he made over to him the half-fowl, the half-cake, the half-keg, and the half-dollar. The peasant and his family were much delighted at the honour which the king had done them, and entreated the messenger to express their thanks to him. But the daughter, who was not satisfied when she found that all the presents consisted of halves, told the messenger that she had a special message to send to the king, which he must deliver word for word. The messenger promised to do so, and she began: "First you must say to the king, 'He that sings in the night, alas! why only half?'—can you recollect that?" "Oh yes!" said the messenger. "Then you must also say, 'The moon in the second quarter, alas! why only half?'—can you remember that also?" "Certainly," answered the messenger. "Next you must say to him, 'Fast above and fast below, alas! why only half?'—I hope you will not forget that." "Certainly not," said the messenger. "Lastly, you will say to him, 'The year has twelve months; alas! why only six?'" The messenger promised to deliver the message correctly and repeated it over to himself all the way home. But when he delivered it, the king at once saw what had taken place, and extracted from the messenger a full confession of his guilt. But he was so much pleased at the cleverness of

the peasant girl that he forgave the messenger and married the girl.

I suppose that this story was brought into Sicily by the Arabs.

C. H. TAWNEY.

THE AUTHOR OF THE BHATTIKĀVYA

I fully appreciate the value of the remarks of Mr. Keith (JRAS., 1909, p. 435, n. 1), that the priority of Bhaṭṭi to Bhāravi and Daṇḍin is no evidence for identity of the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* with Vatsabhaṭṭi. I must also admit that the omission of the end of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Kāvya* proves nothing, though I advanced it as a proof in my paper on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. I have no hesitation in admitting the weak points of my argument. But I do not think that my statement that Vatsabhaṭṭi is identical with the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* "is a most unfortunate suggestion".

It is gratifying to me that I have the support of such an eminent scholar as Mr. Keith in regard to the main points of my proposition. That the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* must have flourished before Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, that Dharaśena I was the patron of the author, and that the *Kāvya* cannot be attributed to Bhartr̥hari, were the principal points of my contention.

In my paper on "The Date of Kālidāsa" (see p. 731 above), I have tried to show that Kālidāsa flourished during the reigns of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. In 1904, when I wrote my paper on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, I followed Dr. Hoernle in the matter of the date of Kālidāsa.* But I have changed my opinion since. The suggestion of mine regarding the author of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is not affected by the date of Kālidāsa.

It is not unlikely that the poet of the Court of Dharaśena I was the poet of the inscription of 473 A.D.

I referred (JRAS, 1904, p. 397) to the striking resemblance between stanzas 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in the inscription and the description of Śarat in the second canto of Bhaṭṭi. To my thinking they agree to a great extent in style and language. I cannot pronounce my opinion so authoritatively as to make the point decisive, for I cannot pretend to claim any authority. I leave it to the learned scholars to decide. It cannot be denied that if Vatsabhaṭṭi were the author the work could be entitled Bhaṭṭikāvya. I therefore fail to see how my suggestion can be considered as "most unfortunate".

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

SAMBALPUR.

May 20, 1909.

UDBALIKA AND PRANAYAKRIYA

We are much indebted to Mr. Thomas for adducing from the Kautīliya-Arthaśāstra (see p. 467 above) the term *ucchehulka*, 'free from tolls and duties, octroi.' In view of that, there can be no doubt that the word *ubalike* in l. 4 of the Rummindēi inscription (this Journal, 1908. 473) stands for *ubbalike*, and represents a Sanskrit *udbalikaḥ* with the meaning 'free from the *bali*'. And I may add that my own inclination was to take the word in that manner; and that I was led to seek another explanation of it only in consequence of receiving an authoritative expression of opinion, corroborating that of Professor Bühler, that such a formation as *udbalika* could not be grammatically explained in such a sense.

We cannot, however, follow Mr. Thomas in thinking that precision has been given to this term by Sir Charles Lyall's proposal to find a connexion between it and the term *ubarī*, *ubārī*, which is now in use in certain parts. Information given in Baden-Powell's *Land-Systems of British India*, 2. 155, 477, and under the account of the Jhānsi District in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, 14. 141, shows

that the *ubarī* or *ubārī* tenure is of modern origin, dating only from the Marāṭhā period. It is one of the tenures of land granted in lieu of a definite annual sum of money; namely, a tenure according to which, when the annual value of the land exceeds the intended sum of money, the excess is paid as revenue. And the derivation of the term is found in the Hindī *ubarnā*, 'to be in excess,' and *ubārṇā*, 'to cause to be in excess,' which are to be traced back to the Sanskrit *ud* + *vri*.

In ordinary literature, the word *bali* is found used in the sense of 'taxes' or 'tribute' in general. As a specific fiscal item, the *bali* is mentioned and defined in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, 8. 307-8, and the commentaries thereon. Verse 308 says:—"They say that a king who levies the *bali* sixth part, but fails to afford protection, takes upon himself the entire foulness of all (*his*) people." And the commentaries on verse 307 explain the *bali* as being *dhāny-āḍēḥ shashthō bhāḡah*, "the sixth part of the grain, etc." The Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra would seem to treat the *bali* from two somewhat different points of view: (1) as a regular tax levied for religious purposes (IA, 1905. 47, 116); and (2) as a special tax levied ostensibly "to propitiate gods", but in reality to accumulate what is nowadays termed a war-chest (ibid., 111). We shall understand that better when we have the text of the work in question: the abstract translation which Mr. R. Shamasastri has given us serves a very useful purpose; but in this case, as in others, we need also the text itself for definite ends.

* * * * *

In looking through Mr. Shamasastri's translation of the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra in connexion with the term *bali* when I was dealing with the Rummindēi inscription, I noted the explanation of another epigraphic expression about which there has been a difficulty.

In ll. 15-16 of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman

(EI, 8. 44) we are told that that king carried out a certain public work, an improvement in strength and dimensions of the dam of the great lake Sudarśana:— *apiḍayitvā kara-visṭi-praṇayakriyābhiḥ paura-jānapadam janam*. The difficult term here is *praṇayakriyā*. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji suggested (IA, 7. 262, n. 19) that it might denote "a kind of tax like the modern *prītidān*": but he did not explain what he understood by the latter term, which means literally 'a gift made from love or affection'. Professor Kielhorn translated:—"without oppressing the inhabitants of the towns and country by taxes, forced labour and acts of affection," and suggested that the "acts of affection" (*praṇayakriyā*) might mean "offerings or contributions which nominally are voluntary, but which people feel constrained to make to please somebody or for other reasons".

The word *praṇaya* has the meaning of 'request, solicitation', as well as 'affection'. And the term *praṇayakriyā*, as used in the Junāgaḍh inscription, is explained, in the direction indicated by Professor Kielhorn, by the Kautīliya-Arthasāstra: see IA, 1905. 115 ff., where we are told that, for the collection of funds by special taxation in times of financial stress, the ancient kings of India had recourse to *praṇaya*, 'begging,' supplemented, if necessary, by coercion.

The Indian system of *praṇayakriyā* plainly answers, in fact, exactly to that of the "benevolences", the forced loans or contributions, which our own kings used to levy.

J. F. FLEET.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ÉTUDES SUR LES DIALECTES DE L'ARABIE MÉRIDIONALE,
par le Comte de LANDBERG. II^{ème} Volume: DAṬĪNAH.
Première Partie, Textes et Traduction ; Deuxième
Partie, Commentaire des Textes Prosaiques. Leide :
E. J. Brill, 1905 and 1909.

The volume before us forms a sequel to Count Landberg's similar work on the dialects of Ḥaḍramaut noticed in this Journal, 1901, pp. 903-6. For thirty years of his life the author has devoted himself to the study of local dialects in various parts of the East, and his practice is to speak each dialect for several years before giving to the world the result of his labours. He now gives us the Daṭīnah (دثينة) dialect spoken by the tribe of that name, whose country lies between Ḥaḍramaut and Aden. As he was in the habit of speaking this dialect every day for twelve years with the Daṭīnah natives who always accompanied him, his opinions on the subject must be looked upon as authoritative.

As before, the printing is excellent, and the author adheres to his plan of giving all the dialectic texts in Arabic characters as well as the systematic transliteration, which makes the work much more useful for ready reference. It is a pity that the same was not done by Dr. Jahn in *Die Mehri-Sprache* and Dr. D. H. Müller in *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*.

Part ii of the present volume is a mine of interesting information, even for the general reader unacquainted with Oriental languages, and is invaluable to every Arabic scholar and student of Semitic Comparative Philology. Two more volumes are in preparation ; vol. iii is to contain a commentary on the poetic texts in part i, and vol. iv

a Glossary of the Daṭīnah dialect. It will form a large volume, as it is to include not only all the words that figure in the three Daṭīnah volumes, but also a great portion of the vocabulary of other dialects of Southern Arabia.

I have pointed out elsewhere how the author's explanations of many words in the Haḍramaut dialect throw a light on various obscurities in the Minæo-Sabæan and Himyaritic inscriptions; in fact, tend to show the real continuity of Himyaritic with the modern South Arabian dialects; the same is the case in his commentaries on the Daṭīnah texts, as I shall show presently.

To attempt to criticize any of our author's conclusions would be presumptuous on my part; but I would suggest that in a subsequent volume he should give a table of explanation of the numerous signs and abbreviations used throughout the commentary, especially in the references to other works. Probably they will be evident enough to some readers, but to me many of them are unintelligible. Some of the radical derivations, given tentatively, rather tax one's powers of credulity, but few will be rash enough to say that they cannot be correct. The way in which words are traced back to their primary sources is exceedingly ingenious.

The following notes, taken *seriatim*, will give some idea of the nature and scope of the work.

p. 281 ff. The Article, in the country to the west of Haḍramaut, is generally *em* instead of *el*. That this is of ancient date is shown by Pliny, vi, 157, who mentions a town, *Mariaba Baramalacum*, in which Landberg recognizes **برامالكت**, and Ptolemy, Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, speaks of a town 'Αβισαμα with the variant 'Αμβισαμα, a place which at the present day is called البصامة. "Comme rien ne persiste aussi inaltéré que les noms de lieu, on pourra voir dans ce nom une preuve de l'emploi de l'arabe à côté du sabéo-himyarite

à une époque antérieure à notre ère. Mais l'arabe n'a jamais été la langue lapidaire et officielle des dynasties régnantes. Voilà pourquoi elle n'a laissé que des traces éparses dans la nomenclature des pays."

p. 285 ff. A weakness in the pronunciation of the letter ع and a tendency to substitute the *hamzah* is, even in the present day, a characteristic of the dialects of South Arabia, though this has to some extent been effaced by the confusion which took place in the two first centuries after Islām, during which the great tribes of the North communicated their guttural pronunciation of ع to the immigrated tribes. ح is not so strongly aspirated as in the North, so that in Daṭīnah, as in Mahri, it is often difficult to distinguish between ح and د.

p. 295. In certain countries of South Arabia ā is pronounced as ó, e.g. *banót* = بنات, *sókin* = ساكن, etc., especially so in the Mahri.

p. 303 ff. The use of salt to corroborate the validity of an oath is still common among the Beduins throughout the whole Peninsula. "Dans le Sud on donne un morceau de sel ملح نُقْص à celui qui doit jurer, et qui prononce cette formule ou quelque chose d'analogue en tenant le sel entre ses doigts :—

والله وهذا الملح الطاهر فيدي يعنني لا بصرت ولا زيت الخ
(je jure) par Dieu et par ce sel pur dans ma main,—qu'il me frappe ! que je n'ai pas vu," etc.

p. 332. The author speaks in the plural of the "languages" spoken in the South before the predominance of Arabic, because one cannot yet decide whether the Minæo-Sabæan, the Hūnyaritic, or the Mahri was then current there ; perhaps all three at the same time.

p. 332 f. The following passage is of importance, as it decides the long-disputed question of the correct pronunciation of the word حضرموت : "Or, il paraît, à en juger par ce qui se passe dans les dialectes arabes du Sud

de la Péninsule, et surtout dans ceux des Mahra, des Qarâ et de Soqoṭra, qu'un des traits distinctifs de ces dialectes est de dissoudre une voyelle longue en diphthongue. Le nom de Ḥaḍramôt en est l'exemple le plus frappant. C'est certainement un pluriel حضرات, comme الشامات, الدثينات, العرّبات, Yâqûṭ s.v. Cette désinence -ÂT a été prononcée -ÔT, ainsi que c'est encore l'habitude. ÔT est ensuite devenu d'un côté -ÛT: ḤAḌRAMÛT, et de l'autre -AUT: ḤAḌRAMAUT (v. p. 295) que j'ai aussi entendu à l'est de la frontière mentionnée. Û devient souvent AU, surtout dans le pays d'ed-Dâhir, où l'on dit p.e. BAḤÂUR et BAḤÔR pour بَحُور, *encens*."

p. 340 f. Another peculiarity of the Daṭīnah dialect is here exemplified: "INYÂM = إِيَّام; dans d'autres dialectes ÄYYÂM, IYYÂM, ou İYÂM. Ce dédoublement d'une voyelle ou d'une consonne double par la nasalisation avec N or M est assez commun. Dans le premier cas, nous avons MİNYIT = مَيْت, *mort*, hiṇya = هِيَّا, *allons!*, iṇya = إِيَّا: ANDEYNÂHOM İNYÂH, *nous le leur avons donné* . . . Le second cas se rencontre à chaque pas: ادَّعى = ادعى, *prétendre, soutenir*; اتَّفَق = اتفق, *rencontrer*; انتقى من = انتقى من, *craindre*; منطَّير = منطَّير, etc., etc."

p. 412 f. Worthy of note are the remarks on ال used as a rel. pron. sing. in Sabæan as well as in Daṭīnah; also on the etymology of حجر and هجر meaning a "town" (p. 441) and حَيْر synonymous with حَجَر meaning *arrêter, retenir*. Owing to the fact that in the South the letters ح and ه constantly encroach on one another, the author thinks it not inadmissible that the Sabæan word | 774 | هَجَر, a "town" comprehends the same idea as حَاجَرَة, which originally meant "walled quarter, blockhouse, fortalice".

p. 455 ff. (see also *Arabica*, v, s.v. حَبَط, *territoire sacré*). The information given about sanctuaries is interesting. Each country has a sanctuary where a holy man is buried or *believed* to be buried. The author considers that this

is nothing more than a perpetuation of the Sabæo-Himyaritic cult. In Sabæan we have بعلد, and this بعل has become the شيخ, مولى (or ولى), or صاحب of the country which is called after him. The services of the sanctuary are performed by attendants called خُدّام, like the سَدَنَة of the Ka'bah. These functions are hereditary in the family of the walī; if the family dies out, the tribe designates a person as خادم; thus we have a kind of hierarchy. Each sanctuary is distinguished by one or more Büwāreq (flags), plur. of بارق, which = the Persian بَیْرَق. This interchange of ʾ, ā, with the diphthongs is a marked peculiarity of the Southern dialects; and in the author's opinion (*Hadn.*, p. 578) it points to a direct influence of the Minæo-Sabæan language, or the phenomenon goes back to a period when the Arabic and Sabæan were more nearly allied, and previous to the development which each underwent later on.

p. 502 ff. Very interesting is the author's explanation of the origin of the word وَحْي, which, as we know, in classical Arabic means "revelation". وَحْي, vulg. وَحِي, but with the suffixes, *wahyak* (or *wahyik*), is a "sound" in general—of no matter what—of a living being or of an inanimate thing, a "voice". The Daṭīnahs accompanying the author at first pretended that *wahī* was only said of a sound perceived at night, when one cannot see whence it comes. This, however, is not true. Their remark, he says, only proves that the *wahī* is a "sound" or a "vague noise, an undecided perception". It illustrates the dogmatic acceptance of the word, and it traverses, like the latter, the same scale from the unknown to the known. The verb وَحِيَ means "to hear, feel, perceive, to be aware of", e.g. تُوحِي الْوَحْيَ, "thou hearest the sound, the vague noise." Hence he goes on to show how this original signification of the word gradually became developed into "revelation", oral or written.

In connection with this he then discusses the word **أَلْهَمَ**, "to inspire," which is also interesting.

p. 549 ff. In illustration of the signification of the word **وَجَّهَ**, **WAĞĒH**, "protection," a curious story is quoted in Arabic with a translation.

p. 566. **سَاكِن** we are told is in general not an "inhabitant", but "a place of habitation"; then "habitat, village, encampment". It is a pres. part. belonging to the category of words **الفاعل بلفظ المفعول**. Its plural **سَوَاكِين**, *Sawākin*, is the name of the well-known town on the western shore of the Red Sea.

p. 567. **خاف** as a verb is not used in the *Daṭinah* dialect, but has become an adverb, "perhaps;" still, it is constructed according to the semasiological idea which is inherent in it, that is, that *verba metucendi* have لا in the subordinate proposition; e.g. **خاف لايجي**, *il viendra peut-être*; but **خاف لا مايجي**, *il ne viendra peut-être pas*.

p. 571. The Sabæan word | **𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩦**, **مَفْخَم**, "altar," is explained as the place where the recipient or the | **𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩦**, **مَكْتَرَب**, burns the **فَخْم**, "charcoal."

p. 619 ff. **נָשַׁף** in Semitic languages means "to blow", as also Arab. **سَفَنَ**, *Assyr. nasāpu*; hence by metathesis **نَفْس**, "the breath of life," the *napištu* ("life") of the Babylonians. "Cette conception de l'âme remonte à la nuit des temps. Elle existait déjà en Babylonie. Elle est intimement liée à celle de la création de l'homme." Thus we read in Gen. ii, 7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."

p. 622 ff. **فِطْر** for **فُتّر**, pl. **افتار**, *eftār*, a round mat used as a "plate", made from the folioles of the dwarf palm. Cf. Minæan | **𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩦** in Eut. 57, 3, Latin *patere*, etc. The discussion of this word is of the highest philological interest, but it cannot be explained here in a few words.

p. 638 ff. The author, in his *Arabica*, v, p. 308,

s.v. **كرب**, says: "Je donne dans le volume sur le dialecte de Daṭinah un long article sur **كرب** où je tâche de prouver que le mukarrib des inscriptions était le pontife gardien du feu sacré sur le **مَفْخَم**, *autel*." This promise he has now fulfilled, and the article should be studied by all who are interested in Sabæan inscriptions and the early history of Arabia. | **𐩦𐩣𐩪**, **مُكْرِب**, the oldest title of the Sabæan rulers, Landberg derives from the dialectic root **كرب**, which is still used in South Arabia in the sense of "*allumer le feu*, et particulièrement celui qu'on fait hors de la maison". After discussing the question thoroughly he comes to the conclusion (p. 645) that: "LE MUKARRIB serait donc le *Pontifex maximus* des Sabéens (Glaser o. et l.l.), qui avait pour fonctions d'entretenir le feu sacré, comme les vestales, et de brûler l'encens, peut-être aussi la **ذبيحة**, sur le MEKRÂB ou MEFHÂM."

In confirmation of the sense proposed for **مُكْرِب** he next discusses another Minæan word | **𐩦𐩣𐩪**, **شوع**, "priest," which he says is evidently a variation of the Arab. **شَوَى**, "to roast," Babyl. *šumû*, "to burn;" and he states that it is also identical with **شيع**; for **شيع النار** means "to light the fire, to put wood on the fire". He then adduces other arguments, for which I refer the reader to p. 648 f.

pp. 650-7. Here is discussed the origin of the word *zarībah* from **زَرْب**, which in its primary sense means in South Arabia "tout *arbre* ou tout *arbuste* ayant des épines, *branchages épineux*, *ronces*".

The texts Nos. 5-8 give an interesting account of the marriage ceremonies.

p. 907 ff. These pages remind one of the annotations which the late Sir Richard Burton was so fond of introducing in his translation of the *Nights* and other works. The account which the author gives of the Beduins' idea of true hospitality does not say much for their morality, according to our ideas. See also his *Arabica*, iv, p. 25 ff.

p. 954 ff. WADD, the Minæan god of sensual love, is identified by the author with SĪN, the Sabæan MOON deity ; hence Wadd is called | 𐩧𐩢𐩪 | 𐩧𐩨𐩣 = رَدُّ الشَّهَر or الشَّاهِر ; “*la lune levée, luisante* (et non الشَّهَر). C’est la lune qui est encore le symbole de l’amour et la protectrice des amoureux. Ce culte de Wadd était certainement marqué au coin d’une certaine lubricité. Le prêtre était appelé | 𐩧𐩢𐩪, لَوَا, et la prêtresse | 𐩧𐩨𐩣, لَوَاة (prononciation incertaine).” [He might have added that the Moon deity, Sīn, was masculine, though the Sun deity, Shams^m, was feminine.]

p. 957. Here the author quotes two passages from the curious Minæan inscription from Saudā (Glaser, 282) belonging to the Glaser Collection in the British Museum. The text will be found in *Babyl. and Or. Record*, i, p. 168 ; also Hommel, *Südarab. Chrest.*, p. 115, and W.Z.K.M., ii, p. 4 ff., where it is commented on by D. H. Müller. Landberg as well as his predecessors has failed to find an exact translation of the passages quoted, but the inscription evidently alludes to the custom of vowing girls to the service of the temple of ‘Athtar or to that of the priests.

p. 984 ff. Here we see that the cult of the moon still exists in South Arabia. شَهَر is the “moon” as a celestial body, whilst قَمَر is the light of the moon. “*El qamar bār (= بَار) ‘alad-dunya, le clair de lune est répandu sur la terre.*” The primary meaning of شَهَر we are told is *être haut*, so as to command a view of all below ; a meaning not given in the dictionaries.

In illustration of the use of certain words our author quotes (pp. 1324 and 1142, n., continued p. 1331 f.) passages from an Arabic history of Aden, by Abū Maḥramah, entitled *Tārīḥ Ṭarr ‘Adan*, written A.H. 625 (A.D. 1227–8), in which a graphic account is given of the arrival of ships at that port. The quotation begins (p. 1324)—

ذكر وصول المراكب الى عدن

إذا وصل مركب الى عدن وابصره الناظور والناظور على جبل نادى بأعلى صوته يا هورياه وهو آخر جبل الاخضر الذى بُني عليه الحصن الاخضر ويستقى في الاصل جبل سيرسيه وما يقدر الناظور ينظر الا عند طلوع الشمس وغروبها لأن في ذلك الوقت يقع شعاع الشمس على وجه البحر فيبا عن بُعد مسافة ما كان

Mention de l'arrivée des bateaux à Aden.

Lorsqu'un bateau arrive à Aden et que le gardien (vigie), qui se trouve sur une montagne, le voit, il crie de sa plus haute voix : " Un bateau ! " Cette montagne est la fin (la pointe sud) de GĒBAL EL-AḤḌAR ; elle s'appelle originairement GĒBAL S. (?). Le gardien ne peut y voir qu'au lever et au coucher du soleil parce que, à ces heures, les rayons solaires donnent directement sur la surface de la mer, ce qui fait qu'alors, malgré l'éloignement, on peut distinguer n'importe quoi.

With reference to this I venture, as an old Adenite, to suggest that the principal look-out post for ships was then, as now, on Jabal Shamsān, which corresponds to the old Sabæan 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠 = Arab. الشمس, or mountain of the Sun-goddess, Shams^m. Colonel W. F. Prideaux, whom I have consulted on the subject, thinks that when the worship of 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠 (Shams^m) was in vogue at Aden the Jebel was probably crowned with a temple to the divinity from which it takes its name. He also suggests that the doubtful word سيرسيه may be a copyist's mistake for شمسین or شمسان. This emendation, if allowable, certainly suits the context. The Arabs in the time of Abū Maḥramah seem to have changed the name to Jabal el-Aḥḍar, or "Green Mountain" (rather an unsuitable appellation, except on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle), but I have never heard it called anything but Shamsān, or, in the Anglo-Aden vernacular of to-day, "Shumsum." بحر الاخضر.

"Green Sea," was the name formerly given by the Arabs to the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean (Johnson, *Pers.-Arab. and Engl. Dict.*, s.v.).

The exclamatory phrase *يا هوري*, *yā hūrīyāh!* is, in my opinion, merely a prolongation of the word *hūrī* when shouting it out, thus: *Hūrī-ā-ā-h!* and corresponds to our "Sail-ho!" The word *hūrī* for a small boat is well known throughout the Gulf of Aden; in Somali the primary meaning is a dug-out canoe. Referring to this word Colonel Prideaux says: "The fact that *هوري*, *hūrī*, is now only employed in the sense of a small boat is not of very great importance, I think, as in the course of time words are often modified in sense. There is a considerable difference between a steamboat and a row-boat, yet they are both boats."

The word *الناخوذة*, translated "le capitaine", which occurs further on in the quotation, is the Persian *ناخدا*, often written (and perhaps more properly) *ناخدا*, compounded of the Persian *ناو*, a "boat" or "ship", and *خدا*, "master" or "captain". No doubt the expression came to Aden from the Persian Gulf.

To understand the passages quoted it is necessary to bear in mind that in those days the harbour of Aden was, what is now, a very shallow bay facing the town and immediately to the west of *Širah* Island; in fact, it was from there that the town was bombarded by the British ships in 1839. The silting up has probably been caused by the construction of the causeway connecting *Širah* with the mainland.

Familiar as I am with the locality, I cannot quite picture to myself the position of the ancient breakwater (*مَضَنَّة*) described on p. 1142, nor can I in the least imagine what was the commodity called *فَوَّة*, p. 1332, translated "terre tinctoriale".

Judging from the specimens of this old Arabic history of Aden given us by Count Landberg, a translation of the whole work, with annotations, would be highly interesting.

There are many other passages in this remarkable book to which I should like to draw attention if space permitted, but what I have noticed above is sufficient to show the very varied and interesting nature of the contents, and doubtless many a lover of Arabic and cognate languages will eagerly look forward to the appearance of any further works by the same author.

J. STUART KING, Major.

THE IRSHÁD AL-'ARÍB ILA MA'RIFAT AL-ADÍB, OR
DICTIONARY OF LEARNED MEN OF YÁQÚT. Edited
by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., Laudian Professor
of Arabic in the University of Oxford, and printed
for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial".
Vol. II, containing the latter part of the letter ا to
the end of the letter ح. pp. 438. Leyden, Brill;
London, Luzac & Co.: 1909.

We are under considerable obligation to the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial for diligently pushing on the publication of this important source of Islamic literary history, and by means of a scholar so pre-eminently qualified for the task as Professor Margoliouth. The appearance of the first volume drew from the most authoritative quarter an appreciation in this Journal of the work's general importance (JRAS., 1908, pp. 865-7), and this second volume retains to the full the merits of its predecessor. The author has made extensive use of biographies, both individual and collective, which he found in the important libraries he frequented, and of which comparatively few are now available. Often, too, his information rests on *autograph* records of his characters, to which, as an amateur in such things, he paid especial heed, and from

which he drew many precise details, dates in particular. And his extensive travel brought him into personal contact with many leading literary men of his age, and their oral information provided him with material for many of his notices (vol. ii, 192, 7 a.f.), various passages, for instance, attesting his friendly relations with al-Qiftī in Aleppo, to whom he has paid a graceful tribute in his geographical work (see *Irshād*, ii, 229, 2; 244, 3 a.f.; 250, 4 a.f.; 252, 3; and 269; cf. also vol. i, 214, 10).

Of his citations from works no longer accessible, perhaps the most important are those derived from Abū Ḥayyān al-Tauḥīdī (d. A.H. 400, A.D. 1009). He gives in this volume excerpts from the كتاب [اخلاق] الوزيرين (44, 14; 95, 13; 273, ult.), the كتاب الامتاع والموانسة (89, 1; 275, ult.), and the كتاب المعاضرات (414, penult.), all by this author, whilst another by him, the كتاب البصائر, is cited vol. i, 198, 3.¹

The second-named work provides the material for the life of Ibn Miskawaihi which Mr. Amedroz has made use of for the note of him prefixed to the other recently appeared volume of the "Gibb Memorial" series, vii, 1, the *Tajārib al-Umam*. It is worthy of notice that, in his Ethical Testament there set out (p. xxiv, *Irshād*, ii, 95, 10, 15), Ibn Miskawaihi employs ideas of Greek philosophy, for he makes the virtuous life to centre round the four cardinal virtues of Plato, viz., *σωφροσύνη* = نفع = *avδρία*; *σοφία* = وحكم = *avδρία*; and *δικαιοσύνη* = العدالة.²

Invaluable also are the ample extracts which Yāqūt gives us from Abu Ḥayyān on the life of one eminent alike in politics and in literature, the Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād.

¹ The full title of the work is كتاب البصائر والذخائر; it is doubtless identical with that cited by Damīrī, i, 242, sub voc. جزور, as كتاب بصائر القدماء وسرائر الحكماء.

² Cf. my treatise, *Buch über das Wesen der Seele*, p. 18.

Other sources of information have accustomed us to excessive laudation of his eminent qualities; Abū Ḥayyān shows us the reverse of the medal. Both in the *Imtā‘* and in the work on the two viziers, i.e. Ibn al-‘Amīd and Ibn ‘Abbād,¹ this highly praised personage is depicted as empty-headed, greedy of praise, and unhealthily vain, not to say ludicrously artificial, in character; as indulging even the dogma of the incomparable excellence of the Koran to suffer by a comparison of the Holy Book with his own eloquent periods; as seeking even in his habitual converse to dazzle by means of ridiculous rhymed prose; and as never satiated with the incense of self-seeking courtiers and flatterers. True, Abū Ḥayyān’s spite against the great vizier was clearly heightened by personal disappointment (p. 282, 4 seq.); nevertheless, the description of him contained in these pages (273–343), the work in the main of that effective pen, constitutes one of the choicest examples of this class of literature, and is moreover invaluable for the historian of “Manners”. This notice would, alone, give to the present volume an especial importance, but it contains other biographies of high value.

In addition to the notices of Ibn Miskawaihi and of Ibn ‘Abbād above mentioned, there are those on the lexicographer Aḥmad b. Fāris² (pp. 6–15), on Aḥmad b. ‘Abdī

¹ The catalogue of the works of A. H. quoted by Ālūsī in his *Jalā al-‘ainain fi muḥākamāt al-Aḥmadain*, Būlāq, 1298, p. 86, gives it another title, viz., *وكتاب مثالب الوزير وهو الكتاب الذي ضمنه معايب ابن العميد والصاحب ابن عباد وتحامل عليهما وعدد نقائصهما وسلب ما اشتهر عنهما من القضايل والافصال*.

² On p. 7, ll. 11 and 17, the titles *كتاب فقه اللغة* and *الصاحبي* are made to refer to different works, whereas in fact they represent one and the same, its full title being: *الصاحبي في فقه اللغة وسنة العرب في* وقد صرح (Hāji Kh., iv, 87). Cf. also *Khizānat al-Adab*, iv, 55: *به ابن فارس في فقه اللغة الصاحبي*. The work was dedicated to the Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād.

Rabbihi (pp. 67–72), on *Tha'lab* (pp. 133–54), on the Amirs of the Syrian house of the Banū Munqidh, depicted here in their literary aspect (pp. 244–56), etc., all replete with contemporary details of interest for the study of manners, and with characteristic anecdotes. But to single out instances of this would lead us too far afield.

It thus appears how rich is the mine opened to us through Professor Margoliouth's untiring labour in editing this work, and how grateful we should be to him for having undertaken the task of preparing so adequate a text from material which presented the greatest difficulties. For the editor had at his command but a single and a comparatively modern MS. (seventeenth century), the deficiencies of which he has himself pointed out in the Preface to vol. i. There is a further and somewhat interesting peculiarity about this Bodleian MS.: its original must have belonged to the well-known author of the *Khizānat al-Adab*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādi, who had access to so many rare, and now lost, works.¹ The evidence for this is a passage in vol. i, p. 360, l. 4, which runs: *وله عندي كتاب الجواهر في الملع والنوادر كتبه عبد القادر البغدادي*. What 'Abd al-Qādir, in reading the book, had done was to append to the list of al-Ḥuṣri al-Qairawāni's works, as given by Yāqūt, a note that his own library contained a work of his not there specified, viz. *الملع والنوادر*, and to this note he added his signature; the copyist of the Bodleian MS. incorporated this in the text. This is one instance of what is to be expected from a thoughtless scribe; another and a similar instance of carelessness is to be found in vol. ii, p. 161, l. 12, in the notice of the vizier Aḥmad b. Yūsuf. There the statement that "Ma'mūn's affairs depended on these three officials" (three high officials previously named who filled most important offices of State) is followed immediately by the words

¹ Cf. JRAS., 1897, p. 330.

الالف احمد بن يوسف الوزير, words which it is clear must have formed the heading of a column in the scribe's original, viz. "Letter Alif: Ahmad b. Jusuf". These he took to be part of the text and included them therein.

From these examples we can form an idea of Professor Margoliouth's struggle with this single MS., the handiwork of a copyist both incompetent and inadequately acquainted with Arabic, as his sole means of presenting us with Yāqūt's important work. Wherever possible, he has collated his text with corresponding passages either in Yāqūt's authorities or in writers who used him. The former being for the most part lost, and the drafts on Yāqūt by his successors being small, but little assistance was forthcoming towards fixing the text. In the main Professor Margoliouth had to rely on his ingenious sagacity, his philologic insight, and his proved mastery of the more recondite forms of Arabic speech. In many a passage his practised hand has managed to make good the defects of his corrupt original; in many, again, owing to the hopeless condition of the MS., the sense remains dark and unattainable. On some I may submit such remarks as have occurred to me on a perusal of the text.

PAGE LINE

- 4 15 شينية, read شيعية.
- 23 10 كتاب للنخالدين, read للنخالدى. This work, the كتاب الديارات, often cited in the *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, was composed by two brothers of this name; cf. Heer, *Die historischen und geogr. Quellen in Jāk. Geogr. Wörterbuch* (Strassburg, 1898), 23.
- ult. مضر, read مصر.
- 24 8 الإتلاف,, الاشلاف.
- 30 3 a.f. البرقى,, الرقى. *Geogr. W.B.*, i, 575, 3.
- 31 3 الابلاغ. In Najāsh'ī, *Kitāb al-rijāl* (Schī'ite Biographies, Bombay, 1317 h), 55, 8, this work is called كتاب التبليغ.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PAGE LINE

- 32 2 الرجز, read الزجر.
- 9 والرواحن ,, والرواض.
- 46 7 موطدا ,, موصلا.
- 49 12 يهتر ,, يهتر.
- 69 4 a.f. بني ,, بين. Cf. my *Zahiriton*, p. 178, n. 4.
- 85 3 اعتماده ,, اعتمادي.
- 12 ولكنى. The metre requires ولكنى.
- 90 3 ومحتد. The proposed emendation, وتمجيد, is perhaps unnecessary if ومحتدى be restored (حداء viii = تبع), in contrast to the subsequent ومفارته, read ومفارقة.
- 105 1 فاصمى, suggested in place of the obscure فاصمى of the MS., gives no adequate meaning; I would propose فاصاب as suiting the sense, although diverging somewhat from the actual script.
- 130 12 Omit توكل.
- 188 4 a.f. خول, in place of which the editor suggests خوف, can be retained: "he who finds more pleasure in lowering his office than in enjoying his attitude of reserve:" perhaps substituting من عن for من.
- 195 11 أخرجه حجته, read أخرجه حجته: "his making the pilgrimage had taken him far away from his mother."
- 204 2 رسوله, read رسوله.
- 228 1 The substitution of الزيرقاني for الزيرقاني cannot be accepted; no reason can be found for such a nisba. I would suggest الزيرقي, the remaining being probably a lapsus on the part of the scribe due to the immediately preceding الفرغاني.
- 3 قابله, read قابله, "he has collated it."

PAGE LINE

- 231 12 يَزِنُ, read يَرِنُ, "he boasted loudly."
- 236 5 صندوق كبير صدق, read صندوق كبير, as Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā*, 124, 5.
- 237 ult. اراد, read اجاد.
- 238 4 فاعتزل, read فاعتزل.
- 247 5 الذوبة, read العذبة; cf. l. 13.
- ult. فيها, read فيه.
- 249 1 و, read او.
- 5 a.f. There is no reason for altering فاحال of the text.
- 276 6 بذال, read بذاك.
- 280 9 الدني, read الندي.
- 286 13 فخلفت, for which the editor proposes to substitute فحلقت, should perhaps be فحلقت.
- 296 6 واني, read ابي.
- 299 12 بأذنان can stand, implying inferior as against eminent people (رؤس or صدور, *Jerīr Aghānī*, vii, 49, 13), and cf. note to *Hutai'a*, i, 22.
- 300 3 تسعيا, read تَشَبُّعًا, "with overweening boastfulness," "to take a large mouthful." Cf. the *Ḥadīth*, *Tabarānī*, *al-mutashābiḥ* بما لم يُعطَ كلابس ثوبي زور, *Mu'jam* (ed. Dihli 220, penult.) (parallel ومن اثني و من اثني, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, iii, 326).
- 300 10 [ابو] الحسين. The sense of A. Ḥ's reply is "let me withstand you further, for, apart from me, there is no one left (as adversary)". On this view the words اكون مُجَادِلَكَ should be emended اكون مستجد لك, and the following word فما to مما.
- 302 12 يلي, read يلي.
- 13 وبعد فما, read وبعد فما.

PAGE LINE

- 303 1 مممن, read مممن.
- 7 شأونا ,, شوارنا.
- 335 13 الشَّرَف ,, الشرق.
- 344 6 انشدها ,, انشدنا.
- 358 1 يدل له ,, تقوله.
- 366 5 بزعمه ,, زعمه.
- 367 3 إلا ,, ألا.
- 370 10 قاسم ,, واسم.
- 372 penult. قيس ,, قتب.
- 373 3 انظن ,, انظر.
- 377 6 a.f. جمهور ,, جمهور. Cf. *Geogr. W.B.*, 263, 8; 362, ult.
- 378 8 فاسما does not require emendation; the sense is "he let his beard grow down over his chest".
- 379 9 After وسلم a sentence is missing which contained the saying of the Prophet, and likewise some words are needed as introduction to أتدري, etc., for these cannot be the Prophet's words.
- ib. للمهرمزان, read للمهران. Cf. note to *Hutai'a*, ii, 18.
- 381 5 a.f. الجمار, read الجمار.
- 400 3 a.f. القرآن is القرآن, as in *Fihrist*, 150, 20. The works above mentioned show that Ja'far occupied himself with matters of astronomy.
- 401 11 The quotation marks should be omitted, for ولم يكن النخ is not a quotation. The sense is "traditions were taken down on his authority, and it is no scruple against him".

PAGE LINE

408 6 معظما, read مطعما.

10 في, read هي.

411 6 a.f. After هؤلاء a word seems wanting, perhaps الملوک.

The reference is to the Fatimide sovereigns,
cf. p. 426, ult.

420 ult. المحتم, altered to المخيم, should be المَخْصَب (cf. *Geogr. W.B.*, iv, 427, 2). It often occurs in like oaths, and in this connexion. And the opening on the second half of the couplet must contain a similar reference, but I am unable to restore it.

It may well be that many of the above corrections are mere printer's errors, for such may easily have crept in having regard to the distance which separated the editor from his press, the printing being done at the Hindiye press in Cairo. But the importance of the text justifies drawing attention, by way of conclusion, to a few errata not noted in the list appended to the volume, viz.: read 20, يعرف 13; 147, 2 يقوم; 245, 6 هاتوا; 248, 6 لاحب 4 a.f.; 350, 4 بهذا 9; 302, بحافتي penult. 267; وشادن 368, 3 بقی 370, 3 قريشا 373, 6 الجملة 380, 5 a.f. عكابة.

Proportioned indeed to the difficulties and obstacles which Professor Margoliouth has had to encounter should be the measure of his fellow-workers' gratitude towards him for opening up to them so rich a deposit of literary, historical, and social lore. And the Trustees of the "Gibb Memorial" will be doing a real service to students of Arabic by encouraging the Professor to prosecute with all possible speed the publication of the further portions of this wide-reaching work, which the volume now before me carries down to the letter Jim inclusively.

THE FRONTIERS OF BALUCHISTAN. By G. P. TATE, of the Indian Surveys. pp. 261. London: Witherby, 1909.

As Mr. Tate truly says, the available information about Seistan and the adjoining part of Baluchistan is somewhat scanty. For many years Sir Henry Pottinger's book, published in 1816, was our only resource. Since Pottinger's time the region has become of vast importance to us owing to the gradual approach to each other of our Indian frontier and that of the Russian dominions in Asia, coupled with the creation of our two railway systems and the future possibility of linking up the East and West through them by way of Seistan and Baluchistan.

Circumstances have afforded Mr. Tate opportunities of thoroughly studying this little-known country, of which he has availed himself amply and successfully. These experiences, or at any rate the lighter and more popular phases of them, are recorded in the excellent book now published by him. In it he goes back to his first introduction to Baluchistan in the winter of 1886-7, and includes visits in 1889-90 and 1896. Thus it will be seen that Mr. Tate has travelled often and widely in Baluchistan. But the greater part of his narrative is founded on his work as Survey Officer with the Seistan Boundary Commission of 1902-6 under Sir Henry McMahon.

By its plan this book is a story of travel, incident, and adventure; and judged as such it deserves great praise, the interest never being allowed to flag. But intermingled with the personal element is an abundant supply of hitherto unrecorded topography, history, and sociology of the utmost scientific value. It certainly gives us the most detailed and satisfactory account of the country which has so far been published. The scenery of the tract and its interesting monuments of bygone times are shown in a series of excellent illustrations, mostly from

photographs, with a few from the author's own sketches. The descriptive passage on p. 76 shows that he has the artist's eye for colouring and cloud effects. There are also two maps, which add much to our knowledge of the country and, as need hardly be added, are of the highest authority, being founded on the official data collected by the author himself.

W. IRVINE.

ESSAI DE PHONÉTIQUE COMPARÉE DU MALAIS ET DES
DIALECTES MALGACHES. Par GABRIEL FERRAND,
Consul de France. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1909.

This treatise should be discussed from two distinct points of view: first, as a contribution to the scientific study of Malagasy and its dialects, and, secondly, as a new acquisition to the comparative philology of the Malayo-Polynesian languages in general. From either point of view it is an important piece of work, but I can only attempt to appraise it in its second and less special aspect. To deal with it as an essay in Malagasy dialectology would require an intimate acquaintance with that language and its numerous local varieties, to which I can lay no claim, and I must apologize beforehand to the author for being unable to do justice to what is (it may fairly be assumed) the most important side of his work. He will, however, excuse this inevitable deficiency the more readily as he is himself well-nigh the only existing authority on the subject. The systematic study of the provincial dialects of Malagasy has only just begun, and he is to all practical intents and purposes its pioneer. What he has written thereon, both in the present work and in numerous other publications leading up to it, makes it plain that these local dialects are of great value for the reconstruction of the evolution of the language. They frequently preserve archaic forms which have been lost or modified in the

standard form of Malagasy, the dialect of the dominant Hova tribe of Imerina.

For the same reason this work constitutes a valuable contribution to the comparative philology of the Malayo-Polynesian languages in general. The difficulty that has been felt in co-ordinating Malagasy with the Indonesian languages is mainly due to the advanced state of phonetic decay which characterizes it, especially in its standard form. The evidence of the better preserved provincial dialects (and especially that of the archaic forms contained in the ancient MSS. which M. Ferrand has been the first to study critically) is therefore very welcome: it brings certainty in many cases where one had to be content hitherto with mere probability; it is often a clear confirmation of inferences which at the time they were made rested on a somewhat slender basis. By showing us the steps whereby the standard Malagasy has been evolved out of the typical Indonesian forms, it proves conclusively that the old authorities (e.g. Van der Tuuk and his predecessors) were right in giving the Malagasy language its place among the Indonesian family, from which it is so far removed in merely geographical position. By the same evidence M. Ferrand's work overthrows for good and all the recent heresy that Malagasy should be classed with Melanesian rather than with Indonesian, a suggestion based not on linguistic grounds, but on the misunderstood anthropological circumstances of the case, and furnishing us with another instance of the error in method which confuses and mixes up these two distinct lines of evidence.

Incidentally another important fact is brought out. It appears that all the Malagasy dialects, resembling in this particular the generality of the western Indonesian languages, contain a sprinkling of words of Sanskrit origin. The legitimate (and, I think, inevitable) conclusion is that the colonization of Madagascar by Indonesian immigrants occurred after the extension of

Indian influence to the western islands of Indonesia. That point, too, had been foreshadowed by Van der Tuuk (in a paper in this Journal, 1865, pp. 419-46), but really on somewhat insufficient evidence. It has since been persistently denied, and it is therefore satisfactory to have it at last finally established. Now, the extension of Indian influence to the western islands of Indonesia appears to have taken place somewhere about the commencement of the Christian era. It is obvious, therefore, how important the presence of Sanskrit words in Malagasy really is; not only is it a contribution to the history of Indonesian migrations, but it may, to some extent, become the basis of an approximate chronology of the evolution of this family of languages. In view of the entire absence of contemporary records going back to any such remote period, the comparison of separate branches of the family is all the more important, and its value is much enhanced if we can form some idea (even if only an approximate one) as to the period when they split off from the parent stem.

Viewed in this light, Malagasy may perhaps, after all, turn out to be a more important factor than has hitherto been realized; for though its phonetic system is much decayed, it has preserved some important archaic morphological features. As compared with many of the existing Indonesian languages, it has kept up quite an elaborate system of prefixes, and retains a much greater capacity for building up compound words of inordinate length by means of this system. M. Ferrand devotes a chapter to these formations, and compares them with the Malay equivalents. Malay, however, has become much simplified in this respect, and tolerates this method of word-formation to a much more limited extent. A comparison with the Philippine languages would probably have been of use in this connexion. M. Ferrand succeeds, however, in showing that the compounds built up with the supposed infixes

-p- for the agent (on p. 269, last line, read *agent* for *argent*) and -amp- for causative verbs are really cases of compound prefixes, not infixes at all. His account of these formations is, I think, quite conclusive as to that point. There is only one little detail in regard to which it seems to me that he might, with advantage, have expressed himself somewhat differently. I do not think it can be correctly said that e.g. *fahita* is a substantive derived from the verb *mahita*. I should prefer to say that both are derivatives from the stem *hita*. This is not altogether a merely verbal difference, for, if my view is right, we can deduce the law that in words built up with more than one prefix all but the first (i.e. chronologically the last superadded) prefix must be a substantival, not a verbal, one. In other words, Malagasy verbs (compounded with a prefix) are sterile; they cannot be used to form further compounds; but substantives can. It would be interesting to know whether this suggested law will stand the test of further inquiry, and whether it extends to any other language besides Malagasy.

In one or two other cases, while agreeing generally with the author's conclusions, I should have preferred to have had them stated somewhat differently. Thus his investigation of the Malagasy final -*tra* (and its dialectic variants) leads him to the hypothetical conclusion (p. 222) that this final "a eu pour générateur un *t* et un *r* empruntés initialement peut-être à des thèmes apparentés tels que Mal. *pusat*, Jav. *puser* = Malg. *fuitra*". I confess that I am in doubt as to what this somewhat cryptic sentence really means. I can hardly imagine that M. Ferrand supposes the ancestors of the Malagasy to have built up one of their own native words by the process of taking a letter from its Malay equivalent and another from its Javanese equivalent and sticking them together to make up the Malagasy form. That would indeed be a fairly unique proceeding, if it were conceivable as a fact.

But there is no need even to assume the existence in primitive Malagasy of two forms of the word, one in *-t* and the other in *-r*, from the confusion or blending of which the modern forms in *-tra*, etc., could have originated (if that is what M. Ferrand means to suggest). There is a far simpler explanation available, viz., that the primitive Malagasy sound, from which *-tra*, etc., are derived, represents not *-t* or *-r*, but an earlier Indonesian sound lying somewhere between them, from which they also are derived. Probably it was some form (supra-dental or cerebral?) of *-d*: it is noticeable that the equivalents of this word *fuitra* in some languages (e.g. Bisaya *posod*, Balinese *pungsəd*) still preserve a *-d*. The same *-d* turns up in other words in this position; in fact, where Malay has *-t* and Javanese *-r*, Balinese and Bisaya pretty generally have *-d*. Now, as *-t* cannot readily derive from *-r*, nor *-r* from *-t*, but either can easily derive from *-d*, it seems almost certain that *-d* is here more primitive than either of the other two. Moreover, Malagasy *tr*, both initial and medial, often represents an Indonesian *d* (e.g. *tratra* = Mal. *dada*, "breast"). My inference from these facts is that in such words as *fuitra* the *-tra* represents a former *-d*. But I am quite prepared to believe that false analogy has extended this final *-tra* to cases where the original final was not *-d* but *-t* (and perhaps a few cases in which it was *-r*), and also that the result has sometimes been a confusion in Malagasy between these different finals, even when a suffix is attached to them. Such a theory would explain the existence in Malagasy of double passives in *-t*- and *-r*- respectively (p. 217), and also such abnormal forms as *takurana* (p. 216), for which one would have expected to see **tahutana* (Mal. *takut*). I might suggest, too, with deference to M. Ferrand's superior knowledge in these matters, that *sambutra*, with its dialectic variants (pp. 59, 212 seq.), represents rather Mal. *sambut* than Mal. *sambar*. The vowel of the

root-syllable agrees with the former Malay word, and there does not seem to be any real difficulty as to the meaning. I see that Flacourt gives the Malagasy word the sense of "prendre", while *sambut* means "to receive", and is used *inter alia* in asking spirits to accept offerings; but *sambar* means "to snatch".

Similarly, I find the correspondence of such fundamentally unrelated sounds as *h* and *tr'* (with its variant *ts*) even more than "déconcertant", as M. Ferrand styles it. The fact, however, is indisputable, and my only quarrel with his formula $ts < tr' < h$ (p. 30) is that it does not seem to me to represent the true historic order of events. This I take to have been as follows: $n + k > * [n + t] > n + tr' = n + ts$. In plain English, all the cases that he quotes (*ibid.* and p. 279) are cases of assimilation of an initial *k*- with a preceding genitive preposition *n*. Under the influence of the *n* the *k* becomes (as I conjecture) a *t*, which subsequently changes into *tr'* or *ts* according to the dialect. On the other hand, the *k*- when not preceded by the preposition changes as a general rule into *h*-. But that is not the same thing as making an *h* evolve into a *tr'* and a *ts*, which seems to me to demand a much greater stretch of imagination.

Again, I cannot agree that Malagasy *fasikā* is explained by Tagalog *pasig*. The explanation is no explanation at all, for this reason: Tagalog *-g* is the regular correspondent of Malay *-r*, and points back to a sound in the common Indonesian mother-tongue which was probably a velar (or guttural) fricative sonant, and which has no business, according to rule, to appear in Malagasy as *-kă*. Is there any parallel case of a Malagasy *-kă* corresponding to Mal. *-r*, except indeed that of *huhukă* = *ṣungkur*? And this last is doubtful, having regard to the variants *kuhukă*, *kuhutră*, and the passive *huhufană*. I think, therefore, that in the present imperfect state of our knowledge the only thing we are entitled to say is that *fasikă*

goes back to a type **pasik*, while the Malay and Tagalog equivalents represent a type **pasigh* (or something of that kind), and that we are not as yet able to explain why the word exists in these two variant forms. A third variant, equally unexplained, is *pasin*, Malagasy *fasinã*.

While I am on the chapter of fault-finding I must enter a friendly *caveat* against the use which M. Ferrand has made of some of the material I have myself put together. This material (contained in *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*) is not Malay, nor is it (for the most part) even Malayo-Polynesian; some of it is of unknown origin, and some is related to Mon-Khmer. Even if we grant the ultimate relationship of the Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian families of language, they are yet so far apart from each other that to compare words in Malagasy with supposed equivalents in some almost unknown and unstudied aboriginal dialect of the Malay Peninsula is a radically wrong and unscientific proceeding. Let me give a few instances. There exists in several Peninsular dialects a word *bok*, meaning "to bind". It appears with some variation of the vowel as *bök*, *buk*, *bok*, *buk*, and also with some variation of the final consonant as *böt* and *bet*; moreover, it appears combined with various prefixes in such forms as *äbuk*, *rimbok*, *kenbok*, *kabök*. Besides all these, it turns up in various forms in the Mon-Khmer languages. Now, in view of all these variants, what right has M. Ferrand to connect *kabök* with a Malagasy dialectal *akúfu*? Before we can accept such an identification we must ask for some additional evidence that the word *kabök* exists in the Malayo-Polynesian family, and also some evidence in support of the implied equivalence of Mon-Khmer *b* and Malagasy *f*. Again, with a Malagasy word *mañgania*, "to bear children," M. Ferrand would compare a Sëmang form *wanganeg*, "infant." Now here I fear the fault is partly mine for not having made it perfectly clear that this latter form is really composed of

two distinct words, (a) *wang* (with variants *wong*, *wung*, etc.), the typical Sĕmang for "child", and (b) *aneg*, the Sĕmang form of the Malay *anak*, which also means "child", a mere loanword from Malay in Sĕmang. I did add a reference to *anak*, but it seems to have escaped M. Ferrand's notice. Anyhow, it is plain that neither of these words, nor even the two put together, can help to explain the Malagasy *maŋania*.

There are rather more cases of this kind than one could wish to see. Even within the limits of the Malayo-Polynesian family some of M. Ferrand's identifications are highly controversial; e.g., I fail to understand what *garam* has to do with *sira*, *katiak* (better *kĕtiak*) with *kelek*, *pisang* with *uŋtsi*, *lama* with *lahun*; nor do I think that such an equation as *gĕlar* = *sundutrĭ*, *saŋdatrĭ*, should be put forward without some sort of explanation. The Malay words *pĕti* and *kanji* are usually believed to be from the Tamil. This throws some doubt on the identity of the former with the Malagasy *vata*, while the latter has probably permeated into the Creole dialects of Mauritius and Réunion direct from India, not through Indonesia and Madagascar (from which last no equivalents seem to be quoted). Malagasy *uhatrĭ* seems to be Mal. *sukat* rather than Mal. *ukur*; the meaning is the same, "to measure."

But a truce to this picking of holes; where a work is full of detail it is necessarily exposed to criticism in matters of detail. M. Ferrand's book is exceptionally rich in this respect, and at the present stage of the study of these languages much of the material is inevitably in a somewhat unco-ordinated condition; the laws that will reduce it to order have only been partially formulated. We are really not entitled to quarrel with M. Ferrand because some of his identifications are conjectural; but I cannot help wishing that he had drawn a clearer line between these and his positive proved results. In the main, however, the book follows a scientific method,

taking each sound and studying its changes and variants, and the general conclusions are in most cases beyond all question or dispute. The work includes a useful comparative vocabulary and much else that well deserves study at leisure; there is no possibility of doing full justice to it in the limited space here available. The results of the Abbé Rousselot's experimental phonology quoted in it are most interesting and valuable; they point to the possibility of a great extension of this method of recording phonetic data by accurate and impartial mechanical means.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS OF THE ANDHRA DYNASTY, THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS, THE TRAIKŪṬAKA DYNASTY, AND THE "BODHI" DYNASTY. By E. J. RAPSON. Catalogues of Indian Coins in the British Museum. 1908.

It is some fifteen or sixteen years since a volume of the Catalogues of the Indian Coins in the British Museum was published; that and the preceding ones, edited by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, treated of Musalman series. They have remained standard works on the Musalman coins, although more recent publications, such as the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, may have improved upon them to some extent.

The book now under notice is the first of the Museum Catalogues of the non-Musalman series, and is in every way so good that we hope it may be followed by others compiled by Professor Rapson, or, if he cannot now do so, by some one who will keep to the same plan and style.

The work is much more than a descriptive catalogue of the coins in the British Museum collection of the four dynasties. One half of it (pp. ccviii), the so-called Introduction, is really a carefully written and full history of the

NOTICES OF BOOKS

dynasties as far as known, accounts of the coinage, tables of alphabets, and notes on the legends and other matters. Whether, as has been suggested by Mr. Vincent Smith in his notice of the book in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, "The printing began so long ago that the author has not been able to utilize some of the recent publications bearing on his subject," must be left to those more learned in the history and epigraphy of India than the writer of this notice, but there can be no question about the extent of the research made and the complete mastery of the subject which are shown in the clear and well-written "outlines of histories" given in the book. For Indian numismatists it is of the greatest value both for its arrangement and descriptive style, and especially may be praised the tracing of the Kharoṣṭhi and Brahmi legends showing the letters and numerals as they are on the coins, which, together with the excellent description of the alphabets (pp. cxv-cxcix), enable one to make out the legends with a facility not hitherto given to those who are not learned experts even with the help of Bühler's *Indische Paleographie*.

No series of Indian coins is more interesting than the Kṣatrap and Traikūṭaka, but there has always been difficulty in reading them; they are rarely so struck as to bear the full legend on them, and besides the making out of the letters there is another trouble, viz. that the legend does not always begin at the same point in the circle of the margin; then it is sometimes doubtful whether a coin is one of a king whose name can be made out or that of his father, for the legends always contain both. Professor Rapson has adopted the plan of the "clock-face" to indicate at what point of the circle the legend in any particular variety begins (p. xiv). This helps to get over the difficulty, but does not altogether do so, for the legends on the coins of a king do not always begin at the same point, e.g. those of Rudrasimha I, on whose coins it begins at nearly every point in the circle.

The descriptive catalogue part of the work is most carefully and clearly done, and the eighteen plates of coins and three of coin legends admirable. The author, moreover, has not been content to describe and figure only the coins in the National Collection, but has examined those in other cabinets, and when any of them are of special interest or of extraordinary perfection or fineness has included them in the book, thus making it more completely a monograph on the coins of the four dynasties.

O. CODRINGTON.

ALTORIENTALISCHE TEXTE UND BILDER ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT, in Verbindung mit Dr. ARTHUR UNGNAD und HERMANN RANKE, herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. HUGO GRESSMANN, a.o. Professor der Theologie in Berlin. Erster Band : Texte. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1909.

"The chief task of Old Testament Research," says the editor, "is at present the comparison of the religion and literature of Israel with the religions and literatures of the earlier East. The barriers by which the Old Testament was once isolated from the world which surrounded it have long since been broken down. The traditions of Arabian and Syrian heathendom having once been applied and turned to good account by Julius Wellhausen and W. Robertson Smith in an exemplary manner, the horizon has now extended and attention has been especially attracted to the two ancient civilizations of the Babylonians and the Egyptians, which, thanks to the excavations and decipherings of the last decades, are constantly shifting into brighter light."

It is with the object of making comparisons between the religions and literatures of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Hebrews that the authors of the present portion of the work have contributed. The volume

comprises Assyro-Babylonian religious texts, chronological and historical inscriptions, juridical texts, and several North Semitic inscriptions, translated by Dr. Ungnad; and mythological, poetical, prophetic texts and stories, and historical and geographical inscriptions of the ancient Egyptians, translated by Dr. Ranke.

It is needless to say that the whole is done with the thoroughness for which the two scholars to whom the work has been entrusted are renowned. The Babylonian account of the Creation (the story of the fight between Bel and the Dragon) is especially well told. Dr. Ungnad remarks (footnote 7 on p. 2) that it cannot be proved that Tiauwath was regarded as having been a dragon. In all probability, therefore, it would have been more correct if the title of the Apocryphal book "Bel and the Dragon" had been rendered "Bel and the Serpent", in accordance with the later Greek opinion as to the form of the creature, which agrees, moreover, with what is found on the Babylonian cylinder seals representing that famous scene. After giving the bilingual account of the Creation (which was originally published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1891, pp. 393-408, with a photograph of the tablet and transcription and notes), Dr. Ungnad introduces the now well-known "Incantation against Toothache", "with cosmogonic introduction." In this text Anu is said to have made the heavens, the heavens the earth, the earth the rivers, the rivers the water-channels, the water-channels the marsh, and the marsh the worm which caused toothache. Anu here appears as the original creator, which seems to point to another theory of the universe than that commonly believed in by the Babylonians. As will be seen from the inscriptions which Dr. Ungnad gives on pp. 29-30, the Assyrians also had their special Creation story, in which Aššur takes the place of Merodach as he who fought with Tiauwath.

But it would take too much space to go all through this somewhat extensive book; suffice it to say that all the principal legends are dealt with, including those in which the story of the Flood is related.

Dr. Ranke's contributions from Egyptian sources go as far as possible upon the same lines as Dr. Ungnad's from the Babylonian. He gives the account of the annihilation of Apophis by Re (better known as Ra). In this text mankind came into existence from the tears of the divinity, and this, the author points out, is due to a wordplay "between *rîme*, 'to weep,' and *rôme*, 'mankind.'" Of special interest are naturally the texts referring to the destruction of mankind (translated by Naville in 1876) and the life beyond the grave.

Students of the Old Testament will naturally look for the succeeding volumes with much interest, as the application of all the texts dealt with to Old Testament lore will doubtless be developed, and one is curious to know the lines upon which this will be done.

T. G. PINCHES.

HAMMURABI'S GESETZ, von J. KOHLER, Professor an der Universität Berlin, und A. UNGNAD, Dr. Phil. Band II: Syllabische und zusammenhängende Unschrift nebst vollständigem Glossar, bearbeitet von ARTHUR UNGNAD. Erste Abteilung. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1909.

The interest aroused by Professor Scheil's first publication of the Laws of Hammurabi still continues, and the present publication is one of the most important dealing with the now famous code. In this work Dr. Ungnad strikes out a new path by giving not only a syllabic transcription, but also a second, in parallel columns, in which the words are printed as such and not divided into syllables. Dr. Ungnad's special object has been to give a correct reproduction of the syntactical indications in this

inscription. In the notes a complete critical apparatus of the earlier and later text variants will be given. The glossary which is to follow the transcriptions will be the most complete possible, and will form a concordance to the whole. Dr. Ungnad publishes, it may here be noted, a translation of the Code of Hammurabi in *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (noticed above, pp. 793-5), pp. 140-71.

I am a little in doubt as to whether all the improvements of the original text and corrections of the orthography will be accepted, but they give material for thought, and the work is a distinct advance on the road towards finality. I shall probably return to the subject when the work is more complete.

T. G. PINCHES.

VORDERASIATISCHE SCHRIFTDENKMÄLER DER KÖNIGLICHEN MUSEEN ZU BERLIN, herausgegeben von der vorderasiatischen Abtheilung, Heft VII. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909.

The seventh volume of this most important collection has been prepared for publication by Dr. Ungnad, whose literary scientific work is referred to above. In the editorial note by Professor Delitzsch prefixed to the volume, we see that the texts now issued are partly contracts and lists and partly private letters. They belong to the period from Sumulaël to Ammišaduga, and come, according to the dealers, from the ruin mounds of Délam (Rassam, *Dailem*¹) and Muḥaṭṭaṭ. One only (No. 204) was acquired by Professor Sarre at Dér ez-Zor and presented to the Museum.

This collection, which consists of 204 tablets, is similar to numerous others belonging to the same period, found at Abu-habbah (Sippar), Babylon, Niffer, and elsewhere.

¹ Mr. H. Rassam was the first, or one of the first, to excavate on this site, and the tablets he found led to its identification.

They consist of sales of houses, fields, plantations, etc., and contracts concerning similar things. Many of the tablets are letters.

As the writer of this short notice hopes to return to the subject when noticing Dr. Ungnad's "Untersuchungen zu dem im VII. Hefte der Vorderasiatischen Schriftdenkmäler veröffentlichten Urkunden aus Dilbat" in the sixth volume of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, a few simple notes upon the present work are all that will be needed here. Dailem (to adopt Mr. Rassam's spelling) is the ancient 𐎣𐎶 , universally read Dilbat (though it is doubtful whether it has anything to do with the name of the planet Venus, *Dilbat*, or, better, *Delebat*, which it resembles ideographically, the only difference being that it has the place-suffix *ki* instead of the divine prefix *dingir*). Mr. G. Bertin told me, when he was employed copying tablets at the British Museum, that he had found the form *Dilmu*, which, if correct, would account for the modern name of the place. Two cities are mentioned in the tablet from Muḫattat: Yahmu-Dagan and Tirqa, the latter seemingly a suburb of the former, which, as its name implies, was a centre of the worship of Dagan (Dagon). To all appearance it would be a promising place for excavations.

The deities of the ancient Dailem were *Uraš* and *Lagamal*. The latter has been compared with *Lagamaru*, and regarded as one of the component parts of the name of the Elamite king Chedorlaomer. Another form (perhaps a punning one) was *Lagamil*, "the unsparing."

Dr. Ungnad's copies are excellently made, and the inscriptions from the cylinder seals have been added wherever they were legible. It is a publication which may be used with confidence.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1624-9. By WILLIAM FOSTER. Oxford, 1909.

While the documents calendared by Mr. Foster in his previous volume (see this *Journal* for 1908, pp. 1172-9) recorded the events of but two years, those summarized in the present volume cover a period of thrice that length, the reason being that, unhappily, many letters written by the factors at Surat and other places in India have disappeared. Fortunately, however, the writers had a habit of repeating the main points in subsequent letters, so that it is probable that no information of very great importance has been lost to us by the loss of these documents. That, at least, is the impression one gets from reading this book, especially the luminous Introduction by the editor, in which the different events, varying accounts of which are scattered, here, there, and everywhere throughout the volume, are reduced to order and an intelligible narrative given.

When we last parted with the Surat factors they were laying in vast stores of bread and butter with a view to abandoning all the north-western factories if the Mogul authorities did not accede to their demands. Neither contingency occurred, however; and in the early part of this volume we find President Rastell and his colleagues eating the bread and drinking the water of affliction in prison, from which they obtained release after several months' incarceration only by heavy payments to their detested captors and by submitting to humiliating conditions. Under President Kerridge matters improved somewhat, though much trouble was caused by the behaviour of several of the factors at outlying stations, in some cases amounting to downright insubordination. This seems to have culminated under President Wylde, against whom the factors at Gombroon made serious accusations, couched in anything but polite language, in reply to which

they received what is endorsed as "A vearie tart or harsh letter". Private trading appears to have gone on merrily, and to have been winked at and condoned by the President himself, who evidently had a share in the business.

As in the previous letters, so in these, we have a deal of human nature revealed, not always on its best side. The fondness of the Company's servants for strong drink is not so much in evidence in this volume, though here and there it crops out; so that we find Joseph Hopkinson at Ahmadābād writing to John Bangham at Lahore on December 23, 1625 (o.s.): "We were promised som sack to keepe Christmas withall, but yet it cometh not; we still live in hope."

Perhaps the most amusing entry in the whole of this book is one relating to another and comparatively harmless English idiosyncrasy. Returning from the fierce sea-fight with the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf in February, 1625, William Minors, master's mate of the "Eagle", gives vent in his diary to this bitter and despairing cry: March 1. "This day, beinge Shrove Tuesday, wee had noe pancakes, by reason it was taken for the 29th February and consequently made two leape yeares together, vizt. anno 1624 and anno 1625. This computacion was a pestilent feaver which overspread the most of the fleete." The fact that the crews of some of the ships got their pancakes must have been all the more aggravating to the victims of this "pestilent feaver".

In this collection we do not come across such flowers of speech as were met with in the previous volume regarding the natives of India, though here and there we find such descriptive language as "falce villain" (Asaf Khān), "base conditioned fellow" (Nādir uz-Zamān), "our auntient invetterate enimie" (Khwāja Abūl Hasan), "your basse coveteouse Cattwall." The Dutch, too, are "our falce hearted frinds"; and Joseph Cockram and others are instructed to "Keepe good correspondence with the Danes

and Portugalls, but trust them not; and have as little conversation with the Portugalls as may be, for they are exceeding treacherous and will poison you if you eat with them, as our people by wofull experience in Siam have made triall with the losse of their lives". In fact, towards natives and other Europeans alike the attitude of the English was one of suspicion, jealousy, and hatred, and the feeling was probably reciprocated.

For the student of the history of India in the early part of the seventeenth century these documents are a very mine of information, supplemented as they are by the details from the Dutch and Portuguese records and other sources that Mr. Foster gives in footnotes. For instance, we have in the letters of the President and Council at Surat, and the factors at Agra and other places, references to and descriptions as eyewitnesses of such stirring events as the rebellion of Prince Khurram, the *coup d'état* of Mahābat Khān, the deaths of Prince Parwiz and Jahāngir, the proclamation of Dāwar Baksh as emperor, the attempt of Prince Shahriyār to secure the throne for himself, and finally the accession, in February, 1628, of Khurram (henceforward to be known as the emperor Shāh Jahān), with its accompanying general massacre of all likely rivals to the throne and their chief adherents.

One of the dominant features in this collection is the remarkable revival of Portuguese aggressiveness at sea, under "our old freinde Rufrero" (Ruy Freire), the naval commander in the Persian Gulf, and Nuno Alvares Botelho, who had come out as captain-major of the Indian seas. These two between them gave the English a hot time for some years, and the unhappy folk at Surat could scarcely sleep o' nights owing to the Portuguese nightmare. Graphic descriptions are given us, by various participants, of the three fierce conflicts that took place in the Persian Gulf between the Anglo-Dutch fleet and the Portuguese armada under Nuno Alvares; and we are also told of the

blowing up of the "Lion" at Gombroon by Ruy Freire's frigates, and of the attack on and burning of a prize ship by the Portuguese at the mouth of the Surat River. The crowning piece of audacity was the nailing on the gate of Surat Castle of a challenge to the English and Dutch to come out of Swally Hole and fight the Portuguese ship for ship. The challenge remained unanswered, but a year later the allies made an expedition to Bombay, and, meeting with no opposition, sacked the deserted castle and burnt the huts of the miserable natives.

Although this last-mentioned incident forms unpleasant reading, the descriptions of Bombay in connexion therewith and elsewhere in this volume are exceedingly interesting, as are the accounts of the (unsuccessful) attempt to find on the west coast of India some safe harbour where a fort might be built and the English have a secure settlement. Of much interest also are the descriptions of the attempt to establish a factory in the Tanjore territory, the foundation of a settlement at Armagon, and the temporary abandonment of Masulipatam owing to friction with the native officials.

In connexion with the Anglo-Dutch attack on Bombay Mr. Foster gives as a frontispiece to this volume a facsimile of David Davis's sketch-map of the harbour. This was published for the first time some twenty years ago in Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, but there were some inaccuracies in the interpretation of Davis's explanations. In a footnote in his Introduction Mr. Foster gives a correcter transcript; and now for the first time we understand what manner of dwellings were the "cittjohn" or "kittjonns" houses, all of which Davis says the allies burnt. The mysterious word turns out to be simply the worthy mariner's attempt to represent the Malay *kajang*, or, as the English now spell it, *cadjan*, meaning a plaited palm-leaf used as a house covering. The word was evidently then not in common use

in India, Yule's earliest example in *Hobson-Jobson* being dated nearly fifty years later. With all due deference to Mr. Foster, I think his transcript will bear emendation. In the first place, in the explanation "The Ro. [Road] is ij rockes, one boath sides", Mr. Foster seems to have been misled by Sir George Birdwood, who also has "(Road)". A comparison with Davis's other explanations and a reference to his map show that this interpolation is erroneous, and that "Ro." stands for "Rockes". Then, in the second place, I feel confident that the punctuation of two of the other explanations is incorrect, and that they should read: "The letter M is a monasteri, and the littell towne of cittjohn houses. Betwix it and the wood wher the letter *f* [is] ther weare a dozen friketts riding." In fact, if we look at the map we see that the frigates are depicted as lying between the points indicated, while the little town is not so situated.

John Johnson, of whom we read in the preceding volume as the master of the Danish ship "Christian" that was wrecked in Koṭṭiyār Bay, and then as an escapee from Tanjore, appears in this volume as an evil genius, leading the factors at Batavia to undertake a sleeveless expedition to Karikal with the idea of founding a settlement in Tanjore territory. In the interesting description given of this expedition there are several points on which I might comment, did space permit. We know that the "Danish" community in Dansborg was a somewhat conglomerate one, Crape, the chief, being himself a Dutchman and an ex-servant of the N.E.I. Company; therefore we are the less surprised to read that "Of the admirall [of the Danish ships] an Englishman was master, on James Mounttanye, the which Captaine Prinns tooke in his voyage of the *Great James*". To this Mr. Foster appends a footnote, "Mountney? Prinng's fleet sailed in 1617." But I think Bickley refers to the voyage of Prinng in the "Royal James" to Masulipatam in 1619, on

which occasion large numbers of the seamen in Dale's fleet deserted, among them probably Mountney (see *Eng. Fact.*, 1618-21, p. 153, and this *Journal* for 1907, p. 443).

Very different was the result of the expedition from Masulipatam to Armagon, where the Nāyak received the English with open arms, granting them almost every privilege they could wish, even to the minting of pagodas and firmans. The Dutch, however, were naturally annoyed at having an English settlement so close to Palikat, and did all they could to mar its success. The Danes acted similarly with regard to a projected English factory at Pondicherry, but got imprisoned by the Nāyak for their pains.

Though most of the letters summarized in this volume were written in India, not a few are from Batavia on the one hand and Gombroon on the other; and Mr. Foster has been compelled, in footnotes but especially in his Introduction, to tell us something of matters in Persia and Java, in the latter case the disastrous attempt at a settlement on the pestilential island of Lagundy and the removal from Batavia to Bantam being described.

That the standard of morality was not high among the English at that time these documents prove. The factors at Surat and elsewhere frankly confess to bribery and corruption of the native officials to gain their ends, lying stories are to be told to the Dutch in order to conceal from them the real destination of ships, a suspected spy is tortured to extract from him a confession of a bogus plot, native trading vessels are piratically captured and their crews and passengers sold as slaves or so brutally treated that they throw themselves into the sea, and so on.

As usual, there are in these documents many Hobson-Jobsonisms, amusing or interesting. Of the former class are "John de Vee" for Gandevī, "Fernandobuck" for Pernambuco, "Brian John" for Viliñjam, and "Domus Carenus" for [Ilha] de Mascarenhas. "Saldanians" as

an appellation for the natives at the Cape is a happy invention (from Saldanha Bay, the earlier name of Table Bay), but did not "catch on" apparently. Of special interest is the occurrence, in a document of 1625, of the word "cuddee", the earliest example of "cuddy" in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.* being dated 1660. It is noteworthy that while the President and Council at Bantam write to the factors at Jambi that a Portuguese prize was laden with "dried penang", the President and Council at Surat, writing to the Company about the same vessel, describe this cargo as "areck or beetle nuts". This ship, it appears from the latter communication, was also laden with coco-nuts and "cophra, which is the meat within the cokernutts", an interesting but scarcely accurate explanation of copra. On p. 284 we find "catamaran" in the form "cattamaronce", but Mr. Foster says that the last three letters are not quite distinct, and I would suggest "cattamarow" as more probable. The form "men" as the plural of "maund" (Hind. *man*) is very curious.

In writing to one another the factors in India were very fond of interlarding their English with native words. Examples abound in this collection, but two instances will suffice: in writing to John Bangham at Lahore, Robert Tottle at Samāna says that he purposes on Tuesday "to macke couch", i.e. take his departure (Hind. *kūch*, a march or journey). Writing on December 23, 1625, to the same John Bangham, John Willoughby at Gwalior wishes him "a merrire Christmase than I ame like two have, beinge evry night heth-heth". To this duplicated word Mr. Foster appends the footnote, "This is probably a specimen of word-coining. It seems to be intended to represent the shivering produced by fever." But is it not rather Hind. *heth*, down, low, the writer thereby wishing to indicate his physical and mental depression?

There are other points of interest in these letters. In their consultation of September 11, 1628, regarding the

removal to Armagon, the factors at Masulipatam write that "to shipp the same [porcelain] to Bantam is little better than (as the saying is) to ship colles for Newcastle". This is a much earlier example of the use of the proverb than the earliest in the *Oxford Eng. Dict.*

"Ricenorad" (p. 85) represents, not Raïs Murād, as Mr. Foster suggests, but Raïs Nūr-ud-dīn (see *Documentos Remettidos*, iii, 369-70). The explanation of "raligrate" on p. 115 is incorrect; the word is from Port. *realegrar* or Ital. *rallegrare*, to rejoice, gladden. The identification of "Secrecour" with Sriharikōta (p. 120, n. 5) had already been made by Heeres (*Corpus Dipl. N.-I.*, p. 486, n. 2). "Sibo Sibō" (p. 254), which Mr. Foster pronounces "a hopeless puzzle", perhaps represents Sahibu Sahibu. The identification (p. 259, n. 1) of the fortified island spoken of by Predys with Secretario is, I think, wrong. I cannot find that a fortress was ever erected there. Predys says "another [castle] built lately upon the northernmost end of one of the Iles of Keymathes"; and I feel certain that he not only confused the Ilheos Queimados (Burnt Islets) with the Ilheos de S. Jorge, but that he mistook the point of Mormugão for an island, which it very nearly is. As a fact, the Mormugão fortress had been "built lately", having been commenced in 1624, four years before Predys saw it (see Fonseca's *Goa*, 42-3). "Cabeceira" (p. 265) should be "Cabaceira". There can be no doubt that "Carera" (p. 342) is Karedū; see the interesting quotations in Sir Richard Temple's *Thomas Bowrey*, p. 36, n. 3.

In conclusion I would say that the index, as usual, is excellent. *

DONALD FERGUSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April, May, June, 1909.)

I.—GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

April 6, 1909.—Sir Raymond West, Director, in the Chair.

The following eleven gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

The Right Hon. Lord Curzon of Kedleston, G.C.S.I.

Mr. Samuel J. Cohen.

Mr. C. A. Kincaid, I.C.S.

Mr. Charles J. Morse.

Professor W. J. Prendergast.

Mr. Saiyed Abu Ali.

Rai Bahadur S. Mitter.

Mr. Manmathanath Moitry.

Mr. Gokul Chand Narang.

Mr. P. Ramanathan.

Sardar Udham Singh.

Four nominations were announced for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. M. Moszkowski, of Berlin, read a paper on "The Pagan Races of East Sumatra".

In the discussion that followed Mr. Skeat and Dr. Thornton took part. The paper appears in the current number.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 11, 1909,
Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Maung Po Hla.

Mr. Maung Ba Soc.

Mr. Maung Ba U.

Shaikh Mahomed Ali.

Six nominations were announced for election at the
next General Meeting.

The Annual Report for the year 1908-9 was read by
the Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1908-9.

The Council regret to report the loss by death of six
honorary members—

Professor V. Fausböll,

Professor F. Kielhorn,

Professor Barbier de Meynard,

Professor R. Pischel,

Baron Victor von Rosen,

Professor Eberhard Schrader,

and of eleven ordinary members—

Mr. J. B. Buchanan,

Dr. Stephen W. Bushell,

Major Sir H. A. Deane,

His Grace the Duke of Devon-
shire,

Mr. Patrick Doyle,

Dr. T. Duka,

Mr. J. F. K. Hewitt,

Sir Arnold Kemball,

Rev. Dr. G. U. Pope,

Mr. D. L. Richardson,

Mr. W. Theobald;

and by retirement of the following twelve :—

Captain Vaughan Bateson,

Sir James A. Bourdillon,

Professor H. F. Bray,

Mr. N. E. F. Corbett,

Pandit Hirananda Shastri,

Colonel H. S. Jarrett,

Sir Alfred Moloney,

Mr. E. S. M. Perowne,

Mr. T. M. Rangacharya,

Mr. E. T. Sturdy,

Mr. P. C. Tarapore,

Mr. E. Crawshay Williams.

The following four gentlemen elected during the year
have not taken up their election :—

Mr. K. K. Chakko,

Mr. Chit Hla,

Mr. Maung Maung,

Mr. J. Sen.

Under Rule 25 (d) the following seventeen gentlemen cease to be members of the Society :—

Mr. S. Parameswara Aiyar,	Mr. M. Krishnamachariar,
Mr. R. R. Bugtani,	Mr. Parmeshwar Lall,
Mr. Pashupatinath Chatterjee,	Mr. C. J. Le Mesurier,
Mr. Harinath De,	Mr. M. Tun Lwin,
Mr. Bepin Behari Ghosal,	Mr. Yusuf I. Mulla,
Mr. Iswar Chandra Das Gupta,	Mr. V. R. Pandit,
Mr. J. S. Hosford,	Mr. T. B. Pohath-Kehelpannala,
Mr. Mir Musharaf ul-Huk,	Panjab Bhusan P. Bulaki-Ram.
Mr. C. G. Idichandy,	

The following eighty-two new members have been elected during the year :—

Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmad,	Mr. K. N. Gopal,
Mr. Sofiullah Saifuddin Ahmad,	Mr. Maung Po Han,
Mr. S. Kuppaswami Aiyangar,	H. E. Mahmud Hassib Bey,
Mr. S. Aijaz Ali,	Mr. M. Hibatullah Azimabadi,
Mr. S. Raza Ali,	Mr. Chit Hla,
Mr. J. Allan,	Mr. W. W. Hornell, I.E.S.
Mr. F. H. Baynes,	Sultan Sayyid Saadat Hosain
Mr. R. A. Becher,	Shah,
Babu Charu Chandra Bose,	Mr. James H. Hyde,
Professor H. F. Bray,	Mr. M. V. Subramania Iyer,
Dr. A. Büchler,	Mr. C. H. Keith Jopp, I.C.S.
Mr. Hafiz Mahomed Bux,	(ret.),
Mr. K. K. Chakko,	Mr. G. R. Kaye,
Mr. Maung Ba Cho,	Mr. C. H. Kesteven,
Mr. W. Coldstream, I.C.S. (ret.),	Mr. Maung Ba Kin (2),
Dr. S. Daiches,	Mr. Ernest Klippel,
Professor Friedrich Delitzsch	Professor Ernst Kuhn
(Honorary),	(Honorary),
Mr. T. Desika-Chari,	Rai Brij Behari Lal,
His Grace the Duke of Devon-	Mr. Quazi Abdul Latief,
shire, P.C.,	Mr. H. D. Graves Law, I.C.S.,
Mr. Mon Chow Dhaninivat,	Rev. Arthur Lloyd,
Mr. Malik Muhammad Din,	Rev. Frederick MacCormick,
Professor A. Fischer,	Mr. G. L. Maheshwary,
Mr. S. C. Ghatak,	Mr. Abu Muhammad Mahfuz,
Mr. Wopendranath Ghosh,	Mr. Priya Krishna Majumdar,

Mr. K. M. Mattolla Mappillay,	Mr. Sadashiva Rao Powar,
Professor Gaston Maspero	Mr. A. M. Rashad,
(Honorary),	Mr. R. V. Russell, I.C.S.,
Mr. Maung Maung,	Professor C. Salemann
Mr. Maung Thein Maung,	(Honorary),
Dr. Binay Lal Mazumdar,	Mr. Suresa Chandra Sarkar,
Mr. K. P. Gopal Menon,	Mr. Bankim Chandra Sen,
Mr. P. L. Misra,	Mr. J. Sen,
Mr. F. J. Monahan, I.C.S.,	Mr. Gur Prasad Sinha,
Mr. John Murray, J.P., F.S.A.,	Mr. Herbert A. Stark,
Miss M. E. Noble (Sister	Khan Bahadur A. K. M. Abdus
Nivedita),	Subhan,
Mr. Maung Ba Oh,	Professor Vilhelm Thomsen
Professor Hermann Oldenberg	(Honorary),
(Honorary),	Mr. M. Mya Ů,
Mr. T. Z. Oung,	Professor J. Wackernagel,
Rev. F. Penny,	Professor Max Walleser,
Mr. A. R. Pillai,	Mr. W. Fairfield Warren,
Mr. K. G. Gopala Pillai,	Mr. J. P. C. Williams,
Mr. Laurence Pillay,	Mr. Maung Aung Zan, K.S.M.,
Mrs. Parvatibai Powar,	

It is satisfactory to report that the great increase in members recorded last year, and the corresponding increase in income, have this year been surpassed. In 1908 sixteen more members have been elected than in 1907, and £43 more received in subscriptions. The sale of the Journal has also increased, and four new Libraries added to the list of subscribers.

An extraordinary outlay has been made on the Library, by which, it is hoped, its value to members has been much increased: the money to meet this extra expenditure has been made up chiefly by the sale of surplus books during the last three or four years. The Library has also benefited by some valuable gifts.

Mr. Andrew Kay, son of the late Mr. Henry Cassels Kay, who was for many years a member of the Council, has presented in memory of his father a collection of thirty-four Arabic printed volumes and six MSS.

The University of Pennsylvania, on the proposal of Professor Hilprecht, the editor, has presented the volumes already published of the Babylonian Expedition, and has promised to continue to send them as they appear. The four series will comprise in all some sixty volumes.

Mahamahopadhyaya Professor Sudhakar Dvivedi, of Benares, has presented his Sanskrit and Hindi works, thirty-two in number, chiefly astronomical.

During the past session many interesting papers have been read: amongst them may be mentioned those by Dr. v. Le Coq on the work of the Royal Prussian Expedition to Chinese Turkestan, by Professor Garstang on the recent Explorations in Asia Minor, and by Dr. Stein on Explorations in Eastern Turkestan and Western China.

The Journal has been published regularly, and has fully justified its reputation for scholarly work, variety, and general interest.

One more work has been added to the Oriental Translation Fund during the year, a translation of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka by Mr. Keith. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Keith not only for the valuable translation of the Sanskrit Text but also for his kindness in bearing a portion of the cost of publication.

The dividends accruing from the Medal Publications Fund during the six years that this Fund has existed have enabled the Council this year to undertake two new works: one an edition in Nāgarī characters, with Notes and Introduction, by Professor Hultzsch, of the Prākṛita-rūpavatāra of Siṃharāja; the other a Monograph on the Pali Literature of Burma, by Mrs. Bode. Both these works will shortly be ready for publication.

The fourth volume of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* has appeared in the Indian Texts Series, thus completing this interesting work upon which Mr. Irvine has successfully bestowed so much time and labour.

The Annual Dinner was held on May 13, 1908, at the Hotel Cecil, and was well attended, Lord Reay, the President, in the chair. Amongst the guests present were the Chinese Ambassador, the Siamese Chargé d'Affaires, Lord Wenlock, and Lord Midleton.

The Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists was held in August, 1908, at Copenhagen, and the Society sent delegates to represent it, and also presented it with all the Society's works published since the previous Congress in 1905.

The Public School Gold Medal for 1908 was won by Mr. H. K. Lunn, of Harrow School, for his essay on Lord Clive. The medal was presented by Lord George Hamilton on July 1.

The Triennial Gold Medal of the Society for this year, 1909, has been awarded to Dr. Grierson, in recognition of his distinguished services to Oriental scholarship, as evidenced by his many works on Indian subjects, editions of texts, and translations, and lastly by his monumental work on the Linguistic Survey of India. The medal was presented to Dr. Grierson on March 16 by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House, in the presence of a small deputation of the Council, consisting of Lord Reay, Sir R. West, Sir C. Lyall, Dr. Thornton, Mr. Fleet, and Mr. Kennedy.

The Council have awarded the Public School Gold Medal for the present year to Mr A. H. M. Wedderburn, of Eton College, for his essay on the Marquess Wellesley.

Owing to the lamented deaths of Professors Fausböll, Schrader, and Pischel, there were three vacancies in the list of Honorary Members. The appointment by the Council of Professors Delitzsch, Thomsen, and Kuhn will add distinction to a body which contains the names of the chief scholars of the Continent.

The usual Statement of Accounts is appended. The Council recommend that a vote of thanks be passed to

the Auditors — Mr. Keith, Mr. Dames, Mr. Frazer, and Mr. Windus.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year, 1909–10, are as follows:—

Under Rule 30, Sir Charles Lyall retires from the office of Vice-President.

The Council recommend the election of Mr. Irvine.

Under Rule 31, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Fleet, and Dr. Codrington retire from their respective offices of Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Secretary, and Hon. Librarian.

The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rules 32, 33, the following Ordinary Members of Council retire:—

Mr. Ellis,
Mr. Irvine,
Professor Margoliouth,
Dr. Pinches,
Sir Arthur Wollaston, K.C.I.E.

The Council recommend the election of

Sir H. Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G.,
Mr. A. Rhuvon Guest,
Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I.,
Professor Macdonell,
Mr. Sewell.

SIR ERNEST SATOW: The Report which you have just heard bears testimony to the continued prosperity of the Royal Asiatic Society. In spite of the loss of members during the past year through death, resignation, or other causes, there is a net increase in the membership of more than thirty, and a consequent increase in subscriptions. I note in the Report a statement regarding the expenditure of £90 upon books. I think the Society is to be congratulated in this respect, too, for it should be its aim

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS				782	12	0
Resident Members—84 at £3 3s.	264	12	0			
Advance Subscriptions	3	3	0			
Arrears received	3	3	0			
Non-Resident Members—						
298 at £1 10s. (less arrears 10s.)	446	10	0			
9 at £1 1s.	9	9	0			
Advance Subscriptions	46	15	0			
Arrears received	6	0	0			
Library Members—2 at £1 10s.	3	0	0			
	782	12	0			
RENTS RECEIVED				225	9	
GRANT FROM INDIA OFFICE				210	0	0
JOURNAL				272	15	9
Subscriptions	215	0	0			
Additional copies sold	36	4	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	7	14	6			
Advertisements	13	10	9			
Sale of Index	0	6	0			
	272	15	9			
DIVIDENDS				44	10	10
New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock	30	10	0			
Midland 2½ per cent. Debenture Stock	5	0	10			
Local Loans Stock	9	0	0			
	44	10	10			
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS				11	8	9
Lloyds Bank	7	7	5			
Post Office Savings Bank	4	1	4			
	11	8	9			
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				7	7	9
				1554	4	1
Balance as at January 1, 1908				514	17	5
				£2069	1	6

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent. Stock.
£212 8s. Midland 2½ per cent. Debenture Stock.
£300 3 per cent. Local Loans Stock.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1908.

PAYMENTS.							£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				427	8	5
Rent ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	350	0	0			
Insurance ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	13	11			
Repairs ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	10	5			
Lighting, Heating, and Water ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	11	5			
Other Expenditure ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	12	8			
							427	8	5			
SALARIES AND WAGES ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				294	19	0
OFFICE EXPENSES ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				35	10	4
LIBRARY ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				90	2	7
New Books ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	59	14	4			
Binding ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	8	3			
							90	2	7			
JOURNAL ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				575	2	10
Printing ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	487	13	6			
Illustrations ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	47	9	4			
Postage ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0			
							575	2	10			
DONATION TO PALI DICTIONARY ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				10	10	0
POSTAGE ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				50	0	0
SUNDRY PAYMENTS ... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...				48	4	11
										1531	18	1

Balance as at December 31, 1908	...	...	537	3	5
			£2069	1	6

We have examined with the books and vouchers of the Society the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments, and have verified the Investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

{ A. BERRIEDALE KEITH,
 for the Council.
 M. LONGWORTH DAMES,
 R. W. FRAZER,
 for the Society.
 A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A.,
 Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

LONDON, March 2, 1909.

SPECIAL FUNDS.

RECEIPTS.

PAYMENTS.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

		1908.			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
1908					
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 31.	Sales ...	58	14 3	9	17 0
	Interest ...	3	0 0	1	13 4
				2	2 0
					13 12 4
				...	313 11 1
					<u>£327 3 5</u>

Vol. XIX, cost of illustrations and typing MS. ...
Vol. XII, Binding ...
General account for postage, etc.

Balance carried to Summary ...

INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

		Dec. 31.			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 31.	Subscriptions ...	55	3 4	...	116 10 4
	Exploration Expenses Account, refund of amount unexpended	10	10 0	...	...
	Interest ...	50	0 0	...	...
		0	17 0	...	...
					<u>£116 10 4</u>

MEDAL PUBLICATION FUND.

		Dec. 31.			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 31.	Dividends ...	102	0 0	...	121 5 0
	Interest ...	1	5 0	...	...
		19	5 0	...	...
					<u>£121 5 0</u>

MONOGRAPH FUND.

		Dec. 31.			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Jan. 1.	Balance ...	...	...	...	...
Dec. 31.	Sales ...	10	3 4	...	1 1 0
	Interest ...	19	19 6	...	29 7 10
		0	6 0	...	...
		20	5 6	...	...
					<u>£30 8 10</u>

General account for postage, etc.
Balance carried to Summary ...

Funds.—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
Irredeemable B Stock, £600.

SUMMARY.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	...	313	11	1	1	Lloyds Bank Deposit Account	...	...	406	12	6
INDIA EXPLORATION FUND	...	116	10	4	4	Do.	...	...	174	1	9
MEDAL PUBLICATION FUND	...	121	5	0	0		...	...	
MONOGRAPH FUND	...	29	7	10	10		...	...	
		<u>£580</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>				<u>£580</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>

We have examined the above Statement and Summary with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for Stock
 { A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
 { M. LONGWORTH DAMES, } for the Society.
 { R. W. FRAZER,
 { A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer.

MEDAL FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
Balance as at January 1, 1908	...	28	19	9	Balance as at December 31, 1908	...	39	8	9
Dividends	0	15	0					
Interest	0	14	0					

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
 Irredeemable A Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

Balance as at January 1, 1908	...	20	6	2	Cost of Medal	...	...	5	0	0
Dividends	...	19	7	4	Binding 8 Prizes	...	...	11	16	0
Donation, A. N. W.	...	0	1	8	Legal expenses	...	...	18	6	0
School Contributions	...	4	0	0	Other expenses	...	...	4	1	0
Interest	...	0	3	4	Balance as at December 31, 1908	...	...	4	15	6
		<u>£43</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>				<u>£43</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>

Funds—Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent.
 Irredeemable B Stock, £645 11s. 2d.

We have examined the above accounts with the vouchers and have verified the investments above described, and we hereby certify that the said accounts are true and correct.

{ A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, for the Council.
 { M. LONGWORTH DAMES, } for the Society.
 { R. W. FRAZER,
 { A. J. WINDUS, A.C.A., Professional Auditor.

A. N. WOLLASTON,
 January 1, 1909.

J. KENNEDY, Hon. Treasurer. LONDON, March 2, 1909.

to gather together on its premises as complete a collection as possible of books relating to Asia.

I have some diffidence in saying to the members of this very learned Society that I have often been struck, on looking over the *Journal*, by the paucity of papers from the Far East. I am sure that this paucity is not due to the Society itself, or to the Council, who have no desire to exclude learning from whatever part of Asia it may come. In the last number of the *Journal* there was a valuable paper on a Japanese subject by my friend Mr. Victor Dickins. This leads me to make some remarks on what I fancy may be contributory causes of this paucity.

Firstly, the local societies existing in China, Japan, and Siam. The China Society is very old, and is a branch of this Society. About 1875, I think, a society was formed in Japan, now affiliated with the Royal Asiatic Society, under the name of the Asiatic Society of Japan. It publishes papers on Japanese subjects. Within the last few years, under the guidance of the learned Dr. Frankfurter, of Bangkok, a society has been founded to deal with Siamese subjects.

Again, there is the paucity of students knowing these languages actually resident in England. I do not know a really learned scholar of Siamese who resides here. There are people who know the language from a practical but not from a scholarly point of view. There are some eminent Chinese scholars, but they are not all available. There are two or three excellent Japanese scholars, but two of the most eminent are confirmed invalids, quite unable to devote themselves any longer to continuous work. In addition, there is the fact that although the earlier students had the stimulus of novelty in introducing to Europe languages, history, literature, and philosophy which were then scarcely known, now, after a lapse of fifty years, enthusiasm has become lukewarm in the succeeding generation, who reason that all the work is done.

I venture to doubt whether this is the case. We still know very little of Siam, for instance. In the Records of the India Office there are interesting documents concerning the relations between Europe and Siam, but the actual history has not been investigated nor the languages studied. The Lao States of the North speak a dialect which might be compared with lowland Scotch in its relation to English. Of Korea also we know very little. There are the official Chinese histories and one or two dictionaries and grammars, but a great deal remains to be done both for its history and language.

China, too, is such a vast country that she offers a wide field for research. There is much still to be learnt of the philosophy, history, and philology of China, and the relation of the Chinese language to its neighbours.

Perhaps I have a better right to speak of Japan. You all know that Japanese books begin at the wrong end. I became so accustomed to this fact during the years I devoted to Japanese studies that when I took up a European book I began to read the end first. Many years ago the Royal Asiatic Society published a translation by the celebrated scholar Klaproth—he was a great scholar in those days, whatever might be the opinion of him to-day—of a revised translation by a Dutch scholar of a Japanese book which ranks pretty much as *Little Arthur's History of England* or Mrs. Markham's *History* does with us. Since then the Japanese have taken to studying the subject on European methods. There has arisen an excellent historic school; its productions are written in the style of modern European works and give much information not hitherto made public in Europe.

In Japanese literature Mr. Dickins, who contributes a paper to the last issue of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, has published two interesting volumes dealing with the ancient literature before the art of writing was known, which must have been handed down

by oral tradition. In religion we have works on Shinto by Dr. Aston, of Beer, in which for the first time he has made known what Shinto really is.

Besides Shinto there is an enormous mass of Buddhist literature in Japan hardly yet explored. Japan not only took over bodily Chinese Buddhism, but formed new sects with their own doctrines. Dr. Arthur Lloyd, of Tokio, has done something to enlighten us on this subject, but the younger generation of scholars might well devote themselves to this work. It would be no contemptible undertaking, for it would require a training in Chinese, Sanskrit, and Pali, without which it is impossible to understand Japanese Buddhism.

Then there is the philology of Japan; those who have studied Korean have been struck with the relationship between it and Japanese, especially in its physiology, that is, the construction of sentences, artifices for grammatical changes, particularly with verbs and adjectives; adjectives are conjugated almost as if they were verbs; in fact, there is very little difference between these two parts of speech. In the vocabulary Korean does not seem so closely allied to Japanese. But if anyone compared a Dutch with an English dictionary he would probably conclude hastily that those languages were as far apart from each other as the North and South Poles. So it is with Japanese and Korean: but they are found to be closely allied, especially in the ancient forms. I think Manchu and Mongol will also be found to be of the same family. A man requires considerable equipment to do work in this field. There is one profound Chinese scholar who knows Manchu and Mongol; if he could acquire Japanese and Korean he would be able to enlighten us very much on the subject of the relations of this group of languages.

The unworked field in Chinese and Japanese learning is still very wide. If the Royal Asiatic Society could make known their willingness to accept the work of men who

reside in the Far East and occupy themselves with its literature, history, and philosophy, they would no doubt be encouraged to produce papers on these subjects, and the paucity of articles on these subjects would be remedied.

I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE: There is usually not much for a seconder to say in moving the adoption of a Report, and to-day I am labouring under yet another difficulty. I have to follow the excellent speech just made by Sir Ernest Satow as to what the Society can do, and those of us who were present last night at the annual banquet of the Royal Asiatic Society heard further explanations of the objects and scope of the Society. With regard to that banquet I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating our Secretary, Miss Hughes, on the excellent and successful arrangements she made for it, now for the fourth time.

I am glad also to be able to say one or two things to-day which may be of use. I should very much like in the first place to draw special attention to the financial condition of the Society. There has been a gratifying increase of members, but we should compare the flourishing state of finances such an increase involves with the purposes for which they are required, and when you come to consider the reputation of the Society all over Europe and the East, owing to the scholarly activity of its members, I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that its funds are almost hopelessly inadequate. The Report shows that the Society has been active in its publications, but I think the Secretary can support me in the statement that there is, nevertheless, still a large quantity of unpublished matter—left unpublished through want of funds—which would be very useful to scholars.

We cannot always count upon the presence amongst us of such generous friends as the late Mr. Arbuthnot to pay for the publication of works which it pays no publisher to

take up. We must therefore fall back on increasing our income available for publication, and to do this it is necessary to look after the general expenditure. Not that I would suggest for a moment the curtailment of the salaries, the office expenses, or the expenditure upon the *Journal* or the Library. The salaries are lower than those of any society I know, and the more we spend upon the Library and the *Journal* the better for the Society; we ought to be satisfied from the Report that the Council and Secretary are active enough in guarding our expenditure, but I think we may well follow the excellent suggestion of Sir Ernest Satow, and get a greater increase of contributions to the *Journal* from the Far East, as they mean contributions in money also.

Continuing my examination of the accounts, under the heading of "House" I notice in the Report that 20 per cent. is spent on rent, etc. I observe that one-half of the rent is recovered by subletting, but it should be possible to do more. Thus, I think the Council might stir in the direction of free quarters. Other learned societies similar to ours get this advantage, and it is worth looking into, for it would be a great benefit to us.

The whole of the accounts of the Royal Asiatic Society are not included in the figures dealing with the general funds. There are four special funds, and I would draw your careful attention to them—the Oriental Translation Fund, the Indian Exploration Fund, the Medal Publication Fund, the Monograph Fund; but the amounts at their disposal are extraordinarily small. In the direction of obtaining more funds for these purposes there is great room for activity.

I have thus dealt at length with the question of finance because of its extreme importance to research work. Scholarly enthusiasm and activity are damped and curtailed by shortness of funds, and from the practical point of view it is as important that the Society should look

to its finances as that it should undertake research work. Nothing is more important to science than that such a society as this should flourish, because I am convinced that in future individual effort will cease to a great extent. I will give as an instance the conduct of the *Indian Antiquary*. It has always been a private venture largely supported by the Government, and as long as the Government of India subscribed directly matters went fairly well; but when a decentralization of subscription was ordered, local Governments at once diminished their subscriptions. And now I hear that a further decentralization will take place, and local libraries and other institutions are to indent for the copies they require. Now if there is one thing a librarian or an institution dislikes more than another it is subscribing to a magazine; what they like is to use their funds to increase the supply of library books. So I expect that before long the official subscriptions to the *Indian Antiquary* will cease altogether, and then the *Antiquary* itself will have to cease. For the past twenty-five years I have, as many of you will know, conducted that journal at my personal risk and always with increasing loss, and so I can speak with knowledge on this point.

On one point of interest to this Society I have great hopes, and I should like to say a few words about it if I do not weary you. It is the question of preventing the dispersal of the Indian Museum. I feel certain that the combined efforts of this and other societies will succeed in saving the Museum. This is my impression. From all information that I have been able to gather since the recent deputation to the President of the Board of Education, the ultimate result of that deputation's effort will be the establishment of a separate museum, unconnected with the other museums in London, showing the arts and industries of India in a manner of which we need not be ashamed. But if we are to get what we want in this respect we must

not relax our efforts. We must always remember that the officials of the Board of Education and of the India Office are busy people. They have much to do, and they may let this matter slide if we do not keep it before them. In the press of general business any one point is likely to be overlooked by Government offices unless pressure is constantly brought to bear on it from outside. We must therefore be careful to see that this particular matter is not dropped, and we must keep on until we get what we want.

I have great pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report.

LORD REAY : I think the suggestions that have been made are most valuable ; our great object is to increase the field of operations of the Society. I have listened closely to all that Sir Ernest Satow has laid before us.

I wish to make a direct appeal to Sir Ernest and ask him whether he will assist the Editors of the *Journal* in getting recruits in China and Japan to send articles. I am sure a letter signed "Satow" would be irresistible ; the desired articles would be forthcoming, and such an invitation, too, would, I am convinced, reach the right quarters. From what has been said there is evidently a vast field lying fallow which ought to be explored. The extraordinary rise of Japan has given an impetus to various movements in China, and it is of the utmost importance that we should get all possible information in this direction.

As to our finances, I may say that I have had experience of many and varied societies, and I do not know of one in which the finances were so admirably managed and in which such excellent results were produced with so little means as in the Royal Asiatic Society. We tender our best thanks to our Honorary Treasurer for the way in which he discharges his duties. It is quite true, as Sir Richard Temple says, that it is desirable to look into our finances, and there is another fact to be borne in mind,

namely, that in three years our lease of this house runs out. As some generous person has been found lately who is willing to give £70,000 for the establishment of a National Theatre, I hope that some one will be found to help the Royal Asiatic Society in a similar way—an object which certainly deserves equal support.

To-day is an auspicious occasion, in so far as the adoption of the Report has been moved by so eminent a scholar and diplomatist as my Right Honourable friend, Sir Ernest Satow, a distinguished representative of the Far East. No one can speak with greater authority about anything connected with our allies the Japanese. I have had the great pleasure and privilege of working with Sir Ernest Satow in a different field; we spent four months together at the second Peace Conference at The Hague, the Journal of which contained elaborate and important documents which have been the foundation on which has been built the edifice of the Naval Conference. My only regret is that the order was not inverted, and that the Naval Conference did not take place before the Peace Conference; the Peace Conference would have lasted less than four months if the ground had been as well prepared as it was for the Naval Conference.

It is a great pleasure to me to present to you so satisfactory a report of the year's work and progress. The increase in our membership is valuable, for it means that the knowledge of the aims and the work of the Society is widespread and appreciated.

The scope of the Society embraces so large a field that it is not always easy to represent adequately all the different branches of learning that come within its purview, but that is the aim which is steadily kept in view with regard to the *Journal*, and we specially welcome contributions that tend to keep up the general interest for all sections of our members.

The last number of the *Journal* shows that we are

doing somewhat in the direction of the Far East, for we have an interesting Japanese paper from that great authority Mr. Dickins, and from Dr. v. Le Coq a valuable résumé of the paper he delivered before the Society last November on the Prussian expedition to Turfan.

The contributions to the *Journal* for 1908 did not fall short in interest of those for preceding years. As usual, India took the predominant place, and the fourteen articles on Indian subjects will add to the reputation of their authors as well as that of the *Journal*.

Amongst the numismatic articles, one by Mr. Walsh on "The Coinage of Nepal" deserves to be called a monograph rather than an article. It is worthy of special notice as it is a complete history of the three dynasties which ruled in that country from the eighth century of our era.

The work of exploration being carried on in Asia Minor on the sites of the great Hittite cities is represented in the *Journal* by an article from Professor Sayce on a Cuneiform tablet from Boghaz Keui, while Professor Garstang, of the Liverpool Archæological Institute, in December last read a most interesting paper before the Society on "The Recent Archæological Explorations among the Hittite Ruins".

In Semitic language we have in Arabic a text with notes and a commentary by Mr. Amedroz, and in Persian a suggestive article on the Jâmi'u't-Tawârikh by Professor Browne, both valuable contributions; while Mrs. Beveridge continues to add to the information she has already given as to the various MSS. of the Bâbar-nâma. In old Persian or Pahlavi Dr. Mills gives further translations of the texts of the Yasna.

Sir Henry Howorth again contributes to the *Journal*, and adds fresh knowledge to his researches into the history of the Mongols.

Dr. Gaster contributes the hitherto unpublished Hebrew text of the *Secretum Secretorum* with an English translation. The scholarly Introduction which accompanies it

throws much new light on the sources from which the work was drawn, and adds fresh interest to this chapter in the literary history of the civilization of the Middle Ages.

The pages of the *Miscellanea* have seen much discussion of problems, and are always open for the elucidation of points on which scholars can add information to that already given.

There are some pages of the *Journal*, however, that can only be perused with sadness—I mean those that record the loss by death of our Members, and last year the toll was a heavy one. Many of those thus lost have been written of in the *Journal*, but I cannot refrain from recording my deep sense of the loss sustained so lately by the death of our Honorary Member, Dr. Richard Pischel. He was well known to many of us here, and was a familiar figure at all Congress and other meetings where Orientalists gather together. The truly graceful appreciation and tribute to his memory from the pen of Dr. Barnett in the last number of the *Journal* does full justice to his personal charm and scholarly attainments.

The New Oriental Translation Fund, started in 1891 by the late Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, published in 1908 its eighteenth volume, the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka*, by Mr. Keith.

Mr. Arbuthnot at his death generously left all the stock of the volumes he had published at his own expense to the Society, and it is on the proceeds of the sales of these volumes that we have been able to publish the last two volumes and undertake the *Memoirs of Jahāṅgīr*, which is now nearly ready.

The printing of Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita* and the *Dhamma Saṅgaṇī* were paid for respectively by the late Lord Northbrook and Mr. Edward Sturdy, and help of this kind, either for a whole volume, or as in the case of last year's publication, when Mr. Keith paid a part of the cost,

is of the greatest assistance to the Fund in keeping up its annual volume, for the money accruing annually from the sales is not sufficient to pay for a complete volume.

The Medal Publications Fund has started its career with two interesting and valuable works, (1) the *Prākṛitarūpāvatāra* of Simharaja, edited by Professor E. Hultzsch, and (2) *The Pali Literature of Burma*, by Mrs. Bode. A notable authority on Prakrit, Dr. Hultzsch was for many years in the service of the Government of India in Madras as Government Epigraphist and Editor of the volume of South Indian Inscriptions before he took up residence in Germany to fill the post of Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Halle.

Mrs. Bode has been a contributor to the *Journal* and also to the publications of the Pali Text Society for some years, and this year we have to offer her our sincere congratulations on her appointment as Deputy Professor of Pali and Sanskrit at the University of London. I believe it is the first time that a lady has held this position.

It is a great pleasure that Dr. Grierson should be the recipient of the Triennial Gold Medal of the Society this year. Dr. Grierson and his work are too well known to all of you to require any eulogy from me, and this award is but a fitting tribute to the great work he has done for Indian scholarship.

Special honour was done to the Society on this occasion, for H.R.H. the Prince of Wales presented the medal to Dr. Grierson at Marlborough House, and in so doing followed in the footsteps of his august father, our present King, who, as Prince of Wales, presented the medal on a former occasion.

I wish to congratulate very heartily Mr. W. Irvine on the completion of his *Storia do Mogor*.

The School Gold Medal this year has been gained by

Eton, and Lord Curzon will present the medal to the winner, Mr. A. H. M. Wedderburn, on May 21.

I am very glad to be able to inform the Society that we had a most successful deputation last week to the President of the Board of Education. I believe that the speeches made on the occasion by Lord Curzon, Sir Richard Temple, and others must have convinced the Members of the Government and the officials of the increased importance which attaches to the continued and separate existence of the Indian Museum, both for the sake of India and for the honour of this country. It would be nothing less than a scandal if a foreigner came to London and asked to see the Indian Museum and we had to tell him that it was scattered among the other collections and no longer had a separate abode. What we desire is that it should be carefully maintained as a distinct and special collection representing the great Empire of India. We also consider that unless this separate existence is maintained there will be no inducement to rich people to make additions; they will not be attracted to do so if it should be scattered, but only if due honour is done to the gifts they may bestow.

I hope that in such a separate and permanent Museum of India the extraordinarily interesting and valuable collection recently brought home by Dr. M. Aurel Stein may find a place. It is quite absurd to send Dr. Stein to make explorations, exposing himself to much hardship and risking his personal safety, and on his return to give him great applause at public meetings, but to say that there is no place in which to receive his collection.

I always have on the occasion of our annual meetings one task which is specially pleasant, and that is the expression of our appreciation of the services of our Secretary. I do not know how she manages to accomplish so much with such strict economy. The work of Miss Hughes is beyond all praise; she is indefatigable; she

devotes all her time to the Society. We all know her constant readiness to help and the sagacity and skill with which that help is rendered. I have great pleasure in moving a most hearty vote of thanks to Miss Hughes.

We are equally delighted to see here to-day Dr. Codrington. His work in connexion with the Library is of the utmost value, and we hope that for many years to come we may rely on his devoted services.

Before I sit down I should like to say that as far as the Council is concerned we shall continue to give our best efforts to the work of the Society. There is a great deal to be done. When we see what is done by Germany and France to promote Oriental studies we are not satisfied with what is done here in quarters whence we should expect help. I do not see how the problems of the great British Empire are to be solved unless material assistance is obtained to enable scholars to devote themselves to continuous research work, which throws so much light upon the development of the East.

I quite endorse what Sir Richard Temple has said that we cannot continue to trust to individual efforts; we must get support from all sides, and make a joint effort to reach the perfect fulfilment of our aims. An Empire such as ours has seldom been seen before, and its duties must be discharged with a feeling of due responsibility for the enormous interests that are at stake.

I have the honour to put to the meeting the adoption of the Report.

The Report was carried unanimously.

PRESENTATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL.

May 26, 1909.

LORD REAY: Lord Curzon, ladies, and gentlemen,—At this stage of the proceedings I have merely to ask Lord Curzon to present the Royal Asiatic Society's Public

School Medal to the successful essayist, Mr. A. H. M. Wedderburn, of Eton College; but when the time comes to move the vote of thanks I shall have something to add.

This is the first occasion on which the medal goes for the second time to a public school. Eton was victorious in the competition of 1905, and again carries off the medal in 1909. In 1904 it was won by Merchant Taylors' School, in 1906 by Rugby, in 1907 by Westminster, and in 1908 by Harrow. I do not think I need say very much on the subject. You are all thoroughly aware of the extreme importance of the study of history in general and of the history of India in particular at our public schools and similar institutions. There was a time when it was necessary to make an appeal for the inclusion of history in our elementary and secondary schools, and even at the universities; but I am very glad to see that history now occupies a prominent place in our educational system.

I should like to give you some particulars which I came across the other day showing the importance Germany attaches to the value of the study of history in the education of girls. In a recent order of Council, issued with the sanction of the Emperor, history is put in the girls' curriculum exactly on the same footing as in the curriculum for boys. In an advanced girls' school in Germany four hours per week are given to history, six to English, and three to geography; nine hours are given to German, twelve to French, and six to English. In a modern high school seven hours per week are given to French, four to English, and four to history; in a classical high school four hours are given to history, five hours are given to French, and two to English. To show the interest that pervades all classes I may tell you that the Munich Working Men's Educational Association, organized entirely by working men, studies the political culture and history of the nineteenth century.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

They make use, I suppose, of a most remarkable book, which is not so well known here as it ought to be. It is the *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, written in German by an Englishman, Mr. Houston Stuart Chamberlain, who lives at Vienna, and is a nephew of the late Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain. It has gone through eight editions; sixty thousand copies have been sold in Germany of these two bulky volumes. I find that it contains some reference to the Aryan origin of our old civilization and to the somewhat obscure point as to why the Aryans, living where they did, encouraged emigration to Europe. Chamberlain points to three races as the root of our civilization—two Aryan races, the Greek and Latin, and one Semitic, the Jewish. If you want to see how history should be studied you should refer to this most interesting volume, full of erudition, knowledge, discrimination, and common sense. It shows what the study of history can achieve. As civilization becomes more and more complex, questions arise which become more and more difficult for statesmen both in East and West to solve. If we are to understand our relations with the East and if the East is to understand their relations with us, it is necessary that the study of history should be encouraged and prosecuted with energy both here and in the East. The Japanese are quite aware of this fact, and I believe you will find that they give full recognition in their schools and universities to the study of history. No person can engage in either political or administrative work of any kind who has not mastered to a certain extent the historical problems which lie at the root of political development. Nothing but disaster can accrue to the nation which does not assign to the study of history a foremost place.

I am sure we shall enjoy an interesting speech from Lord Curzon, and I will now ask him to present the medal to Mr. Wedderburn.

LORD CURZON: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen,—When Lord Reay asked me to present the Public School Medal to the successful competitor to-day I felt that I must gladly accept the invitation, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to be here this afternoon. It would be scarcely possible to find a more congenial ground of meeting. The subject of the essay is the life of a statesman who was great as a Governor-General and as an Etonian. The winner of the medal is an Eton boy. And the person who presents the medal is a man in whose heart Eton and India are enshrined side by side, as the two objects of a lifelong and most ardent devotion.

Lord Reay has given us some interesting observations about the study of history in Germany. My few remarks will deal with history in its relation to India. I regard these competitions in which Mr. Wedderburn has been victorious as one of the most useful means adopted to popularize the knowledge of India in this country. The ignorance about India in England is perhaps less now than it was twenty or thirty years ago, but it is still quite appalling. Sixty years ago Lord Dalhousie, that great Governor-General, said that it required either a great victory or a great defeat in India to make the smallest impression upon the public mind in Great Britain. We have fortunately passed out of the region of acute warfare in India, but it almost needs a similar convulsion in some other sphere of action to disturb public opinion in this country about it.

And yet the means of information at our disposal are by no means small. It is a remarkable feature of our rule in India that it has thrown up in the last hundred years many eminent men, whose lives have been written and the facts of whose history and careers are well known. Moreover, hardly any history in the world has been so thoroughly illuminated by official records as that of India;

she positively staggers under the weight of Blue Books. If the whole of them were placed in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, there would hardly be space for any other publications on these shelves. And yet who reads those Blue Books? I have scarcely met a single human being who would voluntarily open one of them, with the exception, of course, of the members of this Society. There is, for instance, the Blue Book known as *The Moral and Material Progress Report on India*, published every year and containing admirable and well-condensed information. You will find in that book almost all that is to be known about India, and every ten years the experience of the previous decade is summed up in a larger publication. But no one buys it or reads it.

There is, indeed, a vast literature about India, if we care to study it. But, nevertheless, the ignorance remains great and widespread; and that is the reason why I welcome so heartily these competitions, for it seems to me that they are attacking the English public from the right point of approach. If you take boys when they are young and inspire in them an interest in, and knowledge of, India, it will continue and will influence them for the rest of their lives. It is difficult to persuade middle-aged people to commence a study in which they have never so far taken any interest. But the Royal Asiatic Society very properly goes to the bottom of the scale in the scheme of its Public School Medal. As I understand it, prizes of books are given every year to certain Public Schools which undertake some special instruction in the geography and history of India; and a further prize is given in the form of a medal to the writer of the best essay on a set subject among the winners of the first competition. There are now some twelve Public Schools competing. Further, it is in the power of a generous donor to extend this useful work and to increase the number of schools either by giving

a donation to swell the capital fund or by earmarking it for any particular school.

Let me say why it seems to me so desirable a thing that boys of that age should become acquainted with the history of India. As I came here to-day a book was placed in my hands, and on opening it I saw on the first page these words: "India should be placed first in the list of the world's countries, for she is almost certainly the birthplace of man." That is a very cryptic observation, and carries one back into a region of speculation into which I do not propose to enter. So far as I know, there is no foundation for the statement. But whether India has or has not any relation to the original birthplace of man, it is indubitable that the history, politics, ethnology, religion, and philosophy of India have left a deeper impression than almost any others upon mankind. Look again at the part which India has played in our own history. She has been one of the stepping-stones by which this country has marched from a small Island Kingdom to the greatest Empire of the world. India is at this moment geographically by far the largest and politically one of the most important, if not the most important, section of the British Empire, the keystone of the arch of our world-wide dominion. Then there is a point which appeals to me more than any other, namely, the problems of administration which India presents. They are the most complex, the most delicate, and the most responsible that devolve anywhere upon the shoulders of the British race. If I were a parent seeking a profession for my son, I think the first thing that I should do would be to cast my eye upon India, and this mainly for two reasons. In the first place, if my son went to India he would be doing something definite, practical, and of positive value to large masses of human beings at a time of life when in any other country or profession he would

only be occupying a secondary and irresponsible position. In the second place, India opens up a field of honourable activity in the sphere of government greater than any in the world. It is open to any young man of character and ability who goes there, from whatever class he may be drawn, to rise to a position in that country, before he attains the age of 50, in which he may be ruling, almost single-handed, a territory larger than that of many European kingdoms and exercising an authority greater than that of many European kings. Many years ago John Bright used to say that India was a playground for the aristocratic classes. John Bright had a great and genuine interest in India, tempered by a good deal of ignorance; and he seemed to think seriously that we kept India as a means of finding billets for the younger sons of the nobility. I should like to appeal to Lord Reay, with his long experience of India, and ask him to tell us whether, in travelling about the country and observing the Civil servants conducting the Administration, he ever came across these scions of a pampered aristocracy. For myself I never saw them, and I have always held that one of the greatest merits of the Service and one of the sources of its strength was that, instead of being recruited from one class at home, it was drawn impartially from all sections of the community, so that the best English blood of the upper, middle, and all classes was perpetually flowing into India and giving to it the best that British character and British intelligence can offer. It is remarkable, too, what a hold the Indian Service establishes over a family, generation after generation. If you look at the Civil Service List you will find to-day names that were famous long before the Mutiny. I have sat upon a platform with a Lieutenant-Governor who told his audience that he was the fifth in succession of the same family to eat the salt of India.

There are other considerations, too, which prove that

it is both desirable and necessary to be well informed with regard to India. In my opinion India will occupy a much larger share of public attention in the future than she has done in the past. More than a hundred years ago, when the East India Company was gradually developing, by ill-controlled and often corrupt expansion, into a governing power, Indian affairs were very prominent in Parliament, and excited the attention of such great names as Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, and Burke. Again, more than fifty years ago, a violent interest was aroused in this country through the peril to our fellow-subjects and

rule arising from the Sepoy Rebellion. And recently a wave of unrest has been passing over India resulting in some cases in the commission of atrocious crimes, and eventually eliciting concessions and reforms from the present Administration. Nothing could be more improper than for me to say anything on the present occasion which might have a political complexion; therefore I will not discuss the effect which it appears to me that these changes must have on the future of India. But it is permissible for me to say this, which no one will doubt, that they must unquestionably render the administration of India more complex, more arduous, more difficult in the future, and must impose a greater strain upon the civilians called upon to conduct the administration of that country. And if this be so, how important it is for the ensuing generations of those men that they should have from an early age that broad acquaintance with Indian conditions and history which it is the main object of the competitions for the Royal Asiatic Society's Public School Medal to give.

I must pass by the personal topics raised by Mr. Wedderburn's essay on Lord Wellesley, but it is fitting that the prize for this essay should have been won by an Eton boy. Wellesley was one of the few men who had the rare distinction of being educated both at Eton and

Harrow. I believe that the late General Buller was another. The fact points to a stormy interlude, and it was, as we know, owing to a boyish escapade at Harrow that Wellesley was removed to Eton, where he became one of her most loyal sons. In later years he always turned to Eton with affectionate remembrance; to Eton he dedicated some of his best classical verses; and when he died he was followed to his grave in the College Chapel by the six hundred boys of his old school. I regret the controversies that have arisen with regard to him. I have had occasion to study his career, and I have always taken the view expressed in Mr. Wedderburn's essay that ~~he~~ was a man of large views, high courage, distinguished abilities, and of absolutely sincere patriotism. There was a certain splendour and assumption about him which provoked criticism, but they were combined with genuine statesmanship. He is endeared to me particularly because in India he was a consistent patron of art and learning. When no one thought much of the education of young Englishmen in India Lord Wellesley founded the Fort William College for the benefit of the Writers, as they were called, of the East India Company. Many of these young men went to India at the age of 16 or 17, and Wellesley saw the temptations to which their ignorance exposed them. Accordingly, he sought to provide them with the means of education in the languages, laws, and customs of India. But the Board of Directors, who were always fighting him, eventually broke down his scheme. But while it lasted the students used to assemble once a year in the Throne Room of Government House and were addressed by Lord Wellesley on their duties and responsibilities. Government House itself brings Wellesley to mind, for he built it on the model, as you may be aware, of my own home. Sitting, as successive Viceroys do, in the rooms where a long series of great men have lived and worked, one thinks of them so often that

their shades almost seem to rise before one's eyes. One becomes familiar with their personal appearance and with their character. Very real to me was the aspect of Lord Wellesley, with his slight form, precise features, and air of authority—a small man, as was his brother the famous Duke, but the best type of a patrician, carrying command in every gesture and in every trait.

In this way a Viceroy cannot fail to form some estimate of the place in history which his predecessors will occupy, as he reads their speeches and dispatches, notes the results of their policy, and realizes their definite identity. In the long list of eminent names two always appeared to me to stand out by themselves in moral grandeur and in statesmanship, Warren Hastings and Lord Dalhousie, the former persecuted while living, the latter slandered when dying, both vilified when dead, and only vindicated long after, in their graves. Next to them comes Lord Wellesley. There have been other men like Lord William Bentinck, remarkable for special reasons, and Lord Canning, distinguished for the serene composure with which he met a great crisis. But in actual achievement they were not to be compared with Warren Hastings or with Lord Dalhousie. I cannot, of course, speak of men still living who have held the great office of Viceroy of India; but I should like to point out, in the presence of the Headmaster of Eton, that of recent Governors-General there have been five in succession trained in that school to which both he and I belong — Lord Dufferin, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Elgin, Lord Minto, and myself, and I might add another name, that of Lord Ampthill, who, in the interval in my own tenure of the office, filled the position for a time. So many Etonian Viceroys in unbroken succession is a remarkable achievement, and I hope that the Headmaster has some potential Viceroys up his sleeve for the future to carry on the traditions of the school in Indian administration.

In presenting to you, Mr. Wedderburn, the Public School

Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society, I congratulate you most heartily upon your success, and I hope that the excursion you have made into Indian history will lead you to further study. I have read your essay with great pleasure ; I have admired the moderation of its propositions, and the just and sane verdict pronounced on the affairs which you have discussed. I hope that this essay will not be your only venture, but that you will be tempted to pursue the course on which you have started, either in some form of literature or in practical work, and that the same success will attend you in the future as on the present occasion.

CANON LYTTTELTON, Headmaster of Eton : Lord Reay, Lord Curzon, ladies, and gentlemen,—I feel that I shall best fulfil the object in view in asking me to say a few words on this occasion by assuring the company of the sympathy and acquiescence with which I have listened to the advice given this afternoon. I am glad to say that interest in the East is growing steadily year by year at Eton. I have no doubt of it. At the same time it is not possible for me to say that the whole aspiration and thought of boys at Eton is taken up with the East. Such interest is not to be found among them in a greater degree than it is among the adult population from which the boys spring. I am constantly told that countries nearer to us than India ought to excite a feeling of interest, yet they fail to do so, so we cannot expect that interest in India should have reached a feverish pitch. In Public Schools we must always be prepared to meet the rival claims of other subjects which in the present day occupy more and more attention on the part of the public. Of the importance of the study of history in general we are all agreed, and I think that other history than English history should be included ; none is more important than the history of the Indian Empire ; it includes facts of vast interest which we cannot afford to ignore.

On one other subject I am glad to be able to confess that I take a different view from that which I formerly held. It used to be said—perhaps Lord Curzon will corroborate the statement—that it would be a great calamity for the British Empire if the democracy really interested itself in India. If we had not hit upon a system of administration which practically left the great men we send to India a free hand, we could not have contemplated in the future as successful administration as in the past. We have gone on the principle that it is better to take a capable man and leave him unfettered than subject him to the whims, caprices, and passions of the democracy. Many Viceroys would have found themselves unable to resist blunders if their hands had been thus tied. One, I know, would have been equal to any emergency, Lord Curzon himself. But after hearing what has been said to-day I take a more rosy view now of the increase of the power of the democracy.

As evidence of the interest in India which is growing at Eton, I may mention that Mr. Wedderburn's essay is one of eleven which were sent from the school. This means that eleven so-called luxurious Eton boys have been willing to give time during the holidays to work for a prize to which, as yet, not so much prestige is attached as to other prizes at Eton, but which will, I am sure, grow in favour. The eleven essays were good, and the examiner commented upon the general standard in terms which will warm the cockles of many hearts at Eton. We may look upon this as a kind of missionary enterprise on the part of Wedderburn and his compeers. They may become the centre of an interest in Eastern affairs which will spread to the rank and file, far and wide. It may be the case that the influence of this eleven becomes, in the long run, no less potent than the influence of another eleven now visiting us, I mean the Australian cricketers. If a similar stir in the national life should be accomplished in time by

this as by the other eleven, I think you will say that we have not failed at Eton to fulfil the promise I make with all sincerity that the study of history shall be prosecuted with all the care and attention we can give.

LORD REAY, in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Curzon, said: It is a pleasant task to offer our best thanks to Lord Curzon for having conferred upon us the great privilege of his presence here to-day. I wish to join most heartily in the congratulations which have been offered to Mr. Wedderburn. I congratulate also my friend Mr. Wedderburn, his distinguished father. If Mr. A. H. M. Wedderburn is inclined to join the Indian Civil Service, he will afford another illustration of what Lord Curzon has pointed out, namely, the hereditary genius of that great Service, for a relation of his, Sir William Wedderburn, was a distinguished member of the Service when I had the honour of being Governor of Bombay.

What Lord Curzon said when he appealed to me is quite true. Nothing is more incorrect than the idea that the Indian Civil Service is recruited entirely from one class; I could give instances of all classes being included. I agree also with what he said that no career gives to Englishmen the opportunity of filling so early positions of great responsibility as the Indian Civil Service. I have been specially impressed in my visits to Native States when I found in some cases a young civilian in charge of the administration of a State during the minority or suspension of its chief. In that position he has more latitude, is less bound by laws and regulations than in British territory; he has full scope for his activity; and I have had occasion to appreciate the results of his administration in two or three years with regard to such diverse subjects as railways, education, forests, etc. He has completely transformed a neglected State. The exercise of autocratic power conferred for the benefit of the subjects of a Native State is attended with satisfactory results.

We owe Lord Curzon a debt of gratitude for the admirable speech he has made to us this afternoon. He mentioned his experience in thinking of the work of his predecessors on the Viceregal throne; I can also conceive the searchings of heart of his successors when they meditate on his prodigious activity in fulfilling the high position for which he had carefully prepared himself by travel and study, and thus made it possible for him to accomplish so much. He is a living witness to the importance of the study of history; he has made history, and will, we are sure, occupy a most distinguished place in the roll of history.

I agree with what he has said about Blue Books. I am rather alarmed by the fact that the Government has appointed lately a Committee, over which Lord Balfour of Burleigh presides, to inquire into the matter of Royal Commissions. If the result is the curtailment of Blue Books, although they are not popular literature, I think it would be a serious loss, and I should sympathize with those who, desiring to consult Blue Books, found that such sources of information were no longer available.

I trust the future career of Mr. Wedderburn will be most successful, and I am sure that he and his father will look back upon this occasion, when he received the Public School Medal from the hands of so distinguished a statesman as the late Viceroy of India, as one of their pleasantest recollections.

I will now ask Mr. William Irvine to second the vote of thanks.

MR. IRVINE: In the regrettable absence of our Director, Sir Raymond West, it falls to me to second the vote of thanks to Lord Curzon. After what Lord Reay has said so admirably there is not much for me to add, but I can most cordially support what he has said. Anyone who has watched the speeches made in India by Lord Curzon will have noted that he always avoids empty platitudes

and polite nothings; he has always a message to deliver, and he delivers it. He has entirely fulfilled our expectations to-day in the notable address we have just heard. What more fortunate conjunction could there be than that an old Etonian should give to a young Etonian the prize for an essay on one of the glories of eighteenth century Eton. It is good for us to be reminded of the greatness of the real founder of the relations between the Indian Government and the Native States. The whole system was founded and to a large extent built up by Lord Wellesley as it still exists. Lord Curzon has hinted at the continual opposition Wellesley had to meet from ~~the~~ Board of Directors, who cavilled at him and tried to upset what he did. But he was not a man at the end of a wire; the policy of the *fait accompli* prevailed. I can imagine that Lord Curzon sometimes longed for a return of those halcyon days. Within the last few weeks there has issued from the Press a *Vindication of Warren Hastings*; alas! that, ridiculous as it is, it should still be necessary.

To return to the more immediate occasion. I trust that Mr. Wedderburn will continue his interest in Indian subjects. Whatever he becomes, whether Lord Chancellor, Archbishop of Canterbury, Viceroy of India, or even President of the Royal Asiatic Society, let us hope that he will not forget his first love. In any case, he will carry away the precious recollection that he received the medal to-day from the hand of the fourth and last—at any rate in point of time—of the great Indian Viceroys.

As members of the Royal Asiatic Society we have a special reason for greeting with pleasure the presence of Lord Curzon in our midst, for he was the first Viceroy since Warren Hastings to take any personal and practical interest in the history, architecture, and antiquities of our vast dependency, a country positively teeming with problems in every field of learning, lying ready to the hand of anyone who chooses to take them up for investigation.

I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Lord Curzon.

The vote was put to the meeting by Lord Reay and carried unanimously with acclamation.

LORD CURZON: I desire to thank Lord Reay very warmly for the terms in which he has proposed this vote of thanks. Coming from one with such great experience, the tribute is singularly agreeable to me. I wish also to thank Mr. Irvine for what he has said.

June 15, 1909.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

The following six gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. E. B. Havell, I.E.S. (retired).

Mr. Harry St. John Bridger Philby, I.C.S.

Mr. R. P. Kulandaiswami.

Pandit Ganga Prasad.

Pandit Goswami Braja Nath Sharma.

Maulvi Abdul Wali.

Fourteen nominations were approved for election at the next meeting.

A vote of sympathy with the family of the late Professor de Goeje, proposed by the President and seconded by Sir Charles Lyall, was adopted.

Dr. E. Denison Ross read a paper on "A unique Arabic MS. containing the History of Gujarat under Muhammadan Rule down to the time of Akbar". Sir Charles Lyall and Mr. Irvine took part in the discussion.

II.—PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

I. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Bd. lxiii, Heft i.

Franke (R. Otto). Die Suttanipāta-Gāthās mit ihrem Parallelen. Teil i.

Francke (A. H.). Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den drei Sprachen Lahoul's: Bunan, Manchad, und Tinan.

Bloch (T.). Eine Sammlung persischer und arabischer HSS. in Indien.

Vendianer (L.). Ursprung und Bedeutung der Propheten-Lektionen.

Charpentier (J.). Studien über die indische Erzählliteratur.

Praetorius (Fr.). Das kanaanaische und das südsemitische Alphabet.

II. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Tome xiii, No. 1.

Foucher (A.). Le grand miracle du Buddha à Śrāvastī.

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MICHAËL JAN DE GOEJE

ON May 17 Professor M. J. De Goeje, the greatest Arabist of modern times, died at Leiden, where for forty years he had laboured unceasingly both as an author and also in his official capacity as teacher of the Arabic language. A list of his works, including editions of Arabic books, historical and literary essays, reviews, etc., would occupy many pages, but even such a list would not convey any adequate idea of the services which he rendered to science, for he was ever ready to place his immense learning at the disposal of those who consulted him, and the fruits of his researches are often to be found in the publications of other men. The only European Arabist who can be compared with him, as regards the amount of his published work, is Wüstenfeld; in critical acumen and linguistic knowledge the superiority of the Dutch scholar is immeasurable.

De Goeje was born in Friesland in 1836. In 1856 he became the pupil of the well-known Arabist, Reinhart Dozy, of Leiden; but, unlike Dozy, who devoted himself mainly to the late mediaeval period of Arabic literature, De Goeje concentrated his attention on the earlier authors, in particular the historians, the geographers, and the poets. His name will for ever be associated with the Leiden edition of the *Annals* of At-Tabari, a work of stupendous size and inestimable value, the publication of which must be regarded as one of the greatest literary achievements of the nineteenth century. In this undertaking several of the most eminent Orientalists took part, but De Goeje performed the arduous task of chief editor, and to him the largest share of praise unquestionably belongs. Among

OBITUARY NOTICES

the works which he edited independently it is sufficient to mention the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (in eight volumes), the *Dīwān* of Muslim ibn al-Walid (1875), and the *Kitāb-ash-Shi'r wa-sh-Shu'arā* of Ibn Kūtaiba (1904).

His greatness consisted essentially in the fact that he combined a prodigious memory for details with a rigidly scientific method. He was indefatigable in the collecting of materials, but he subjected everything to a searching criticism, and never fell into the error of supposing that it is the duty of a European Orientalist to follow blindly the guidance of the native authorities. Though he ~~did~~ not devote much time to the study of any Semitic language other than Arabic, he was well acquainted with the general results of comparative philology, and constantly made use of them for the purpose of elucidating Arabic words and phrases. He likewise paid great attention to the influence of Græco-Roman culture on the East, as may be seen by a perusal of the admirable glossaries which he habitually appended to his editions of Arabic texts.

His reputation as a scholar is more likely to increase than to diminish with the lapse of time. But of his personal character future generations will scarcely be able to form a notion, for his unfailing kindness, his perfect rectitude, and his entire freedom from vanity can be appreciated only by those who enjoyed the privilege of his friendship.

A. A. BEVAN.

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*For facility of reference this Appendix will be published with
each forthcoming number of the Journal.*

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट ṭ	ब b
आ ā	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऋ ṛ	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ॠ ṝ	च c	द d	श ś
ऌ ḷ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ॡ ḹ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ

˙ (Anusrāra) . . . m

˘ (Anunāsika) . . ñ

ː (Visārga) . . . ḥ

× (Jihvamūliya) . . ḥ

⌘ (Upadhmaniya) . . ḥ

ṣ (Aragraha) ˙

Udātta ˆ

Svarita ˘

Anudātta ˘

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omit;	ک k	آ ā
elsewhere ʾ or ʿ	ل l	ی i
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش . s or <u>sh</u>	ن n
ث . t or <u>th</u>	ص . s or z	و . w or v
ج . j or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or z	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ . h or <u>kh</u>	ظ z	و au
د d	ع ʿ	wasla ʾ
ذ . d or <u>dh</u>	غ . g or <u>gh</u>	VOWELS. hamza ʾ or ʿ
ر r	ف f	silent t . . h
ز z	ق q	letter not pro-
		nounced . . ʾ

ADDITIONAL LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKSHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKSHTŪ.	PAKSHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pro-	پ or پ . t	خ <u>ts</u>
چ . c. or <u>ch</u>	nounced as	چ or چ . . d	چ g
ژ . z or <u>zh</u>	g k	ژ or ژ . . . r	ن n
گ g	گ ñ		ک <u>ksh</u>

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1909

XIX

STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN MEDICINE

BY A. F. RUDOLPH HOERNLE

V.—THE COMPOSITION OF THE CARAKA SAMHITA
IN THE LIGHT OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.
(*An essay in historical and textual criticism.*)¹

IN a previous contribution (No. IV, in this Journal for 1908, pp. 997 ff.), discussing Dṛiḍhabala's share in the composition of the *Caraka Samhitā*, I had indicated (ib., pp. 1017–18) what appeared to be conclusive evidence of the truth of one of the two traditional serial orders of the chapters of its *Cikitsita Sthāna*. That was the order which is shown in column 2 of the Table (ib., p. 1000), and which is adopted by Gangādhara in his well-known Berhampur edition of the *Samhitā*.

In the present contribution I propose to explain what evidence there is on the other side. In the main it is the evidence extractible from the large medical treatise called *Nāvanītaka*, which forms the second part of the Bower MS. As the date of that MS. falls somewhere in

¹ In addition to the texts mentioned in n. 2 on p. 997, Journal, 1908, the following are quoted in this paper:—BS. = *Bhela Samhitā*; D.NŚ. = Dallana, *Nibandha Samgraha*, ed. Jivānanda, 1891; Nāv. = *Nāvanītaka*, Part II of the Bower MS.; V.CS. = Vangasena, *Cikitsā-sāra Samgraha*, ed. Nanda Kumāra Gosvāmī, Calcutta, Śaka 1811. Also Réc. Déc. = Dr. P. Cordier, *Récents Découvertes de MSS. médicaux Sanscrits dans l'Inde*, 1903; Orig. = Dr. P. Cordier, *Origines, Evolution et Décadence de la Médecine Indienne*.

the second half of the fourth century A.D.,¹ and as the *Nāvanītaka* quotes numerous formulæ from the *Cikitsita Sthāna* of Charaka's Compendium, it seems obvious that none of the chapters of the latter, from which quotations occur in the *Nāvanītaka*, can have been written by Dṛiḍhabala, who lived several centuries later, probably in the ninth century A.D.²

The date of the composition of the *Nāvanītaka* is probably much earlier than that of the writing of the Bower MS., in which it has been preserved for us. That the latter is not the autograph of the author of the *Nāvanītaka*, but is a copy of a pre-existing work, is proved by various marks in the MS. Thus in the forty-fifth verse of the fourteenth chapter (p. 28 of my edition) we find the reading ". . . *vya-phalāni*", where the omission of three *akṣara* is indicated by three dots (see Plate VII, facsimile of Leaf 2, Reverse, line 4). At the time of editing the text I suggested the emendation *trīṇi cavya-palāni*. In the meantime the formula to which the forty-fifth verse belongs has been identified by Dr. Cordier³ in the *Bheda Samhitā*, from which it is seen that the true reading is *pañca cavya-palāni*. Obviously the *lacuna* is due to the fact that the writer of the Bower MS., finding himself unable to read (if illegible) or to supply (if missing) the three *akṣara* in his original, replaced them by three dots, a procedure simply unthinkable if the writer had been also the author of what he wrote. The misspelling of *phalāni*

¹ On the date of the Bower MS. see *Ind. Ant.*, 1892, vol. xxi, pp. 29 ff. In that dissertation the date had been fixed in the middle of the fifth century. A re-examination of the whole case, in the light of more recent information, has shown that the date must be placed about a century earlier. The details will be found in the Introduction to my edition of the Bower MS., which is now in preparation.

² On his date, see my *Osteology of the Ancient Indians*, §§ 10 ff., pp. 11 ff.

³ See his *Réc. Déc.*, p. 21. I have since verified the identification from my own copy of the *Bheda Samhitā*. It is curious that the MS. of the latter exhibits the same error *phalāni* for *palāni*.

for *palāni*, of course, might be a mere *lapsus pennæ* on the part of the author, seeing that the characters for *pha* or *pa* differ only by a slight curl or hook. Still, even this error points more readily to a copyist from an illegible or defective original. There are numerous blunders in the Bower MS. of a similarly suggestive character. In verse 723 of the *Pippalī-vardhamānu* formula (ed., p. 58), we have the curiously blundered phrase *yāvad=daśu-varṣās*, instead of *yāvad=avakarṣas*. The former cannot be explained as a mere *lapsus pennæ*, and as it is quite nonsensical in the context, it cannot possibly be ascribed to an author, but must be due to a thoughtless copyist of a badly legible original. Again, to verse 879 (ed., p. 67) there is appended the gloss *prācīnikā pāṭhā*, in order to explain the unusual name, *prācīnikā*, of the drug commonly known as *pāṭhā*.¹ As usual, that gloss must have stood originally on the margin, or perhaps between the lines, of the manuscript copy which some one made for himself from the autograph. By some subsequent copyist it was transferred into the body of the MS., that is, into the position where we now find it in the Bower MS. The writer of the latter, may, or may not, have been the first to make that transfer; in fact, it is easy to see that the case admits of a succession of copies between the autograph and the existing copy of the *Nāvanītaka*. In the sequel (pp. 885-6) it will be shown that there are indications in the *Nāvanītaka* pointing to a rather considerable interval, perhaps two or three centuries, between its composition and the copy in the Bower MS. On that assumption the argument referring to Dṛiḍhabala's share in the composition of the *Caraka Saṁhitā* gains considerably in force. But, after all, even if the composition and the copy were practically contemporaneous, the argument remains perfectly valid.

¹ The *Nighaṇṭus* (Dhanvantari, Madanapāla, Rāja) give only *prācīnā* as a synonym of *pāṭhā*.

The author of the *Nāvanītaka*, in the first verse of his Introduction (ed., p. 26), explains that his treatise is intended to "contain the foremost formulæ of the (medical) Maharshis, made by them of old". He nowhere explicitly mentions the Maharshis, or great medical authorities, from whom he takes his formulæ. In this he follows the usual practice of medical compilers. Thus one of the largest compilations of this kind, the so-called *Vaṅgasena*,¹ or, with its proper name, *Cikitsā-sāra Saṅgraha*, hardly ever indicates its authority, and then only indirectly. Yet it contains very copious extracts from Mādhava's works without any indication whatsoever.² And the great Mādhava himself has constituted the larger part of his *Nidāna* by means of extracts from the Compendia of Charaka and Suśruta, without specifying his sources. This practice indeed is universal among the ancient Indian writers, and however we may regret it from our modern text-critical point of view, we should be wrong to condemn it as plagiarism. Those writers had no thought of deceiving anyone, or representing as their own what they took from others. They always warn their readers by some introductory general announcement that they are going to draw on what were considered standard works in their time. Thus Mādhava, in the second verse of the Introduction to his *Nidāna*, states that that work is "compiled from the sayings of several sages".³ Similarly the author of the *Nāvanītaka* opens his work with the statement that it is "compiled from the leading formulæ of the great sages of old".³ But what an advantage it would have been to us at the present day

¹ Vangasena is really the name of the author, probably in the twelfth century A.D. In the Calcutta edition of Nanda Kumāra Gosvāmī (1889) the work runs into 1127 pages.

² See also *India Office Catalogue*, p. 951, and Professor Jolly's *Indian Medicine*, p. 6.

³ *MN.*, *nānā-muṇināṃ vacanair-nibadhyate*; and *Nār.*, *prāk-praṇītair-maharṣiṇāṃ yoga-mukhyaiḥ samavṛtam*.

if he had descended to particulars and specified the author of every formula which he has incorporated in his compilation!

However, as a matter of fact, the author of the *Nāvanītaka*, in one way or another, in a considerable number of cases, does indicate his sources. For example, in verses 917-49 (ed., pp. 68-70) he gives a *kalpa*, or pharmacological monograph, on *harītakī*, or chebulic myrobalan. These verses are introduced by him with the remark: "Now I will relate the *harītakī-kalpa*," and appended to them is the remark: "(This is) the *harītakī-kalpa* of the *Āśvins*." This procedure evidently suggests that the *kalpa* is a treatise, or perhaps an extract from a treatise, ascribed to the *Āśvins*. There still survive fragments of an *Āśvinī Saṁhitā*, or Compendium of the *Āśvins*, of which Dr. P. Cordier possesses copies (*Réc. Déc.*, p. 29). They contain two versions of a *harītakī-kalpa*, which Dr. Cordier has kindly communicated to me, and which are printed on pp. 180*b-f* of my (revised) edition. They differ, however, so widely from the version contained in the *Nāvanītaka* that it is impossible to consider the still surviving *Āśvinī Saṁhitā* as its source. Rather the latter gives the impression of being a comparatively late compilation, which, however, very possibly is elaborated from the same source as that from which the *Nāvanītaka* quotes. Besides the *harītakī-kalpa*, the *Nāvanītaka* contains a number of medical recipes, the authorship of which it also ascribes to the *Āśvins*. The following is a complete list of all such passages:—

- (1) *Āśvinī Mātulaṅga-guḍikā*, or citron-pills of the *Āśvins*, vv. 75*b*-7*a* (ed., p. 30), against *śūla*, or colic pains.
- (2) Another kind of *Āśvinī Mātulaṅga-guḍikā*, vv. 80-4 (ed., p. 30), against *kāsa*, or cough.
- (3) *Āśvina-Gulma-cūrṇa*, or abdominal tumour powder of the *Āśvins*, vv. 85-6 (ed., pp. 30-1).
- (4) *Āśvina-Haridrā-cūrṇa*, or turmeric powder of the *Āśvins*, vv. 96-101 (ed., p. 31), against *ajirṇa*, or indigestion.

(5) *Āśvina-Laśuna-ghṛta*, or garlic ghee of the Āśvins, vv. 216-22 (ed., p. 37), against *vātā-vyādhi*, or rheumatic diseases.

(6) *Āśvina-Jvara-hara-ghṛta*, or antifebrile ghee of the Āśvins, vv. 223-5 (ed., pp. 37-8).

(7) *Āśvina-viṣa-ghṛta*, or antitoxic ghee of the Āśvins, vv. 241-4 (ed., pp. 38-9).

(8) *Āśvina-Bindu-ghṛta*, or drop-meal ghee of the Āśvins, vv. 251-7 (ed., p. 39).

(9) *Amṛta-taila*, or ambrosial oil, vv. 287-312a (ed., p. 41).

(10) *Āśvina-Raktapitta-yoga*, or hæmorrhage formula of the Āśvins, vv. 418-23 (ed., p. 47).

(11) A *Kṣīra-yoga*, or medicated milk formula, v. 575 (ed., p. 54), against strangury.

(12) An *Ayoraḥiṣya-yoga*, or iron-dust formula, v. 579 (ed., p. 54), also against strangury.

(13) *Āśvinor = Āśvaḡandhā-rasti*, or the *Withania somnifera* enemy of the Āśvins, vv. 618-25a (ed., pp. 56-7), a tonic recipe.

(14) *Pippalī-varṣamāna-rasāyana*, or graduated pepper tonic, vv. 716-37a (ed., pp. 58-9).

(15) *Āśvina-rasāyana*, or tonic of the Āśvins, vv. 773b 81a (ed., p. 61).

(16) *Āśvinīya-yavāḡūtraya*, or the Āśvins' formula for three gruels, vv. 810-13 (ed., p. 63), against disorders of the three humours respectively.

(17) *Āśvina-harītakī-kulpa*, previously mentioned.

As yet, so I understand, none of these formulæ, except the seventeenth, have been traced by Dr. Cordier in his fragments of the *Āśvina Saṃhitā*. But thirteen from among them (Nos. 1-8, 10, 13, 15-17) are specially indicated by their names in the colophons as belonging to some Āśvina source, which we may provisionally take to have been the same as that from which the *Harītakī-kulpa* was taken. The remaining four formulæ (Nos. 9, 11, 12, 14) are expressly attributed to the Āśvin pair by a remark embodied in the formula itself. A similar remark, confirming the attribution in the colophon, is embodied also in the text of the five formulæ, Nos. 5, 8, 10, 15, 16.

With regard to the authorship of these remarks, that in the *rasāyana* formula (No. 15) is particularly instructive. The last verse of that formula (v. 781a) implies that by the medical tradition the formula was ascribed to the ancient physician Viśvāmītra, apparently the reputed

father of Suśruta.¹ The ascription is contradicted, however, by the initial verses (vv. 773b and 774)² and by the colophon, both of which attribute the formula to the Aśvin pair. This discrepancy seems best accounted for by the assumption that the initial verse, which has no essential connexion with the recipe, no less than the colophon, is due to the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka*. He would seem to have had reason to believe that the formula was really devised by the Aśvins. Accordingly he so named it in the colophon, and prefixed the initial verse in order to explain that it was really the Aśvins who communicated the formula to Viśvāmitra. The same conclusion is suggested by the *raktapitta* formula (No. 10). Here the formula proper, that is, the actual medical prescription, begins with verse 419b, and is preceded, in verses 418 and 419a, by a lengthy explanation that that prescription was taught to Indra by the Aśvin pair, though the attribution to the Aśvins is actually embodied in a brief remark in the final verse 425. In the compilation of Vangasena, however, where the formula, with its final attribution, is also quoted (V.CS., ch. viii, vv. 93-9a, pp. 226-7, Ind. Off. No. 1433, fl. 97b, l. 7), the lengthy introductory verses are omitted.³

¹ See, e.g., SS., vi, 18, v. 1 (p. 706), 66, v. 1 (p. 914), where Suśruta is called *Vaiśvāmitra* and *Viśvāmitra-suta* respectively. In the *Latīṭarīṣṭara*, ch. x, p. 142, Viśvāmitra is said to have been the teacher of the boy Buddha. See also *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsana*, iv, 55. A formula of his is quoted in the Commentary to M.S., ch. xxx, vv. 40-3 (p. 269), which, in another version, is found in SS., vi, 42, vv. 24-5 (p. 805). See also *Orig.*, p. 84.

² Verse 781a, *Viśvāmitrena c = ābhāṣtam = ṛṣibhis = c = ābhipūjitaṃ*, i.e. (this formula) was declared by Viśvāmitra and highly esteemed by the Rishis. But verse 773b, *tapyamānaṃ tapo 'tyagraṃ Viśvāmitraḥ mahāmunim | Aśvinau deva-bhiṣajāv = ucatuḥ varadān varau*, i.e., to Viśvāmitra, the great sage, engaged in a most severe ascetic exercise, the Aśvin pair, the divine physicians, the best of benefactors, declared (this formula).

³ Unfortunately, in the old Cambridge MS., Add. 1707, of 1275 A.D., *Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 952, which I have examined, that portion which should have contained the formula is missing. The MS., fol. 100, ends on p. 172 of the print, and only recommences on fol. 503 with p. 990 of the print.

And that this omission is not due to any accidental cause is shown by the fact that in the colophon the formula is called *candan-ādyu-ghṛta*, or ghee medicated with sandal and other drugs. For as the formula proper (the medical prescription) begins (in v. 419b) with *candana*, sandal, and as it is the usual practice with Indian pharmacists to name a formula by its initial drug,¹ it is apparent that the introductory verses (vv. 418–19a) are not an essential part of the formula, and were not known to the general medical tradition from which Vangasena gathered the formula for his compilation, but that their addition is due to the author of the *Nāvanītaka* himself, and (in view of the final verse) are really a piece of supererogation.

Similarly the attributory remarks in the other formulæ may be due to the author of the *Nāvanītaka*. Both formulæ, Nos. 11 and 12, are quoted by Mādhava in M.S., ch. xxxii, vv. 13 and 21 (pp. 279–80), and thence by Vangasena in V.CS., xxxiii, vv. 29, 48 (pp. 497, 499), but without the attributory remark of the *Nāvanītaka*.

The formula No. 8 consists of five verses. In another version, identical in substance, but compressed into two verses, the formula is found in V.CS., ch. xxx, vv. 106–7 (p. 482). In the same or a similar short version, as Dr. Cordier informs me (privately, October 25, 1904; see also *Réc. Déc.*, p. 21), the formula is ascribed to Kṛishṇā-treya by Nīśchalakara in his *Ratnaprabhā*, and by Chandratā in his *Yoga-ratna-samuccaya*.² From this it is clear that the formula occurred in different versions, in different treatises, by different authors, and that the author of the *Nāvanītaka*, for some reason, preferred the longer version.

We have an exactly similar case in No. 14. This is a long formula of 22½ verses describing a curiously

¹ See the rule in the *Paribhāṣa-pradīpa*, quoted in *Gupta's Medical Dictionary* under *yoga*.

² Both at present inaccessible to me for verification.

complicated treatment, with daily increasing, and subsequently decreasing, doses of aments of long pepper (*pippalī*, *Piper longus*). After a preliminary purging dose of medicated oil or ghee, the patient is to eat one ament on the first day, and then for ninety-nine consecutive days the dose is to be increased by one pepper every day, so that on the hundredth day the patient will eat one hundred aments at one dose. Henceforth the dose is to be gradually reduced by one pepper daily, till it is finally omitted. After every dose milk is to be taken, and at the end of the whole course a milk diet is to be observed for one week, for another week a diet of pulses and rice, and for a third week a diet of broth of game and juice of certain plants. The whole course of treatment thus occupies a period of $100 + 99 + 21$, or 220 days. It also involves the consumption within that period of not less than 10,000 aments of long pepper. By the side of this complicated formula there exists another greatly simplified one, which reduces the length of the period and the total number of peppers. It permits several options: while in every case the period is twenty days, the ratio of the peppers may be 10, or 6, or 5, or 3, and consequently the total of peppers consumed is 1000, or 600, or 500, or 300. It seems reasonable to conclude that it was the inconvenience of the original formula, both with respect to the length of time and the enormous total of consumed peppers, which led to the simplification; and, as a matter of fact, even the simplified formula survives at the present day only in its mildest form, which prescribes the ratio of three peppers a day (U. C. Dutt's *Materia Medica*, p. 243; *Pharmasographia Indica*, vol. iii, p. 177). The option with the ratio of ten, however, may serve as an illustration of the simplified formula. The patient is to take ten aments on the first day, increasing the dose by ten on each of nine succeeding days, so that on the tenth day he

takes one hundred peppers. Thenceforward he reduces the dose by ten on each succeeding day, till finally the dose is omitted on the twentieth day. This course works out 550 in the crescent, and 450 in the decrescent part, or a total of 1000 peppers. It is for this reason that the simplified formula is sometimes found distinguished as the *pippalī-sahasra*, or thousand-pepper formula, from the longer *pippalī-varḍhamāna*, with its total of 10,000 peppers. Both forms are quoted in the *Nāvanī-taka*, the longer in verses 716-37a (No. 14 in the list on p. 862), the shorter in verses 749-52. While the former, as we have seen, is expressly ascribed to the Aśvin pair, the author of the simplified formula is not mentioned. We know him, however, from the fact that it occurs in Charaka's Compendium (CS., vi, 1, vv. 136-40, pp. 423-4). As that Compendium is based on the *Tantra* of Agniveśa, and as that *Tantra* embodies the teachings of Ātreya, it follows that the simplified formula goes back to Ātreya. It also follows that the longer formula, on which Ātreya's simplification was modelled, and which certainly impresses one as more archaic, goes back to the mythic or semi-mythic time antecedent to Ātreya. That explains its attribution (in the final verse 736b) to the mythic Aśvin pair, as well as its gradual obsolescence. It is ignored already in Suśruta's Compendium, the *pippalī-varḍhamāna* of which (SS., iv, 5, cl. 14, p. 406; see also p. 770, v. 194) is practically identical with the shorter version of Ātreya-Charaka. In fact, so far as I know, the longer version has not survived in any medical work, except the *Nāvanī-taka*. The single indication of its former existence that I can recall occurs in a formula in Vāgbhaṭa II's *Aṣṭāṅga-Hṛdaya* (iv, 15, vv. 39-41), which, in the case of abdominal complaints (*udara*), recommends, in addition to other remedies, either the *pippalī-varḍhamāna* or else the *pippalī-sahasra*. It is evident that the author of that formula knew both, the longer as well as the

shorter treatment with pepper. One could wish that Vāgbhaṭa II had mentioned the source whence he obtained his knowledge of the formula. It does not appear to have been the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I (in the early seventh century), which as a rule serves as his source. For that work, if one may trust the Bombay edition (vol. ii, p. 97, l. 8), mentions only the *pippalī-varḍhamāna*, by which name at that time (i.e. the time of both Ātreya-Charaka and Suśruta)¹ the shorter version was understood. It is interesting to observe that the commentator Aruṇadatta (about 1220 A.D.) appears to have no longer understood what the two versions were; for, commenting on the optional treatment recommended in his text, he explains that the *pippalī-varḍhamāna* should be taken as directed in the chapter on *rasāyana*; but the *pippalī-sahasra* he does not explain. On referring to the chapter on *rasāyana*, we find that the only *pippalī* formula there given (AH., vi, 39, vv. 98b-100a) is the shorter version of Ātreya-Charaka, and commenting on this Aruṇadatta says that it is the *pippalī-sahasra*. So that he practically identifies the two versions despite their clear differentiation in the formula of the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* (iv, 15, vv. 39-41); evidently he was at a loss what to make of that differentiation.

It was necessary to go rather fully into the case of No. 14 of our list (p. 862), because it throws considerable light on what appears to be the method of the author of the *Nāvanītaka* in dealing with his materials. It seems to be this: when he quotes a formula (such as the *pippalī-sahasra*) from a standard compilation (such as the *Caraka Saṁhitā*) he does not consider it necessary to specify his source; but when he quotes a formula (such

¹ In SS., iv, 5, cl. 14, p. 406, the name *pippalī-varḍhamāna* is incorporated in the text of the formula. In CS., vi, 1, v. 140, p. 424, it is only in the colophon, and even there only in some MSS., e.g. Tüb. 459 and Decc. 925. In other MSS., as in Tüb. 458, I.O. 335, there are no colophons to any of the formulæ.

as the *pippalī-vardhamāna*) from what may be said to have been the floating medical tradition of his time he identifies the reputed author of the quoted formula by some remark, either added to it, or in a colophon appended to it.

Another standard compilation of his time, from which the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka*, according to the method just explained, quotes anonymously, is the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, or Bheda's Compendium. The following is a complete list of the quoted passages.¹

(1) *Ayoraṅgiya-rūrṇa*, or iron-dust powder, vv. 43-55 (ed., pp. 28-9); in BS., vi, 16 (*śvayathu*), vv. 33-45b (fol. 138).

(2) *Rasāyanika-ghṛta*, or tonic ghee, vv. 165b-9a (ed., p. 35); in BS., vi, 4 (*rājayaśman*) (fol. 100b).

(3) *Daśāṅga-ghṛta*, or ten-ingredient oil, vv. 201-3 (ed., pp. 36-7); in BS., vi, 5 (*gulma*), vv. 17b-20a (fol. 105a).

(4) *Balā-ghṛta*, or *Sida cordifolia* ghee, vv. 280-6 (ed., pp. 40-1); in the *Yogarātna Samuccaya*.

(5) *Sahacara-ghṛta*, or *Barleria cristata* ghee, vv. 329-36 (ed., p. 43); in BS., vi, 24 (*nātaryādhi*); mutilated (fol. 153b).

(6) *Māṭhuyasṭikī-taila*, or liquorice oil, vv. 337-43 (ed., p. 43); in BS., vi, 4 (*rājayaśman*); probably mutilated (fol. 103a).

(7) *Gandamāla-yoga*, or an adenia prescription, vv. 399-401a (ed., p. 46); in the *Yogarātna Samuccaya*.

(8-10) Three *Āmāśāra-yoga*, or diarrhoea prescriptions, vv. 407-12 (ed., pp. 46-7); in BS., vi, 10 (*atīśāra*) (fol. 116a).

(11) *Kāsa-yoga*, or a cough prescription, vv. 474-9 (ed., p. 50); in BS., vi, 19 (*kāsa*), vv. 26b-32 (fols. 143b-4a).

(12) *Karṇasūla-yoga*, or an earache prescription, vv. 534b-7a (ed., p. 53); in BS., vi, 22 (*karnaroga*) (fols. 147b-8a).

(13) *Tailādya-rasti*, or an oily enema, vv. 642-4 (ed., p. 58); in BS., viii, 9 (*uttara-rasti*) (fol. 201).

¹ All these passages were first recognized by Dr. P. Cordier. He published a list of most of them in his *Réc. Déc.*, p. 21, and communicated all of them to me privately in October, 1904. Since then I have verified them in my own copy of the Tanjore MS. of the *Bheda Saṁhitā* (on which see my *Osteology*, p. 38, n. 1). The references to the folios in the list are to those of the original MS. in Tanjore. The *Bheda Saṁhitā* is divided into precisely the same eight *sthāna* as the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. Accordingly the Roman numerals i, vi, viii in the list refer to the *Sūtra*, *Cikitsā*, and *Siddhi Sthāna* respectively. The chapters (*adhyāya*) indicated by Arabic numerals differ in the two *Saṁhitā*. Accordingly in the list the subject of the chapter is named.

(14) *Bheli yavāgu*, or the *Bheda* gruel, vv. 802-4 (ed., p. 63) ; in BS., i, 7 (*indriyopakramanīya*) (fol. 10).

(15) *Lakṣādi-sarpikā*, or lac ghee (for children), vv. 1059b-60a (ed., p. 74) ; in the *Yogarātna Samuccaya*.

Of these fifteen formulæ, all but three (Nos. 4, 7, 15) can be actually identified in the Tanjore MS. of the *Bheda Samhitā*, the single MS. of the work at present available.¹ Unfortunately the Tanjore MS. is not in a satisfactory condition. Not only are its readings in many places very corrupt, but it contains also extensive lacunæ. Considering the condition of the MS. its close verbal agreement with the *Nāvanītaka* in the case of nine formulæ (Nos. 1-3, 5, 6, 8-10, and 12) is surprising. Of No. 5 a large portion is wanting in the Tanjore MS., but what survives is identical with the *Nāvanītaka*. In the case of two formulæ (Nos. 11 and 13) it is true there are considerable textual differences. But in addition to the two countervailing points before mentioned, it is to be remembered that the Tanjore MS. is of a comparatively modern date (c. 1650 A.D.), and has been subject to all the vicissitudes of literary transmission, especially formidable in the case of an unfamiliar work. As to the three exceptions (Nos. 4, 7, and 15), I am informed by Dr. Cordier (privately, October 25, 1904) that they are attributed to *Bheda* by Chandratā in his *Yogarātna Samuccaya*. As that work is not accessible to me, I am not able to judge of the exact terms of the attribution. It may be that it does not necessarily imply that Chandratā transferred the formulæ to his compilation from the *Bheda Samhitā*. He might have found them in the floating medical tradition.

The case of No. 14 of our list is peculiar and puzzling. This is a formula for the preparation of a gruel medicated with three different sets of substances according as one of the three humours (air, bile, phlegm) is disordered. To it

¹ The copies of that MS., which are in the possession of Dr. Cordier and myself, do not, of course, constitute additional authorities.

is appended a form of charm (v. 803), which the patient is directed (v. 804) to repeat after having taken the gruel, in order to make the remedy effective. The charm and the direction how to use it (vv. 803-4) are found identically in the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, but there they are not connected with any formula for the preparation of any gruel, but occur at the end of the seventh chapter of the *Sūtra Sthāna*, which deals with *indriyopakramaṇīya*, that is, with general rules for the preservation of bodily and mental health. That the charm stands here in its proper place is shown by the fact that the corresponding chapter in the *Caraka Saṁhitā* (i, 8, cl. 31, p. 49) concludes with a very similar charm. There is no apparent reason why it should be connected with a particular formula for preparing a gruel, and it seems probable that in the MS. of the *Nāvanītaka* it got displaced by some error of the scribe. On this hypothesis the colophon *Bhelī-yavāgu* does not refer to the charm (in vv. 803-4), but only to the preceding formula (in v. 802) for the gruel. In the *Caraka Saṁhitā* we have a series of formulæ for the preparation of gruels. It forms the latter half of the second chapter of the *Sūtra Sthāna* (vv. 15-31, pp. 13-14). It exactly agrees in substance, though not in diction, with a similar series in the *Nāvanītaka* (vv. 786-801; ed., p. 62). In that treatise, however, the series is preceded by an additional formula (v. 785), and succeeded by the formula under discussion (No. 14, v. 802), to both of which formulæ (vv. 785 and 802) there is nothing equivalent in the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. It suggests itself that the author of the *Nāvanītaka* may have extracted his series of formulæ from the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, and added to it the formula under discussion (i.e. v. 802 of No. 14) from the floating medical tradition. The fact of this addition he indicated by stating in the colophon that it was a *Bhelī-yavāgu*, or a gruel (devised) by Bheda. The source of the preceding series of formulæ he did not trouble to specify, because they were drawn from

a well-known standard compilation. Unfortunately the second chapter of the *Sūtra Sthāna* is missing in the Tanjore MS., and it is thus impossible to verify the truth of this hypothesis. It may be added that it is quite possible that some more of the formulæ in the *Nāvanītak* might have been found in the *Bheda Saṁhitā* if we possessed a complete copy of that work.

We may now proceed to the consideration of those formulæ which are quoted from the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. They number twenty-eight, and are shown in the subjoined list:—

(1) *Tālisaka-cūrṇa*, or the *Taxus baccata* powder, vv. 11-13 (ed., p. 26); in CS., vi, 8, vv. 140-3 (p. 530).

(2) *Sādava-cūrṇa*, or confection powder, vv. 14-17 (ed., pp. 26-7); in CS., vi, 8, vv. 136-9 (p. 529).

(3) *Vardhamānaka-cūrṇa*, or graduated powder, vv. 25-6 (ed., p. 27); in CS., vi, 8, vv. 101-3 (p. 526).

(4) *Mātulūṅga-cūrṇa*, or citron powder, vv. 29-34 (ed., p. 27); in CS., vi, 5, vv. 75-80 (pp. 489-90).

(5) *Tiktaka-ghṛta*, or bitter ghee, vv. 133-6 (ed., p. 33); in CS., vi, 7, vv. 137-40 (pp. 515-16).

(6) *Mahātiktaka-ghṛta*, or great bitter ghee, vv. 137-43 (ed., p. 33); in CS., vi, 7, vv. 141-7 (p. 515).

(7) *Ṣaṭpala-ghṛta*, or six-pala ghee, vv. 150-1 (ed., p. 34); in CS., vi, 5, vv. 143-4 (p. 495).

(8) *Tryūṣaṇa-ghṛta*, or treble acid ghee, v. 152 (ed., p. 34); in CS., vi, 5, v. 62 (p. 488).

(9) *Vāsū-ghṛta*, or *Adhatoda vasica* ghee, vv. 153-4 (ed., p. 34); in CS., vi, 5, vv. 122-3 (pp. 493-4).

(10) *Cūṅgerī-ghṛta*, or *Oxalis corniculata* ghee, vv. 155-7 (ed., p. 34); in CS., vi, 9, vv. 110-12 (p. 544).

(11) *Sāramūṭīya-ghṛta*, or *Saccharum Sara* root ghee, vv. 169-76 (ed., p. 35); in CS., vi, 2, vv. 23-31 (pp. 434-5).

(12) *Cyavana-prāśa-ghṛta*, or Cyavana-food ghee, vv. 188-200 (ed., p. 36); in CS., vi, 1, vv. 59-71 (pp. 413-14).

(13) *Jvara-hara anuvāsana-taila*, or antifebrile oily enema, vv. 383-5 (ed., p. 45); in CS., vi, 3, vv. 245-6 (p. 466).

(14) *Anuvāsana-taila*, or an oily enema, vv. 386-9 (ed., p. 45); in CS., vi, 9, vv. 361-4 (p. 546).

(15) An unnamed cough mixture, vv. 460-2 (ed., p. 49); in CS., vi, 5, vv. 119-21 (p. 493).

(16) *Prasṭha-vireka*, or the *prasṭha* purgative, vv. 484-90 (ed., pp. 50-1); in CS., vi, 5, vv. 150-6 (p. 496).

(17) *Madhvāsava-yoga*, or honey-liquor formula, vv. 491-3 (ed., p. 51); in CS., vi, 6, vv. 39-42 (p. 502).

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(18) An unnamed fever mixture, vv. 494-5a (ed., p. 51); in CS., vi, 3, vv. 201-2a (p. 462).

(19) Another unnamed fever mixture, vv. 496b-9a (ed., p. 51); in CS., vi, 3, vv. 196-8 (p. 462).

(20) *Prameha-prasamana-yoga*, or prescription for the relief of morbid secretion of urine, v. 603 (ed., p. 56); in CS., vi, 6, v. 24 (p. 501).

(21) *Picchā-rasti*, or *Bombax Malabarica* enema, vv. 645-9 (ed., p. 58); in CS., vi, 10, vv. 70-4 (p. 563).

(22) An unnamed tonic mixture, vv. 742-3 (ed., p. 59); in CS., vi, 1, vv. 130-1 (p. 423).

(23) *Pippali-prayoga*, or pepper prescription, vv. 745-8 (ed., pp. 59-60); in CS., vi, 1, vv. 132-5 (p. 423).

(24) *Dvitiya-Pippali-prayoga*, or another pepper prescription, vv. 749-52 (ed., p. 60); in CS., vi, 1, vv. 136-40 (pp. 423-4). This is the so-called *pippali-sahasra*, or thousand-pepper tonic.

(25) An unnamed aphrodisiac formula, v. 819 (ed., p. 64); in CS., vi, 2, v. 99 (p. 441).

(26 and 27) Two other unnamed aphrodisiac formulæ, vv. 844b-6a (ed., p. 65); in CS., vi, 2, vv. 44-5 (p. 436).

(28) *Śilājatu-kalpa*, or the doctrine of bitumen, vv. 950-67a (ed., pp. 70-1); in CS., vi, 1, vv. 148-64 (pp. 424-6).

With the exception of three, the text of all these twenty-eight formulæ in the *Nāvanītaka* is practically identical with that which is printed in the modern Indian editions of the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. Occasional variants do occur, but they are all of a kind that may be expected to arise in the long course of literary transmission. And indeed in not a few cases the variants of the Bower MS. are supported by the Nepal MS. of 1183 A.D., the oldest existing MS. of the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. The three exceptions are Nos. 1, 16, and 24. In Nos. 1 and 24 the *Caraka* text includes an additional verse. This may have accidentally dropped out in the *Nāvanītaka*, for the text of the latter is by no means free from scribal errors. In the case of No. 16 there are some serious textual differences, but even some of these are supported by the Nepal MS. there is no good reason to exclude that formula from the list of those quoted by the author of the *Nāvanītaka* from the text of the *Caraka Saṁhitā* as known to him. Rather the *Nāvanītaka* may be taken as good evidence of the original constitution of the *Caraka* text.

* As regards the names of the formulæ, it may be noted that none of them is found in the oldest *Charaka* MSS., such as the Nepalese and Tübingen No. 458. The oldest witness to their use is the *Nāvanītaka*; and it would seem doubtful in most cases whether they really go back to Charaka himself. Sometimes the name varies. For example, in the case of No. 4, which in the *Nāvanītaka* is named *mātulūṅga-cūrṇa*, the printed editions of the *Charaka Saṁhitā* have the name *hīṅv-ādi-cūrṇa*, or powder made of asafoetida and other ingredients. This name does not occur in any Charaka MS. known to me. It appears first, I believe, in the *Cikitsā Saṁgraha* (ch. xxx, No. 27, p. 344) of Chakrapāṇidatta (the well-known Charaka commentator, c. 1060 A.D.), and is probably due to him, so that it would appear that the name *mātulūṅga-cūrṇa* was not known to him, and that the *Charaka Saṁhitā* MSS. in his time (as indeed shown by the contemporary Nepal MS.) contained no recognized names.¹ The case of No. 5 (*tiktaka-ghṛta*) and No. 6 (*mahātiktaka*) is particularly instructive with regard to the possible origin of these names. In the Charaka MSS. they are not found at all. Chakrapāṇidatta (C.CS., ch. 1, No. 69, pp. 491-2) calls No. 5 *tiktaka-ṣaṭpala* and No. 6 *mahātiktaka* (his No. 72), but he has also a *pañcatiktaka* (his No. 70), and a simple *tiktaka* (his No. 71). Now it may be noted that the text of No. 5² implies that it is a *ṣaṭpala* formula. This explains why the *Nāvanītaka* calls it the *tiktaka* formula, to distinguish it from No. 7, the *ṣaṭpala* formula usually

¹ Two similar examples are No. 7 (*ṣaṭpala-ghṛta*) and No. 16 (*prasthā-rīreka*), which in the printed Charaka editions are named *pañcakola-ghṛta* and *dantī-haritakī*. Neither pair of names is found in any Charaka MS., and the latter pair seems to occur first in Chakrapāṇidatta. Another illustrative case is No. 15, which bears no name at all, in either the *Nāvanītaka* or the Charaka MSS. In the Charaka editions it is named *drakṣādya-ghṛta*, and this name again seems to appear first in Chakrapāṇidatta (ch. xxx, No. 40, p. 349).

² *Nāv.*, v. 135b (= CS., v. 139b), says *nava-sarpiṣas=ca ṣaṭpalam=etat=siddham ghṛtam peyam*, i.e. eight palas of fresh ghee (boiled with the previously mentioned drugs) makes an approved ghee for drinking.

so called, and why Chakrapāṇi calls it *tikṭa-ṣaṭpala*, to distinguish it from his other *tiktaka* formulæ. Further, the final words in our Nos. 5 and 6, which present the oldest form of the text of those two formulæ, are *siddham* and *mahāsarpīḥ* respectively. In the old Nepal MS. they are *siddham* and *mahātiktam*, and in Chakrapāṇi, *siddham* and *mahātiktakam*, but in the modern MSS., as well as in the printed editions, they are *tiktam* and *mahātiktam*. This would seem to show that our No. 6 received its name, *mahātiktaka*, from its final word *mahāsarpīḥ*, to distinguish it from the simple *tiktaka*; and that finally the reading of the closing words of the two formulæ was altered to conform to the names by which they had gradually come to be known. At the same time it would seem that at least the name *mahātiktaka* must go back to the time of Charaka, because we find the formula referred to under that name in his chapter on *visarpa* (see below, p. 889).

Charaka's Compendium, as we know, in the last resort represents the teaching of Ātreya. The above-listed twenty-eight formulæ, therefore, are to be taken as composed by Ātreya. There is nothing in the text of the formulæ to refer them to Ātreya, nor does the *Nāvanītaka* indicate that reference by any remark of its own in a colophon or otherwise. It is only the fact of their being quoted from the *Caraka Saṃhitā* which indicates to us their authorship. But in addition to the twenty-eight there are six other formulæ, which are not found in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, but which the *Nāvanītaka* explicitly refers to Ātreya. These are the following:—

(29) *Lagūla-cūrṇa*, or *Holarrhena antidysenterica* (?) powder, vv. 35-7 (ed., p. 28); said in the final verse to be *Ātreya-juṣṭa*, or favoured by Ātreya.

(30) *Śārdūla-cūrṇa*, or plumbago-root powder, vv. 71-5a (ed., p. 30); said in the final verse to be *Ātreya-rihita*, or devised by Ātreya.¹

¹ Another plumbago-root formula, in Bower MS., Part III, vv. 25-36a, is also ascribed to Ātreya.

(31) *Amṛta-prāśa-ghṛta*, or ambrosial-food ghee, vv. 108-19a (ed., p. 32); said in the final verse to be *Ātreya-nirmīta*, or composed by Ātreya; also in the introductory verse.

(32) *Mahākalyāṇaka-ghṛta*, or the most efficacious ghee, vv. 127b-32 (ed., p. 33); said in the final verse to be *Ātreya-nirḍiṣṭa*, or declared by Ātreya.

(33) *Balā-taila*, or *Sida cordifolia* oil, vv. 261-76 (ed., pp. 39-40); said in the introductory verse to be *Ātreya-ānumata*, or approved by Ātreya.

(34) A mutilated formula, v. 715 (ed., p. 58), which ends with the (prose) phrase *ity=āha bhagavān=Ātreyaḥ*, so spake the blessed Ātreya.

The first of these six formulæ (No. 29) is, for the present, not traceable elsewhere. But the second formula (No. 30) is found, though with a characteristic difference, in Mādhava's *Siddhayoga* (ch. vi on *ajīrṇa*, indigestion, vv. 27-32, p. 114). In substance it is identical throughout. Even in diction it runs identically in the initial three half-verses. At this point an additional ingredient (*kṛṣṭha*) is introduced, and thenceforward to the end of the formula the diction is quite different. Also the reference to Ātreya is omitted, and the formula is given the different but synonymous name *agnimukha-cūrṇa*. This modified recension is quoted by Chakrapāṇidatta (C.CS., vi, No. 17, pp. 131-2) and Vangasena (V.CS., v, vv. 56-60, p. 187). In the *Caraka Saṁhitā* neither the original nor the modified formula is found; in fact, that Compendium includes no special chapter on *ajīrṇa* complaints, for which the formula is designed. It would almost seem that the author of the modified formula is Mādhava himself, who accordingly omitted the reference to Ātreya and altered its name. I may add that I learn from Dr. Cordier (letter, October 25, 1904) that the original formula (reading as in the *Nāvanīṭaka*, though with a few variants) is found in the second chapter of an anonymous treatise called *Brhad-vidya-prasāraka*.¹ The third, fourth, and fifth formulæ (Nos. 31, 32, and 33) occur with the same names in the *Caraka Saṁhitā*,

¹ A work called *Vaidya-prasāraka* is repeatedly mentioned in Śrī-kanṭha's Commentary to the *Siddhayoga*, e.g. pp. 137, 157, 313, etc.

in the *kṣata-kṣīna*, *unmāda*, and *vātavyādhi* chapters respectively (CS., vi, 16, vv. 32–40, pp. 624–5; 14, vv. 53–4, p. 612; 28, vv. 144–52, p. 783). But here, though practically identical in substance, they appear in an entirely different version; nor are these versions attributed to Ātreya.¹

The preceding list of thirty-four formulæ in its totality suggests some important considerations. We have in it two series; one consisting of twenty-eight formulæ, of none of which the author of the *Nāvanītaka* indicates any source, and another series of six formulæ, all of which he explicitly attributes to Ātreya. Yet we know from the fact of the former series occurring in the *Caraka Saṃhitā* that those twenty-eight formulæ are also ultimately due to the authorship of Ātreya. Why should the author of the *Nāvanītaka* make such a striking distinction in quoting them? The explanation which suggests itself is that he does so precisely because he takes the longer series from a well-known standard book of his time, while he quotes the shorter series from what we may call provisionally the floating medical tradition. In the former case there was no need for him to specify the

¹ Nor are they so attributed in Vāgbhaṭa I's *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha* (iv, 5, ll. 8 ff., p. 26; vi, 9, ll. 5–7, p. 214; iv, 23, ll. 16 ff., p. 130), whence they appear to be quoted, with some variants, by Dṛiḍhabala, the complementor of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. In the case of the third formula (No. 31), while the second half is identical with the *Caraka* version (vv. 38–40), the first half, though identical in substance, differs in diction. In the case of the fifth formula (No. 33), the Jiv. ed. of 1896 appends a final half-line (CS., vi, 28, v. 152b, p. 783) ascribing the formula to Kṛishṇātreya. But this is a spurious addition; it is wanting in all MSS. and all editions (even Jiv.'s own ed. of 1877), except that of Gangādhar, who may have been himself the author of it. There is a similar spurious addition to the *navāyasa-cūrṇa* in Jiv. ed., 1896, p. 680, v. 69b, ascribing it to Kṛishṇātreya. It, too, is wanting in all MSS. and in most editions, even Jiv. 1877. It first appears in Gangādhar's ed. (1881), p. 377, whence it is taken into the Sena ed. (1897), p. 738. It is also taken into the Sena ed. of Cakrapāṇi's *Cikitsā Saṃgraha* (1889), No. 8, p. 149; but it is wanting in the Pyari Mohan ed. (1879), p. 170. It is also wanting in the *Siddhayaoga*, p. 124.

source, because it was well known to everybody that Ātreya was the ultimate source of the *Caraka Samhitā*. But when he took a formula from the floating tradition we can understand that he thought it necessary to assure the reader as to his authority for recommending a certain recipe. Thus when he quotes the *balā* oil (No. 33) he prefaces it with the remark that he is going to describe an oil which has been recommended by Ātreya for the cure of nervous diseases and female complaints. With a similar remark he introduces the description of the ambrosial ghee (No. 31), and his description he winds up by once more saying that this famous (*vikhyāta*) ghee was devised by Ātreya. As already observed (p. 863), he in a similar manner introduces and winds up the *raktapitta* formula (No. 10, on p. 862), which he quotes from the floating tradition as a composition of the Aśvins. Similarly he recommends his *lagūḍa* and *sārdūla* powders and his *mahākalyāṇa* ghee (Nos. 29, 30, and 32, on pp. 874-5) by a reference to Ātreya's authorship. As regards the mutilated statement (No. 34), the phrase with which it winds up, *ityāha bhagavānĀtreya*, so spake the blessed Ātreya, is a formula which is distinctive of the most ancient medical works (*Tantra* or *Samhitā*). It occurs, e.g. at the beginning of every chapter of the *Caraka Samhitā* and *Bheda Samhitā* (see also below, pp. 879, 882). It is unfortunate that owing to the loss of two folios (20th and 21st) of the Bower MS. the identity of the work from which the extract was made cannot be determined.

We have in the *Nāvanītaka* a considerable number of other such quotations from the floating tradition. Thus single formulæ are quoted under the names of *Kāṅkāyana* (v. 935, ed., p. 69), *Nimi* (vv. 883-4, p. 67), *Uśanas* (vv. 846-7a, p. 65), *Vādvali* (vv. 319-24, p. 42), *Vṛhaspati* (prose 784, p. 61). Two formulæ each are referred to *Agastya* (vv. 588-9, p. 55, and vv. 905-9, p. 68)¹:

¹ See also Bower MS., Part I, vv. 61-7, for an *Agastya* formula.

Dhanvantari (vv. 232-40, p. 38, and vv. 968-76, p. 71) and *Jivaka* (v. 1081 and vv. 1097b-9a, pp. 74-5). Finally, a whole series of formulæ are referred to *Kāśyapa* (vv. 1011-40, pp. 71-3, specially vv. 1020, 1022, 1027).

The most noteworthy point in this list is its archaic character. Most of the names belong to semi-mythic or prehistoric personages. *Vāḍvali*, I believe, is even unknown outside the *Nāvanītaka*. None of the formulæ included in the list, with one exception, can, so far as I know, be traced elsewhere; and the single exception (v. 1081), which is quoted by Vangasena (ch. lxix, v. 68, p. 895) in a nearly identical version, but without naming its author, belongs to *Jivaka*, who is the only historical, or perhaps rather semi-historical, person in the list. He is the traditional court physician of King *Ajātaśatru*, and a contemporary of Buddha. The *Nāvanītaka* is the only work that actually cites formulæ ascribed to him by name. He is reputed to have been a children's doctor, and the formulæ quoted from him do refer to children's diseases (see also *infra*, p. 880). *Kāśyapa*¹ is probably also an historical person, and likewise a contemporary of Buddha. The medical tradition knows of two men of that name, an older (*vṛddha*) and a younger. It is *Kāśyapa* the older, no doubt, whom the *Nāvanītaka* quotes. He, too, is reputed to have been a children's doctor, and a long series of "*Kāśyapīya* pills" (see the colophon to v. 1040) for children's diseases are ascribed to him. *Vāgbhata* I (AS., vi, 2, l. 1, p. 182, and vi, 4, l. 24, p. 190, footnote²) also quotes two of the older *Kāśyapa*'s formulæ against infantile diseases.

With regard to this older *Kāśyapa*, we have a curious piece of evidence in an old MS. discovered by *Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasāda Śāstri* in the Nepal Dūrbar

¹ Or *Kaśyapa*; the spelling varies in the MSS.

² Also quoted by *Vāgbhata* II in AH., vi, 2, vv. 41-3a, and vi, 3, vv. 48b, 49a.

Library (*Report*, Calcutta, 1901, and *Réc. Déc.*, p. 2). One portion of the MS. contains a chapter called *Bhaiṣajyopākramaṇīya*, or "The Use of Medicaments", which commences with the phrase *iti hasmāha bhagavān Kāśyapaḥ*, thus spake the blessed Kāśyapa. This is the same formula which occurs in the *Nāvanītuka* with reference to Ātreya (No. 34, p. 875), and it indicates that the chapter belongs to some ancient *Samhitā*¹ or *Tantra*. It also occurs in the *Caraka Samhitā*, which is the earliest surviving *Samhitā*. That *Samhitā* professes to be based on an earlier *Agniveśa Tantra*. This points to the conclusion that the *Samhitā* (as indeed the name implies) does not represent the earliest stage of Indian medical literature, but that it was preceded by a still earlier stage, in which the separate branches, or special subjects, of medicine were dealt with in separate *Tantras*, or treatises, and special *Kalpas*, or monographs. Subsequently the contents of these *Tantras* and *Kalpas* were, in a compressed and selective form, compiled in *Samhitās*, or Compendia. We have thus two periods in the earlier medical literature of India, the *Tantra-kalpa* period and the *Samhitā* period. The medical tradition often refers to the former of the two periods. Thus we hear of a *Sūlya-tantra*, or treatise on major surgery. This was the original work of Suśruta the older (the *vrddha Suśruta* of the tradition), before it was revised and enlarged by the anonymous Suśruta the younger. By the latter it was brought into the form of the Compendium which we possess in the present day, and which therefore belongs to the *Samhitā* class of works, and to the later of the two periods. In fact, the very name *Uttara-tantra*,² or "later Tantra", which Suśruta the younger has given to his complementary part of the Compendium, implies

¹ If so, it would be a chapter of the *Sūtra Sthāna*; cf. the name *bhaiṣajyopākramaṇīya* of the thirteenth chapter of the *Sūtra Sthāna* in Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga Saṃgraha*.

² In ch. 1, v. 6, p. 658, he calls it a *mahat-tantra*, or large Tantra, because it comprises rather more than one-third of the whole Compendium.

that the original portion, which he revised and complemented, was the "early Tantra" of Suśruta the older, and by that name, viz. *Sauśruta Śalya Tantra*, or Suśruta's treatise on major surgery, Suśruta the older's work is still called in the commentary of Gayādāsa (see Dr. Cordier in *Réc. Déc.*, p. 13). In the introduction to his *Uttara-tantra* (ch. 1, vv. 1-7, p. 658) Suśruta the younger refers to a number of *Tantras*, or treatises, which he consulted for the preparation of his own work, and he thus shows that he himself has to be placed in the second, or *Samhitā*, period of the early medical literature. Among the works thus consulted he names a work on *Śālākya*, or minor surgery, by *Videha-pati*, or the lord of Videha; also works on *kumār-ābādhā*, or children's diseases, and the works on *kaya-cikitsā*, or internal medicine, by the six pupils of Ātreya. The *Śālākya-tantra* here referred to must be that traditionally credited to Nimi, the king of Videha, and reported founder of ophthalmic medicine, who is quoted in the *Nāvanītuka* (*ante*, p. 877).¹ Among the *Kaumāra-tantras* may have been those of Jivaka and Kāśyapa, who are named in the *Nāvanītuka* (*ibid.*). The commentator Ḍallana (D.NS., p. 938) actually mentions Jivaka, along with two others, Pārvataka and Bandhaka, who are not otherwise known. Among the works on internal medicine must have been the *Tantras* of Agniveśa and of Bheda, on which the still existing *Samhitās* of Charaka and Bheda are based. From the way the six treatises on internal medicine are mentioned by the author of the *Uttara-tantra*, it does not seem probable that he is referring to those two *Samhitās*, but rather to their sources,

¹ This is the explanation of Ḍallana (D.NS., p. 938), and is no doubt correct. He refers, merely to reject it as spurious, to another explanation which identifies *Videhapati* with Janaka. He does not name the author of this spurious explanation; but the author is Chandrata, who actually introduced his explanation into the text of Suśruta. These spurious verses of Chandrata may be seen in the Ind. Off. MS., No. 1842 (Cat. 2646), fol. 1a, vv. 6-8a.

the *Tantras*, and hence it may be concluded that the *Uttara-tantra* is anterior to, or at most contemporaneous with, those two *Samhitās*. The other four pupils of Ātreya were Harita, Jātūkarna, Ksharapāṇi, and Parāśara. All four are often quoted in medical works of mediaeval India, but none of their treatises have survived. From the remark of the author of the *Uttāra-tantra*, however, it would seem that they were still in existence in his time.¹

Of the early *Kalpa* works, which were mostly monographs on pharmacological or pharmacopœic subjects, we have several examples preserved in the *Nāvanīṭaka*. Thus we have a *Yavāgū-kalpa* on the preparation of gruels in the seventh chapter (vv. 785–813), which may have been a work of Bheḍa (*ante*, p. 870); a *Haritakī-kalpa* on chebulic myrobalan in the eleventh chapter (vv. 917–49, also called *Abhayā-kalpa* in v. 7), a very ancient monograph, ascribed to the Aśvins (*ante*, p. 862); a *Śilājatu-kalpa* on bitumen in the twelfth chapter (vv. 950–67), ascribed to Ātreya through Agniveśa (*ante*, p. 872, No. 28); and a *Citraka-kalpa* on the plumbago-plant in the thirteenth chapter (vv. 968–76), ascribed to Dhanvantari. To these must be added the *Laṣūna-kalpa*, which constitutes the earlier portion (vv. 1–43a) of Part I of the Bower MSS. In his *Réc. Déc.* (pp. 4, 15) Dr. Cordier reports the existence of two *Kalpa* works from fragmentary manuscripts in his possession—a *Bheṣaja-kalpa* on medicaments, by Bharadvāja, and a *Tambūla-kalpa* on betel-leaf, by Vararuci. As the well-known formula *ity-āha bhagavān Bharadvājah* (or *Vararuciḥ*), so spake the blessed Bharadvāja (or Vararuci), occurs in them, they are suggested by Dr. Cordier to belong to a *Bharadvāja Samhitā* and a *Vararuci Samhitā*. In that case, however, these two *Samhitās* could not belong to the class of genuine early *Samhitās*. For the genuine *Samhitās* do not bear the names of their ultimate sources.

¹ On the *Tantra* literature; see also Dr. Cordier, *Réc. Déc.*, p. 18.

Both the *Caraka Saṁhitā* and the *Bheda Saṁhitā* have the formula *ity-āha bhagavān Ātreya*, thus spake the blessed Ātreya, and they thus refer themselves ultimately to Ātreya, but neither is called *Ātreya Saṁhitā*. There exists indeed an *Ātreya Saṁhitā*, but its apocryphal character is, I believe, generally admitted (thus by Dr. Cordier, *Réc. Déc.*, p. 28). According to the Indian tradition, in fact, Ātreya did not himself commit his teaching to writing; it was done by his disciples Agniveśa, Bheda, and the rest. The *Hārīta Sāṁhitā*, the *Āsvina Saṁhitā*, the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* are no doubt apocryphal compilations. All these apocryphal compendia do not belong to the early period of the medical literature, but to mediaeval and comparatively modern times. To this later time belong also some compendia, which, though they call themselves *Saṁhitā*, do not claim to belong to the early period. Such are the *Aṣṭāṅga Hr̥daya Saṁhitā* of Vāgbhaṭa II (ninth century), and the *Siddha-sāra Saṁhitā* of Ravigupta (Cordier, in *Réc. Déc.*, p. 16). To an intermediate period belongs the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I (early seventh century), which by way of distinction calls itself, not a *Saṁhitā*, but a *Saṁgraha*, two practically synonymous terms. To the subsequent mediaeval period belong some other *Saṁgraha* works of a rather more restricted purport, such as the *Cikitsā Saṁgraha* of Chakrapāṇidatta (c. 1060), the *Cikitsāsāra Saṁgraha* of Vangasena (eleventh century), and probably the (anonymous?) *Kalyāṇa Saṁgraha* (Cordier, *Réc. Déc.*, p. 24). These are concerned only with pathology and therapeutics. Original works on medicine would thus seem to have practically ceased from the time of the early *Saṁhitās*. A new start would appear to have been made with the commencement of the later middle age, when the treatment with mercury (*rasa*) came into vogue. The earliest work of this period appears to be a *Saṁhitā* of the above-mentioned restricted character,

which was composed by Sārṅgadeva probably in the twelfth century. Other works of this period prominently concerned with *rasa* will be found enumerated in Professor Jolly's "Indian Medicine" in the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*.

The chronological position of the *Uttara-tantra*, as being rather earlier than, or at most contemporary with, the *Caraka Saṁhitā*, has already been referred to (p. 881). The point is of some importance because of its bearing on the determination of the date of the *Bheda Saṁhitā* and the *Nāvanītaka*. As regards the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, there occurs in it a reference to Suśrotā, the "learned" (*medhāvin*), as the interlocutor of Chāndrabhāga, at the beginning of the fourteenth chapter of the *Sūtra Sthāna*. As Dr. Cordier, who first drew attention to the passage (*Orig.*, p. 80), rightly points out, the word *Suśrotā* is descriptive, denoting "the good hearer", and would seem to be the correcter form of the more usual *Suśruta*, or "well-heard".¹ Also in my previous paper in this Journal for 1908, pp. 1020 ff. and 1024 ff., it was shown that the doctrine of the blood-tumour (*rakta-gulma*) and of the five localities of the tumours do not occur in the teaching of Ātreya as represented by Charaka, but are peculiar to the *Uttara-tantra* of Suśruta the younger. Now the doctrine of the blood-tumour is distinctly taught in the *gulma* chapter of the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, both in its *Nidāna* and *Cikitsita Sthāna*. The doctrine of the five localities, too, though this is not quite so clear, seems to be taught in its *Cikitsita Sthāna*. Both points would seem to combine to make the *Bheda Saṁhitā* posterior in date to the *Uttara-tantra*. Of course, it might be argued that the mention of Suśrotā

¹ In this connexion it is worth observing that in the monograph on garlic (*laṣuna-kalpa*), Bower MS., Part I, v. 9 (also v. 40), Suśruta is represented as the "hearer", or the recipient, of the instruction of the sage-king of Kāśī (*Kāśīrāja-muni*). Notice also that here, too (pp. 879, 882), the formula *atha sa bhagavān āha*, thus spake that blessed one, i.e. Kāśīrāja, occurs.

refers to Suśruta the older, and that Suśruta the younger may have obtained his doctrines of the blood-tumour and the five localities from the *Bheda Samhitā*, though in the latter work the doctrine of the five localities is by no means certain, nor does Suśruta the younger seem to indicate any *Samhitā* among his sources (*ante*, p. 27). But what seems to render this alternative theory particularly improbable is that it would imply that Ātreya, to whom, as their ultimate source, both the *Bheda Samhitā* and the *Caraka Samhitā* appeal, taught contradictory doctrines.

As regards the *Nāvanītaka*, we have the following six parallelisms with the *Suśruta Samhitā* :—

(1-3) Three *Āmātisāra-yoga*, or formulæ for diarrhœa, verses 407-8, 409-10, and 411-12 (ed., pp. 46-7), corresponding to SS., vi, 40, vv. 35b-36a, 35a, and v. 46 (pp. 783-4).

(4-6) Three *Vājīkaraṇa-yoga*, or aphrodisiac formulæ, verses 829-30a, 833b-4a, 834b-5a (ed., p. 64), corresponding to SS., iv, 26, vv. 27, 20, 21 (pp. 518-19).

The former three parallels are from the *Uttara-tantra* of Suśruta the younger, while the latter three are from the earlier portion of Suśruta the older. In all of them the agreement with the text of the *Suśruta Samhitā*, as it now stands in our MSS. and editions, is not quite so perfect as one would wish. But it is well known that that text has in the course of its transmission suffered very considerable alterations, so that it is quite possible that the versions as preserved in the *Nāvanītaka* may preserve the original text.¹ But what is more important is that the *Nāvanītaka* appears to quote the three *Āmātisāra* formulæ (Nos. 1-3), not directly from the *Uttara-tantra*, but from the *Bheda Samhitā*. For, as

¹ To show this in detail would exceed the limits of this paper. A brief statement must suffice. The aphrodisiac formulæ are quoted in AS., vi, 50, p. 411; AH., vi, 40, vv. 23 ff.; C.CS., lxxi, No. 3, p. 726; V.CS., lxx, vv. 11 ff., p. 997. The textual agreements and differences in these quotations, among themselves as well as with the *Nāvanītaka* versions, seem to point to the latter having preserved the original text.

mentioned already (p. 868, Nos. 8-10), they occur identically in the latter work. And what is specially significant, their identity shows itself not merely in the text of the formulæ, but in the manner, common to both the *Nāvanītaka* and the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, of quoting from the *Uttara-tantra*. Indian prescriptions consist of two parts, a pharmaceutic and a directive; the former naming certain drugs, the latter explaining how to apply them. Now the *Uttara-tantra*, dealing with the treatment of *ātisāra* (diarrhœa), gives, *inter alia*, a long prescription consisting of twenty pharmaceutic options (each in half a verse), together with a single directive statement (SS. vi, 40, vv. 33-45, p. 783). The *Nāvanītaka*, equally with the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, selects three of these twenty options and forms them into two separate prescriptions, each with its own directive statement, viz., *Nāv.*, v. 407*a*, *b* = SS. v. 35*b* and v. 36*a* plus directive v. 408; also *Nāv.*, v. 409*a* = SS. v. 35*a* plus directive vv. 40*a*, *b*, 41*a*.

This state of things naturally suggests chronological inferences. The most obvious of these, though perhaps not yet absolutely certain, appears to me to be that the *Nāvanītaka* quotes from the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, and that the latter bases itself on the *Uttara-tantra*, and therefore that the *Nāvanītaka* is posterior to the *Bheda Saṁhitā* and *a fortiori* later than the *Uttara-tantra* of Suśruta the younger. Regarding the chronological priority of the latter to the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, it has already been shown (p. 883) that that *Saṁhitā* names Suśrotā (Suśruta) and knows his doctrines on *gulma*. Likewise, it has been shown (p. 881) that the *Uttara-tantra* is anterior to, or at most contemporaneous with, the *Caraka Saṁhitā*, and that the *Nāvanītaka* quotes from the latter *Saṁhitā* (p. 871). It follows from all these premises that the *Nāvanītaka* is posterior to both the Compendium of Bheda and the Compendium of Charaka. Moreover, we must take it that a considerable interval of time must have elapsed

between the *Nāvanīta* and those two Compendia in order to allow the latter to reach that position of acknowledged standard works which enabled the author of the *Nāvanīta* to quote from them without naming his sources. As already observed (pp. 876 ff.), it is this manner of anonymously quoting from them which, in addition to the identity of the quoted passages, shows that the quotations cannot be from the floating tradition respecting the doctrines of Ātreya (handed down by Agniveśa and Bheḍa), but that they must really be from the (still existing) two Compendia of Charaka and Bheḍa. With respect to the *Caraka Saṃhitā* more particularly, there is the additional argument suggested by the curious circumstance to be discussed presently, that the quotations are all made from portions of the *Saṃhitā* traditionally ascribed to Charaka's authorship, there being no quotations at all from any portion attributed to Dṛiḍhabala. The point I wish to make is that though each of the above-mentioned facts taken by itself need not be conclusive, all the facts hang together intimately, and in their combination present an argument of great force in favour of the *Nāvanīta* being later in date than the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, and of the latter work (in the form in which it at that time existed, before its revision and completion by Dṛiḍhabala) having been one of the sources drawn on by the author of the *Nāvanīta*.

The date of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* itself is uncertain. It depends on the view one takes of the date of Kanishka, whose contemporary Charaka is traditionally said to have been. This is not the place to discuss the intricacies of this vexed question. In the main there are three rival theories. One connects Kanishka with the so-called Vikrama era in 58 B.C., another connects him with the Śaka era in 78 A.D., the third places him about 123 A.D.¹

¹ For a summary of these theories see JRAS., 1903, pp. 1 ff., and IA., xxxvii (1908), pp. 25 ff. On the whole, though I agree with

These theories fix the upper limit. The lower limit is fixed by the Bower MS., which must have been written in the second half of the fourth century A.D. Between these two limits the composition of the *Nāvanītaka* has to be placed. One cannot help feeling disappointed that a more definite date cannot be determined. For myself, I am disposed to place it in the second or third century A.D. In favour of such an early date there are, in addition to the general considerations above set out, special marks of archaism observable in the *Nāvanītaka*. It would take me too long to enter fully into this subject, but I may instance the archaic genitive plural *varadām* in verse 774 (see n. 171 on p. 61 of my edition, also *ante*, p. 863, footnote), and the archaic version of the *pippalī-vardhamāna* formula referred to on pp. 864–7.

Coming now to the question of the condition of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* at the date of the *Nāvanītaka*, in the subjoined Table the quotations from the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, which are enumerated on pp. 871 ff., are arranged in the order of the chapters of the *Ukṛtsita Sthāna*.

28-SERIES.	30-SERIES.	NAME OF CHAPTER.	NOS. IN LIST ON PP. 871
	1	<i>Rasāyana</i>	Nos. 12, 22–4, 28.
	2	<i>Vājīkaraṇa</i>	Nos. 11, 25–7.
1	3	<i>Jvara</i>	Nos. 13, 18, 19.
2	4	<i>Raktapitta</i>	(No. 9).
3	5	<i>Guḥma</i>	Nos. 4, 7, 8 (9), 15, 16
4	6	<i>Prameha</i>	Nos. 17, 20.
5	7	<i>Kuṣṭha</i>	Nos. 5, 6.*
6	8	<i>Yakṣman</i>	Nos. 1–3.
7	9	<i>Aṛśas</i>	Nos. 10, 14.
8	10	<i>Ātisāra</i>	No. 21.
9	11	<i>Viśarpa</i>	<i>Mahātiktaka</i> (No. 6).*

Professor Rapson (*Brit. Mus. Cat. of the Coins of the Andhra, etc., Dynasties*, introd., pp. cv, cvi) that “the name of the [Śaka] era . . . may have been derived from the [Western Kshatrapa, Śaka] Kings who used it rather than from the [Kushana] King [Kanishka] who established it”, I am now disposed to believe that the Vikrama theory offers the true solution of the problem.

Comparing this Table with that given on p. 1000 in the Journal for 1908, it will be observed that the order of the chapters as shown in the present Table agrees with that of the traditional series shown in column I of the previous Table. The conclusion suggested by this agreement is that the *Cikitsita Sthāna* of the *Caraka Saṁhitā*, as known to the author of the *Nāvanīṭaka*, consisted only of the thirteen (respectively eleven) chapters shown in column I, and that the remaining seventeen chapters (14–30, or 12–28) did not exist in his time, but were added subsequently by Dṛiḍhabala. It is true that the formula No. 9, which in the Table is shown for the chapter on *raktapitta*, is in the existing text of the *Caraka Saṁhitā* found in the fifth chapter (vv. 122–3, pp. 493–4) on *gulma*. But the same *vāsa-gṛīta* formula, though in a different recension, is given by the *Caraka Saṁhitā* also in its fourth chapter (v. 86, p. 481) on *raktapitta*, and this alternative recension is that which is usually quoted in all medical works, e.g., M.S., ix, 39, 40, p. 135; C.CS., ix, 33, p. 164; V.CS., viii, 120, 121, p. 229.¹ It does not seem impossible that the recension which now stands in the *gulma* chapter originally stood in the *raktapitta* chapter, from which it came to be extruded by the other recension which now takes its place. For it is worth noticing that the text of this usurping recension is still unsettled in the existing MSS. It seems properly to consist of two verses, of which, however, the second is omitted in all the existing printed editions. Among the existing (and to me accessible) MSS., the second verse is found in the old Nepal MS., also in Tüb. 458 and I.O. 359, while in Tüb. 459, I.O. 335, and Decc. 925 it is missing. For the existence of the same discrepancy in the MSS. of (probably) the thirteenth century we have the testimony of Śivadāsa, who in his commentary on Cakrapāṇidatta's *Cikitsā Saṁgraha* (ix, 33, p. 165)

¹ In a third recension it is quoted in AS., iv, 2, and AH., iv, 2 on *raktapitta*.

states that some (*kecit*) add the second verse to the formula.

With regard to the eleventh (respectively ninth) chapter on *visarpa*, the *Nāvanītaka* in its surviving mutilated condition contains no actual quotation, but in verse 613 it recommends the *mahātiktaka* ghee as a remedy for erysipelas. This particular ghee the *Nāvanītaka* had already quoted (vv. 137-43) from the *Caraka Saṁhitā* as a remedy against skin diseases (*kustha*). Turning to that *Saṁhitā*, we find that in verse 61 (p. 575) of its chapter on *visarpa* it expressly states that the *mahātiktaka* ghee, previously mentioned as a remedy for skin diseases, may also be administered to cure erysipelas. On the other hand, the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, while it mentions several remedies (e.g. the *Bulā* oil and the *dhānvantara* ghee¹), does not name among them the *mahātiktaka* ghee. From this it may justly be concluded that the author of the *Nāvanītaka* had the *visarpa* chapter in his copy of the *Caraka Saṁhitā*, and thence derived his recommendation.

It is true that the *Nāvanītaka* gives us no quotations from the two chapters on *mudītyaga* and *dvivraṇīya*. But in their case, too, as in that of the chapter on *visarpa*, we must remember that the *Nāvanītaka* MS. is not complete. Its fols. 16 and 17 are mere fragments, and fols. 20 and 21, as well as an unknown number (perhaps five) after fol. 33, are altogether missing. Thus we are deprived of a large portion of the fourth chapter on "Miscellaneous Formulæ", and of the fifth chapter on "Enemas", also of the whole of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters on the treatment of barren and prolific women. These missing portions might very

¹ The *Nāvanītaka*, vv. 232-40, too, has a *dhānvantara* ghee as a remedy for skin diseases, and it may have got this formula from the *Bheda Saṁhitā*, though in the existing mutilated copy of the latter it cannot be traced.

well have contained quotations from those three chapters.¹

So far we have had the positive evidence of the *Nāvanītaka* with respect to the question of the authorship of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. We may now turn to its negative testimony. It contains three formulæ (Nos. 31, 32, 33, on p. 875) for the cure of *kṣata-kṣīṇa*, *unmāda*, and *vātavyādhī*, or consumptive, mental, and rheumatic diseases respectively, which are attributed to Ātreya. As previously explained (p. 876), the author of the *Nāvanītaka* must have obtained them from the floating medical tradition of his time, for though corresponding formulæ do occur in the existing *Caraka Saṃhitā* their recension is entirely different, and they are not attributed to Ātreya. It follows that at the date of the *Nāvanītaka* the chapters on *kṣata-kṣīṇa*, *unmāda*, and *vātavyādhī*, in which those corresponding formulæ are found, cannot have formed part of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, otherwise the author of the *Nāvanītaka* would have quoted their recensions of the formulæ in question instead of those which he actually quotes. In other words, it follows that those three chapters must belong to the additions which were made by Dṛiḍhabala. As a matter of fact (see the Table on p. 1000 in Journal, 1908), both traditional series agree in attributing at least the chapter on *vātavyādhī* to Dṛiḍhabala. Regarding the authorship of the two chapters on *kṣata-kṣīṇa* and *unmāda* the two series differ, and here the negative testimony of the *Nāvanītaka* is in favour of the series in column I, thus confirming the effect of its positive evidence.

At this point a passage is worth noticing which has been discussed by me in the *Archiv für die Geschichte*

¹ As to the chapter on *dvivraṇīya*, it may be observed that it is quoted by name in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*, in the 137th verse of the chapter on *visarpa* (p. 581). If Charaka was the author of the latter chapter he must, *prima facie* at least, have been also the author of the former.

der Medizin, Band i, Heft i, pp. 38-9. I refer to verse 171a in the chapter on *arśas* (CS., p. 549). Of this verse, according to the testimony of Vijaya Rakshita, the commentator on Mādhava's *Nidāna* (MN., p. 71), there exists a variant form in the so-called Kashmir Recension of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. That recension is with good reason to be ascribed to Dṛiḍhabala, and the existence of the variant tends to show that the original form of the verse, and consequently the chapter on *arśas*, is the work of Charaka.

The testimony of the *Nāvanītaka*, considering its very early age, naturally carries so great weight that it does seem to finally settle the question of the original condition of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* in favour of that traditional order, which is shown in column I of the Table (Journal, 1908, p. 1000), and which is adopted in the edition of Jivānanda. If that is so, the further question arises how are the two arguments for the other side (*ibid.*, pp. 1017-19) to be met. The first argument is that in verse 157, p. 496, of the chapter on *gulma*, Dṛiḍhabala seems to indicate himself as the author of the chapter on *arśas*, no less than of the chapter on *grahanī*, and of the *Siddhi Sthāna*, both of which are admittedly his compositions. If, as it now appears, the testimony of the *Nāvanītaka* must prevail, we must assume that that verse (157), as it now stands, has been modified in the course of Dṛiḍhabala's revision, and that in its original form, as written by Charaka, it contained a reference to the chapter on *arśas* alone, to which Dṛiḍhabala added the further references to his own chapter on *grahanī* and his own *Siddhi Sthāna*. Of course, there is no intrinsic difficulty in this explanation. For the fact that Dṛiḍhabala has not infrequently interfered with Charaka's text has been shown abundantly (*ibid.*, pp. 1001 ff.). It can be also shown that Charaka not infrequently refers the reader for further information to some other chapter of his. Thus in the chapter on *visarpa*,

which, as we have seen, the testimony of the *Nāvanītaka* attributes to Charaka, the latter twice (vv. 61, 130, pp. 575, 580) refers to his undoubted chapter on *gulma*,¹ and once (v. 137, p. 581) to his chapter on *dvivraṇīya* (*ante*, p. 890, footnote).

The second argument (*ibid.*, pp. 1018–19) is concerned with the position of the two chapters on *unmāda* and *apasmāra*. These chapters in Gangādhara's series (column II of the Table on p. 1000) stand in the same sequence as in the *Nidāna Sthāna*, which is admittedly the composition of Charaka, while in Jivānanda's series they occupy a very different place. And the argument is that Charaka must have written those two chapters because he would have kept his own sequence. This is a view which naturally suggests itself, but, of course, it is not necessarily conclusive, for we really know nothing as to Charaka's ways of writing, whether and why he may have written any one chapter before or after another. On this point there is a curious indication in the chapter on *visarpa*. In the 137th verse of that chapter, as above stated, we find a reference to the chapter on *dvivraṇīya*. This would naturally lead one to conclude that the chapter on *dvivraṇīya* was written before the chapter on *visarpa*. Yet in the existing series it follows the latter chapter; for the chapter on *visarpa* is the eleventh (respectively ninth), while that on *dvivraṇīya* is the thirteenth (respectively eleventh). If we may assume that the existing sequence of the chapters proceeds from the hand of Charaka, and that he was, as the testimony of the *Nāvanītaka* clearly indicates, the author of the two chapters in question, it is evident that he did not always place the chapters in the order in which he wrote them. It is quite possible, therefore, that Charaka wrote the chapter on *arśas*, as well as the other four chapters on

¹ The reference in v. 61 (p. 575) is to the *trāyamānā* ghee, which is described in the chapter on *gulma*, vv. 114–17 (p. 493).

atisāra, *visarpa*, *madātyaya*, and *dvivraṇīya*, before proceeding to write on *unmāda* and *apasmāra*. As a matter of fact, he never came to write on the latter two subjects, or if he did write on them, the two chapters are irretrievably lost. It is also quite possible that if Charaka had been spared to write all the chapters which he probably, or possibly, intended to write, he would, after the completion of his task, have arranged the chapters in the *Nidāna* and *Cikitsita Sthāna* so as to preserve the same sequence. But, after all, these are idle speculations, with no cogency in the face of such apparently positive testimony as that of the *Nāvanītaka*. On the other hand, it may be suggested with much plausibility that this very question of the apparently inconsistent position of the chapters within the series may account for the origination of the traditional series which, for the purpose of introducing consistency, places the chapters on *unmāda* and *apasmāra* immediately after the chapter on *yakṣman*; though there still remain the numerous other discrepancies between the two traditional series to be accounted for. So long as all these discrepancies are not satisfactorily explained, one cannot help feeling that some uncertainty still remains as to finality having been reached in the unravelment of the problem of the authorship of the several parts of the *Caraka Samhitā*.

XX

NOTES ON A KURDISH DIALECT, THE SHADI BRANCH OF KERMĀNĀJĪ

By E. B. SOANE

THIS, one of the most northerly of the Kurdish dialects, spoken by a large tribe of Kurds inhabiting the mountains around Erzerum and to the east towards Bayazid, may be reckoned as one of the most important of the Turko-Kurd tongues on account of the regularity of conjugations of its verbs and richness of grammatical form as compared with other Kurdish tongues. With very few differences it may be classed as a companion dialect to that termed by Lerch and others who have studied northern Kurdish dialects, Kermānĵi. A very harsh pronunciation is adopted by the Shādi Kurds, which renders their dialect incomprehensible to the southern Kurd. As in the Kermānĵi, the influence of the Chaldean (Neo-Syriac) dialects is here and there apparent, and in a few instances Arabic is employed. Turkish, which might be expected to have furnished a proportion of the common words used, has been very sparsely employed. Considered as a whole, and allowing for differences created by corruption of pronunciation, the dialect appears as a well-preserved old Persian tongue. The Shādi Kurds, in common with some other tribes of the south, claim that their dialect is ancient Persian, and have reserved for it the name of Fārisi.

Some note is here advisable upon the term Kermānĵi, or Kurmānĵi, which has passed among Orientalists hitherto as the name of a dialect spoken around Bayazid and in Turkish Kurdistan generally. While it cannot be stated that this is an incorrect assumption, there is ground for doubt as to the exact accuracy of the term. Kurds

generally, even in the south, have a generic term for "villages"—*kermānj*—and use the name *kermānji* to express the sense "villager", "yokel". The Kurds of the north use the word with the signification of villages, or peoples of Kurdish nationality, and assert that the language may be indifferently termed *Kurmānji* or *Kurdi*, different dialects each carrying its own name and differing widely in even fundamental characteristics.

For example, Kurds of the *Shādi* tribe, which uses a dialect practically the same as the *Kermānji* already mentioned (which should properly be termed *Hakāri*), term themselves *Kurmānj*, and use the same name to describe the *Zāzā*, which is very different. For example—

Kermānji and Shādi	هَرَه	} go	وَرَه	} come	زُور	} above	ئِير	} below
Zāzā	سُو		بِر		بان		جِير	

Tradition has it that *Kermānji* was originally the name of a tribe of Kurds inhabiting the mountains of Bayazid and Erzerum and consisting of the main branches of *Hakāri* and *Shādi*, and that the name has gradually been extended to include the peoples of Bitlis, Van, Diarbekr, etc.

From the comparative tables appended it will be seen that there exists a difference between the *Shādi* and the *Kurmānji* of Aḥmad Khānī, *Hakāri*, as set forth in that author's works.

It may be here remarked that the Yazidis, about whom considerable mystery is gathered, speak a dialect of *Hakāri*, but as Yazidis include in their ranks Armenians and Caucasians as well as Kurds, the sect cannot be said to have any distinctive dialect, as has been stated elsewhere.

The *Zāzā* dialect above noted, spoken by the Kurds of Erzinzān and Diarbekr, displays very wide differences, and would appear to have preserved the speech of another epoch of old Persian than that of the *Kermānji* group.

Most notable among the various differences in the pronunciation of modern Persian and Kurdish is the slovenliness of the latter, elision of consonants, softening and disappearance of vowels, and confusion of verb forms. The Kermānjī group, however, has not followed the usage of other Kurdish dialects in these particulars, except in the repugnance to the pronunciation of خ in certain cases; on the contrary, it has hardened Persian و *vāv* into *f*, or retained the original sound; *b* is also hardened to *f* or *p*. Final *t* after *s* has not fallen into disuse as in every other Kurdish tongue, being well and correctly pronounced in such words as *rāst*, *dast*, *bīst*, etc.

Z often changes to *zh*; *t* (ت) is sometimes pronounced as Arabic (ط), and when so pronounced will be written in this character here. Following Kurdish usage *m* has changed to *r* in some cases, ex. Persian اُمید appears as اُریش. *R* whenever possible is rolled violently, a feature of all Persian dialects, whether Kurd, Lur, or otherwise. The Arabic sound *aa*, that of the hamza, as in مأمور, is very common. Another sound peculiar to the dialect is that of *eu*, as in the French word *beurre*. Preceding a long vowel *h* often appears, as in *bhā* for Persian *bād*, and *dheu* for Persian *dī*.

In the following pages the letter ر represents the sound *r*, and to express that of *w* the sign ڤ has been adopted.

THE SUBSTANTIVE

In common with all Kurdish dialects except Kermanshāhī and Jāfī, Shādī forms its plural regularly in آن -*ān*, and most often without the addition of *k* to the noun as in other dialects.

Examples—

Singular. میر آف کشت آش تن جیف

Plural. میران آفان کشتان آشیان تنان جیفان

The alternative plurals permissible in Shādī among these six

nouns would be جیفکان, آشکان, and میرکان, the other three nouns not permitting the formation in *k*.

In all southern dialects this affixial *k* may be joined to any noun, and even to parts of the verb, but Shādī has reserved for it a more precise use, i.e. its employment only with nouns admitting of a diminutive sense, as—

From خیز *khiz*, “a girl;” خیزکی *khizaki*.

From در *dur*, “a lie,” no diminutive can be formed, though admissible in southern Kurdish.

کر *kar*, “an ass,” admits کرکی *karaki*.

چاف *chāf*, “an eye,” admits no diminutive, though doing so in southern dialects.

مال *māl*, “a house,” admits مالکی *mālaki*.

These nouns, then, carry the double plurals:—

From خیز, خیزکان and خیزان; from کر, کرکان and کران;
from مال, مالان and مالکان.

CASE ENDINGS.

1. دا *dā*.

This is very common in Kurdish, occurring as a genitive and objective (more particularly when the noun is the object of a preposition).

Ex. وان له مالدا ایشه بکنه *vān li māl dā isha bikina*, “let them work at home,” where مال is governed by له.

Ex. از بازاردا دیکهزم ترم *az bāzār dā dikhāzm tirrim*, “I want to go to the bazar,” where بازار is governed by له understood.

2. را *rā*.

Alone among Kurdish dialects the Kermānji group has preserved this objective ending, but has limited its use to pronouns, as مرا, ترا, ورا, مارا, هونرا, وانرا, *marā, tarā, varā, mārā, hūnrā*,

vānrā. The most frequent use is after a preposition, as in the very common phrase *زبومرا*, the equivalent of the Persian *از برای من*.

Ex. *فاتحان ژ مرا بخونن*, *fātehān zhe marā bukhūnin*, "that they may pray for me" (from the *عروض* of Aḥmadi Khānī Hakārī).

3. *ā*.

This is very little used, and its use appears to be originally parallel to that of *ها* in Persian, that is, as a plural suffix, but it occurs sometimes in an objective sense also, as *وان فکر دکن ولاتا خراو* *وان*, *vān fukir dakan vilātā kharāv bikin*, where the parallel Persian phrase would read *آنها فکر میکنند ولایت را خراب میکنند*. Plurals with this suffix have a broader signification than the plural in *ان*, signifying "all", "every", as is seen from the two plurals of *کرمانج* *Kurmānj*, *کرمانجان* *Kurmānjān*, and *کرمانجا* *Kurmānjā*, the first signifying the tribes Shādī and Hakārī and the second Kurds as a race.

In syntax the noun appears in the same position as in Persian and other Kurdish dialects. Example—

Shādī: *تویک مانگاکى به بازارى دو صد پنجه چار غروشان به*
ژیر مده, *tu yek māngākī ba bāsārī dū sad pinja chār*
ghurūshān ba zhīr mada.

Persian: *تو یک ماده کاورا ببر بازار دویست و پنجاه و چهار*
غروش کمتر نده, *tu yak māda gāvra bibar bāzār divīst*
u panjāh u chahār ghurūsh kamtar nadih.

It will be noticed that the Shādī shows a much greater precision in the use of the plural termination than does modern Persian, which prefers the use of the singular form for the plural of all objects not human, and in the case of such nouns even forbids the use of a plural termination except to express a certain sense, that of a large but indefinite number, while Shādī insists upon the correct use of the plural inflexion.

The following table shows, as specimens, a number of nouns, and where the Persian is nearer than other Kurdish dialects it is quoted for comparison. The sign K. signifies Kurdish dialects generally, and for comparison some ten dialects are brought into use, which it is not necessary to enumerate. When the Kermānījī (Hakārī) differs from the Shādī it is quoted, but not otherwise.

SHĀDĪ.	PRON.	OTHER LANGUAGE OR DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	REMARKS.
باغ	bākh	K. باغ, P. باغ	a garden	
بهاو	bhāv	K. باد, P. با و با	wind	Kji. با
بادام	bādām	K. بادام, P. باآم بايم	an almond	Kji. باولم
برف	barf	P. برف, K. بفر, بفر, بفر etc.	snow	
چلو	chlū	K. كلا	a leaf	Kji. كلا
دری	darī	K. در, P. در	a door	
در	dar	K. در, O.P. دشت در	desert, outside	
رند	rind	North. K. رنه, P. رنه (able, wily)	good	Kji. ضرنه
قیش	qīsh	P. قاش	a tear, rent	
زارو	zārū	K. ژاورو زاورو	a child	Kji. اورى
هری	hurī	O.P. خورى, K. هری خورى	wool	Kji. هری
میش	mīsh	P. پشه, K. میشى	a gnat	
هرزور	harzhivar	O.P. نردبان, K. نردبان	stairs, a ladder	Kji. دوان
کاغت	kāghat	P. کاغذ	paper	Kji. کاغذ
کرسی	kursī	South P. and Ar. کرسی	a chair	
دیوار	dīvār	P. دیوار, K. ديثار	a wall	
وی	vī	P. ریش, K. ریش	a beard	
دوان	divān	P. دندان, K. ددان دندان	teeth	Kji. نان
زمان	zamān	P. زبان, K. زقان	tongue	Kji. زبان
دف	daf	P. دبان, K. دَف دم	mouth	Kji. دَو
لیف	līf	P. لب, K. لیف, لیف etc.	a lip	Kji. لیف

SHĀDĪ.	PRON.	OTHER LANGUAGE OR DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	REMARKS.
بری	birī	P. ابرو , K. نَوجو بانچو	eyebrows	Kji. برد
تیوژ	tūzh	P. تیز , K. تیژ	sharp	Kji. تیژ
کیول	kül	P. کول کل , K. کند	blunt	Kji. کول
جی	jī	P. جیه جه جی , K. جو	barley	Kji. جه
جیف	jīf	Vulg. P. جیف	a pocket	Kji. جیو
نکا	nikā	P. اینگاه	now	
گا	gā	P. گا کاف , K. گاو	an ox	Kji. گاف
مانگا	māngā	P. ماده گاو , K. مانگا	a cow	
پر	pirr	K. فره فر , O.P.	a lot	
هندک	handik	P. اندک	a little	
مرشک	mirshk	P. مامر , K. مرغ	a fowl	
خاو	khāv	P. خواب , K. خائف	sleep	Kji. خائف
خفاک	khwālik	P. خواهر , K. خُشا خفاشک	sister	Kji. نهایشک
رفن	rwan	P. روغن , K. رثن	clarified butter	
زو	zū	P. زود , K. زو	early	
شيلم	shailam	P. شلم شيلم , K. شلغم	a turnip	
ترپ	tirp	P. تربیزه , K. ترپ	a radish	
کرژنک	kirzhink	O.P. کژدم , K. کژدم	a scorpion	
ایسوت	isūt	Chaldean Isaūta	pepper	
چپت	jipt	O.P. چپت	crooked	Kji. جوت
قچکه	quchka	P. کچک , K. بچوک	small	Kji. بچوک
پسینک	pisink	Vulg. P. پشی , K. پشی	a cat	Kji. پسک
جهی	jhi	P. جیه , K. جدا	separate	Kji. جیا
آش	āsh	O.P. آس , K. آش	a mill	
ماسی	māsī	P. ماهی , K. ماسی	fish	Kji. ماسی
نیمیه	nīvīa	P. نیمه , K. نیم	a half	Kji. نیمه
گشت	qisht	K. کشت	all	
برا	barā	K. برار برا	a brother	

SHĀDĪ.	PRON.	OTHER LANGUAGE OR DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	REMARKS
خیز	khīz	T. قز	daughter	Kji. کچ
شال	shāl	P. شال	a turban	Kji. شاش
گااور	gaavir		the arm	Kji. بال
کر	kar	P. هر کر , K. هر کر	an ass	
خالی	khālī	P. خالی , K. خاک	dust	
برف	barf	P. ثور وور , K. برف	snow	Kji. برو
تاف تاف	taf, taf	O.P. تاف تاو , K. تاب	the sun	Kji. تاو
آر	ār	O.P. آیر آگر , K. آذر آگر	fire	Kji. آگر
گرمک	garmik	P. گرمی	warmth	Kji. گرمی
سار	sār	P. سرد , K. سار	cold	Kji. سار
آف	āf	P. اف او , K. آب	water	Kji. آو
ژنی	zhinī	P. ازنو زانیو , K. زانو	knee	Kji. زنی
چاف	chāf	P. چاف , K. چشم	eyes	Kji. چاو
ناف	nāf	K. ناف	inside	Kji. ناو
جگر	jigar	P. جگر	liver	
گرچی	gurjī	O.P. گرده , K. گرجی	kidneys	
دنک	dang	P. دنک , K. بانک	noise	
ناو	nāv	P. نام , K. ناف	name	Kji. ناف
هورمیش	haurmish	P. اورمش , K. أبرشم	silk	Kji. میش
پیرزن	pīrzhin	P. پیرزن	an old woman	
سور	sūr	P. سورخ , K. سور	red	
هشینه	hashīna		blue	
مزار	mazār	O.P. مزار	a grave	Kji. گور
سیف	sīf	P. سیف سو , K. سیب	an apple	Kji. سیو
تیزی	tizhī	P. تیر , K. سیر	full	Kji. تیر
دژمن	dizhmin	P. دژمن , K. دشمن	enmity	
ری	rī	P. راه , K. ری	a road	Kji. ری
طال	tāl	P. تالخ , K. تال	bitter	Kji. تال

SHĀDĪ.	PRON.	OTHER LANGUAGE OR DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	REMARKS.
دست	dast	P. دست, K. دس	the hand	
اویش	avīsh	P. امید, K. اویژ	hope	Kji. اوجی
هی	hī	K. هيله	an egg	Kji. هیه
خوی	khūi	K. خُفّی	salt	
سُگ	sūg	P. سنگ, K. برد بر	a stone	Kji. بر
رش	rash	North K. رش	black	
میر	mīr	P. مرد	a man	
دار	dār	P. درخت, K. دار huri	a tree	
بزَن	bizin	P. بُز, K. بزَن	a goat	
رو	rū	P. روز, K. روژ رو	day	Kji. روژ
شاف	shāw	P. شب, K. شَف	night	
دز	diz	P. دزر, K. دز	a thief	
استو	ustū	North K. استو	the neck	
کوز	kūz	P. کوزه	a pot	
هرم	harm	O.P. امرود, K. ارمو هرمو	a pear	
زوی	zevī	P. زمین, K. رَئین	ground	
ارد	ard	A. ارض	the earth	
اِبژَنک	īzhink	P. هیزم	wood	
دیری	dīrī	P. تیر, K. تِگرک	hail	
استریه	istirīa	P. ستاره, K. استار	a star	
کادینه	kādīna	P. کادان	a store-room	
تیخی	tüwī	P. تشنا, K. تینی	thirsty	Kji. تینی
بوک	baōk	K. بوک	a bride	
زافا	zāfā	P. داماد, K. زاف	a bridegroom	Kji. زاوا
دوی	davī	K. دایه, P. دالک	a mother	Kji. داو
باب	bāb	K. باقه, P. باف	a father	
اور	avt	P. هفر افر, K. ابر	clouds	Kji. هور

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns "I, thou, he, we, you, they", which are in Persian *من man*, *تو tū*, *او ā*, *ما mā*, *شما shūma*, *آنها ānha*, are in Shādī as follows:—

1. I, *از az*. This form appears in all the northern dialects of Kurdish, that is Mukri and its sub-dialects and the Hakārī and allied tongues. Its use is strictly limited to a nominative sense, and it cannot appear in the genitive position, as can the pronoun in Persian (*اسپ من asp-i-man*, etc.).¹
2. Thou, *تا ta*. The Hakārī dialect uses *تو tū* as in Persian and other Kurdish dialects.
3. He, she, *او av*. Other Kurdish dialects give for this pronoun *aw*, *awa*, *ā*, *am*, *av*.
4. We, *ام am*. As with the first person singular, this is the nominative form only, the objective and genitive taking other forms. Other dialects present usually *ima*, also *mā* and *māng*.
5. You, *هون hūn*. A very considerable variety of forms appears in other dialects, such as *iwā*, *shmā*, *hūmā*, *tān*, *ūtān*. The Shādī suggests a derivation from the last-quoted, which is old Persian, and is still used in Yezd.
6. They, *وان*. This is in conformity with nearly all Kurdish dialects, which present *awān* almost without exception, a regular plural of *او av*, *aw*.

The possessive or genitive, which is formed, as in Persian, by the *izāfa* following the object possessed, appears as follows. Taking for the object possessed the word *دشمن dīshmin*, "an enemy," the six forms are as follows:—

1. *دشمن من dīshmin-i-min*. Here the form in universal use appears. The Persian form *مرا marā* is also permissible

¹ Cf. Zend *azim*, 'I.'

in the Kermānjī group, the only one of all the Kurdish tongues recognizing this form.

2. دژمین ته *dizhmin-i-ta*, or ترا دژمین *dizhmin-i-tarā*.
3. دژمین او *dizhmin-i-av*, or ارا دژمین *dizhmin-i-arā*, or اورا دژمین *dizhmin-i-avra*.
4. دژمین مه *dizhmin-i-ma*, or مارا دژمین *dizhmin-i-mārā*, where again the remarkable exactness of the parallel with Persian appears.
5. دژمین هون *dizhmin-i-hūn*, or (very unusual) *dizhmin-i-tārā*, where *-i tā-* is the equivalent of the Persian تان or اتان.
6. دژمین وان *dizhmin-i-vān*, or وانرا دژمین *dizhmin-i-vānrā*.

The objective form is dual, and as follows :—

1. Me	من	<i>min</i>	مرا	<i>marā</i>
2. Thee	ته	<i>ta</i>	ترا	<i>tarā</i>
3. Him	او	<i>av</i>	اورا	<i>avrā</i>
4. Us	مه	<i>ma</i>	مارا	<i>mārā</i>
5. You	هون	<i>hūn</i>	تارا	<i>tārā</i>
6. Them	وان	<i>vān</i>	وانرا	<i>vānrā</i>

PRONOMINAL TERMINATIONS.

These are in Persian and Kurdish, the possessive terminations affixed to nouns, as دستم *dast-am*, etc., “my hand,” and the particles affixed to verbs as میروم *mīravam*, “I go” Shādī, however, does not appear to possess the first variety, and limits its pronominal affixes to use with verbs. The first form appears in the present indicative of verbs, and is placed in comparison with the forms of other dialects.

• PERSIAN.	SHĀDĪ.	OTHER DIALECTS.
میخورم <i>mīkhūram</i>	دخقم <i>dakhwam</i>	<i>akhwam, khwam</i>
میخوری <i>mīkhūrī</i>	دخقی <i>dakhw-ī</i>	<i>akhwat, makhwī, khwaīt</i>
میخورد <i>mīkhūrad</i>	دخقه <i>dakhw-a</i>	<i>akhwa, makhwat, khwat</i>

PERSIAN.	SHĀDĪ.	OTHER DIALECTS.
میخوریم <i>mīkhūrīm</i>	دخفن <i>dakhw-in</i>	akhwīn, makhwīmān, khwaīm
میخورید <i>mīkhūrīd</i>	دخفن <i>dakhw-in</i>	akhwīn, akhwān, makh- waīn, khwaīn
میخورند <i>mīkhūrand</i>	دخفن <i>dakhw-an</i>	akhwan, makhwan, khwan

The terminations of the third person singular and second person plural are similar to the corruption of the same in vulgar Persian, which would render these parts of the verb as میخوره *mīkhūra* and میخورین *mīkhūrīn* (infinitive of verb, خوردن). The third person plural also presents a parallel, which drops the final *d*.

The demonstrative pronouns are او, "that," and و, "this," with regular plurals اوان and وان, which may be compared with other Kurdish dialects using او, اوه, ائه for "that" and ای, یه, وی for "this".

The pronouns که and چه, "who" and "what", also "which", and the interrogative sense of the same words have exactly the same use as in Persian.

There remain the reflexive pronouns in Persian: خودم "myself", خودت "thyself", خودش "himself", خودمان "ourselves", خودتان "yourselves", خودشان "themselves", formed from the word خود *khud* (silent و), "self."

The Shādī uses as its root the Kurdish form with what is possibly the old Persian pronunciation, i.e. with و pronounced, but the final *d* is lost — خفه *khwa*. It forms the various persons as follows: خودمه *khwama*, تخته *takhwa*, اوخته *avkhwa*, ختما *khwamā*, خفتان *khwatān*, واخته *rānkhwā*, the pronominal part thus appearing as a prefix in some and an affix in other words.

These are the usual forms, but there exists another set, also very generally used: خوام *khwām*, خوائ *khwāī*, خوا *khwā*, امخوام *amkhwā*, هومخوائ *hūnkhwāī*, and خوائان *khwāīān*.

THE ADJECTIVE

Properly speaking, neither Kurdish nor Persian possesses the adjective, as the noun is equally both substantive and adjective, admitting degrees of comparison. Colloquial Persian has practically ceased the employment of the superlative degree, using to express it a phrase *تر از همه* . . . , "than all . . . er," and Kurdish shows the same peculiarity. Persian forms its comparative in *tar* and Kurdish in *tir*, and the use is the same in both languages.

NUMBERS.

	PERSIAN.	SHĀDĪ.	OTHER DIALECTS.
1	یک yak	yek	
2	دو dū	dū	
3	سه seh	seh	
4	چهار chahār	chār	chār, chwār
5	پنج panj	pinj	panj
6	شش shish	shash	shash
7	هفت haft	haft	haf
8	هشت hasht	hasht	hasht
9	نه nuh	niyya	nuh, na, ni
10	ده dih, dah	dah	dah
11	یازده yāzda	dah o yek	yānza
12	دوازده davāzda	dah o dū	dwānza
13	سیزده sizda	dah o seh	sīnza
14	چهارده chahārdah	dah o chār	chwārda
20	بست bīst	bīst	bīs
40	چهل chihil	chal	chil
50	پانجا panjā	pinja	panjāh
60	شصت shast	shaist	shist, shis
70,	هفتاد haftād	hafta	haftā
80	هشتاد hashtād	hashta	hashtā
90	نود navad	nawt	nawad, nawa
100	صد sad	sat	sad
1000	هزار hazār	hazār	hazhār

The ordinal numbers are formed as in Persian by the addition of either *-um* or *ان*, as—

			PERSIAN.
First	.	پیشی	اول
Second	.	دوم	دوم
Third	.	سیان	سیم
Fourth	.	چاران	چهارم
Fifth	.	پانچان	پنجم
etc.			

THE VERB

As is the rule in modern Persian and Kurdish, *Shāḫlī* has lost the bulk of what must originally have been a large number of simple verbs, and supplies the deficiency with compounds. For the rest the *Shāḫlī* verb does not present so many unusual features as many other dialects, and is very regular in its form.

As a general rule the verb forms its infinitive in final *n*, following the rule of Kurdish, which has either dropped or did not possess the full terminations in *-khtan*, *-tan*, *-dan*, etc. Examples—

کونن	<i>kūtin</i> , to fall.
هاتن	<i>hātin</i> , to come.
آوتن	<i>avatan</i> , to throw.
فاردن	<i>wārdan</i> , to bring.
کنن	<i>kanin</i> , to laugh.
راکفن	<i>rrā kafin</i> , to sleep.

These infinitives are very little used in conversation, as is the case in all dialects, various parts of the verb being employed to express the desired meaning.

In the formation of the tenses a very fair consistency is noticeable, and the usage of all the northern dialects is followed, i.e. instead of the Persian prefix *mi-* to form the present indicative *da-* is used. These northern dialects are those which have not

come in contact with Lurī and its usages, and have retained what is evidently an ancient form, for it exists here and there even among the mutilated verb forms of the Kermanshāhī and Kurdistānī (Sina). The dialects in which it is preserved intact are, in Persia, Mukrī and its sub-dialects, in Turkey, Hakārī and Shādī.

When the infinitive is not fundamentally simple, as in the case of راکفن *rrākafin* (prefix *rrā*) and لیخن *laikhan* (prefix *lai*-) the suffix *-da* does not appear.

In the negative *da-* gives place to *nā*.

In one or two cases also, apart from that of verbs with prefixes, the particle *da-* has disappeared and given place to another letter. The first of these verbs is هرن *harrin*, "to go," where the present indicative becomes ترم *tirrim*, where the initial *t* is apparently the result of *d* and *h* (دهرم) becoming fused into one sound. This verb is very irregular and forms its preterite from the Kurdish verb چون *chūin*, "to go" (see later).

The second verb worthy of remark upon the irregularity of its present indicative is وارن *vārin*, "to bring," which appears as ترم *tirim*, "I bring," the meeting of *d* and *v* in the regular form having apparently produced the same result as in هرن. This verb also shows an irregularity in the preterite, which is آنم *ānim*, "I brought," evidently the relic of a verb resembling the Persian and Kurdish آوردن, where in the survival of corruption the initial alif has been preferred to the second syllable.

The third verb, هاتن *hātin*, "to come," also appears in the present indicative as تیم *tim*, apparently a parallel result of the junction of *d* and *h*, as in هرن. This phase of the consonant fusion has its exact parallel in the southern Kurdish dialects, which from the verbs آوردن (آوردن) and هاتن form the present indicatives تیارم *tīāram* and تیمم *tīāim* (Kermanshāhī).

Compound tenses are rarely used in Kurdish, which is generally satisfied with present indicative, preterite, past perfect, past imperfect, and conditional in nearly all its dialects. Where, as in the case of Kermanshāhī, which is gradually taking a regular prose form, compound tenses are formed upon the Persian model, they are rendered very obscure by the inexactness of the verb "to be", and the corruption which has rendered nearly all its parts so much alike as to make definiteness very difficult of achievement. For instance, in the verb "to be" (Kermanshāhī) the preterite appears as *bīm*, "I was," but in the compound tense of *dāshtan* and other verbs, "I had had," the form is *dāštüm* in place of *dashta bīm*, and while the conditional of the same auxiliary is *būm*, "if I be," in composition with another verb it becomes *-ūtm*, as *kirdūtm*, "[if] I should do."

The following list of present indicatives of Shādī verbs shows the formation:—

Present indicative of verb "to eat", خُفْنُ .

د ختم	<i>dakhwam</i> , I eat.
د ختی	<i>dakhwī</i> , thou eatest.
د خه or د خه	<i>dakha</i> , he eats.
د خفن	<i>dakhwin</i> , we eat.
د خفن	<i>dakhwin</i> , you eat.
د خفن	<i>dakhwan</i> , they eat.

The following are the first persons singular, present indicative, of the infinitives quoted:—

INFINITIVE.	PRESENT INDICATIVE.
فخفن <i>fakhwan</i> , to drink	د فَاخُفْم
لیخن <i>laikhan</i> , to strike	لیخِم
نوسان <i>navisān</i> , to write	رَنُوسِم
کن <i>kanin</i> , to laugh	دکنم

	INFINITIVE.	PRESENT INDICATIVE.
ژاکتن	<i>rrākatīn</i> , to lie down	ژاکتم
دان	<i>dān</i> , to give	دِدم
گوتن	<i>gūtīn</i> , to speak	دِیم
چی کرن	<i>chī kirrīn</i> , to cut	چی دکم
کفتن	<i>kaftīn</i> , to fall	دکفم
دین	<i>dīn</i> , to see, find	ددینم and دیدیم
واندا کرن	<i>vāndā kirrīn</i> , to be concealed	واندا کم
بیر کرن	<i>bīr kirrīn</i> , to forget	بیر دکم
فکریان	<i>fikirīān</i> , to look at	دفکرم
راڤن	<i>raawīn</i> , to run	دراڤم
پینگان	<i>pānīgān</i> , to be able	پینگام
بون	<i>būn</i> , to become	دبوم
خارن	<i>khāzīn</i> , to wish	دیخازم
پرسن	<i>pirsīn</i> , to ask	دپرسم
گیشتن	<i>gaishtīn</i> , to arrive	دکیشم
قای کرن	<i>qāī kirrīn</i> , to build	قای دکم
	etc., etc.	

The preterite shows its affinity with Persian and other Kurdish dialects by the absence of verbal prefix, but it places the pronominal particle before instead of after the root in some cases, and permits apparently the observance of either position of pronominal particle. Example : دان *dān*, to give.

دام	<i>dām</i>	مدا	<i>madā</i> , I gave.
دای	<i>dāī</i>	تدا	<i>tadā</i> , thou gavest.
دا	<i>dā</i>	اودا	<i>avdā</i> , he gave.
دان	<i>dān</i>	امدا	<i>amdā</i> , we gave.
دان	<i>dān</i>	هوندا	<i>hūdā</i> , you gave.
دان	<i>dān</i>	واندا	<i>vāndā</i> , they gave.

There appears to be no rule as to the use of the two forms, euphony apparently deciding the question.

The past perfect (Persian کرده ام *kardar am*, "I have done") is formed as in all Kurdish dialects, i.e. the particle *د* (*h*) appears after the pronominal affix instead of being attached to the verb root. Thus, کردن "to do, make".

Past perfect, "I have done," کرده ام *kirdima*.

(etc.) کرده ای *kirdita*.

کرده ای *kirdīa*.

کردنه *kirdina*.

کردنه *kirdina*.

کردنه *kirdina*.

This rule is regular for all verbs.

The past imperfect (Persian میکردم *mīkardam*, "I used to do") shows an inversion of the form appearing in the dialects of Mukrī, Sulaimānia, Jāfī, which introduce *د* before the initial pronominal prefix, as دمکرد *damakird*, "I used to do."

The Shādī, however, produces the form *midikir*, تدکر *tidikir*, *avdikir*, ادکر *avdikir*, *amdikir*, امدکر *amdikir*, *hündikir*, هوندکر *hündikir*, *vāndikir*, واندکر.

The form appearing in Sina and Kermānshāhī also is کریام *kiriām*, کریای *kiriāi*, کریا *kirāā*, کریائن *kiriāin*, کریاین *kiriāin*, کریان *kiriān*.

The conditional follows in its form the Persian, in taking *as* a prefix to the root *b*, and as an affix the pronominal particle.

Example, from infinitive فکریان "to look at".

That I look at که بفکرم *ki bifkirim*.

(etc.) که بفکری *ki bifkiri*.

که بفکره *ki bifkira*.

که بفکرن *ki bifkiran*.

که بفکرن *ki bifkiran*.

که بفکرن *ki bifkiran*.

AUXILIARIES.

These are, as in Persian, "to be" and "to become," but as in Kurdish generally they are very incomplete. The parts in general use are quoted below.

To be, بین *bīan*.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I am	ام	-am.
(etc.)	ی	-ī.
	ا	-a.
	ان	-in.
	ان	-in.
	ان	-an.

PRETERITE.

I was	بیم	bīm.
(etc.)	بی	bī.
	بی	bī.
	بین	bīn.
	بین	bīn.
	بین	bīan.

PAST PERFECT.

I have been	بیمه	bīma.
(etc.)	بیته	bīta.
	ببه	bīa.
	بینه	bīna.
	بینه	bīna.
	بینه	bīna.

CONDITIONAL.

That I be	بوم	būm.
(etc.)	بوی	būī.
	بو	bū.
	بون	būn.
	بون	būn.
	بن	bīn.

Imperative, به *ba* /¹ 'be!'

The verb "to become" is even more imperfect, the infinitive is بون, and the parts are formed regularly.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.

I become	دبوم	dabūm.
(etc.)	دبوی	dabūī.
	دبو	dabū
	دبون	dabūn.
	دبون	dabūn.
	دبون	dabūn.

PRETERITE.

I became	بوم	būm.
(etc.)	بی	bī.
	بی	bī.
	بین	bīn.
	بین	bīn.
	بین	bīn.

PAST PERFECT.

I have become,	بومه	būma.
(etc.)	بونه	būna.
	بود	būa.
	بونہ	būna.
	بونہ	būna.
	بونہ	būna.

These verbs show almost exact parallels with other Kurdish dialects whose auxiliaries are equally defective.

1. Among all Kurdish dialects Shādī is the only one which employs separate verbs for "to eat" and "to drink". Persian has lost the use of the old verb آشامیدن *āshāmīdan*, "to drink," and Kurdish, like it, uses the verb خواردن (P. خورْدن) to express both actions. Shādī, however, possesses the verb فەخەن *fakhwan*, "to drink," which is obviously constructed from خەن *khwan*, "to eat," support of this assumption appearing in the fact of the imperative being, not بێفەه *bifkhwa*, but فەه *fakhwa*, following the rule for verbs formed with prefixes, as لیخه *laikha*! from لیخن *laikhan*, and راکف *rrā kaf*! from راکفن.

2. The verb قای کردن *qāi kirrin*, "to construct" (P. قایم کردن), separates the two parts to admit the object, as قای دখانی دکم *qāi dakhānī dakam*, "I build a house," the object taking a prefixial *d*.

3. The dialect is wanting in some verbs common in Persian and southern Kurdish, notably داشتن *dāshtan*, "to possess," which is expressed by a phrase such as "there is to me" = "I have". Other common verbs missing are (1) پیدا کردن *paidā kardan*, "to find," to express which the verb دین *dīn*, "to see," is used, as in the Mukrī of Persian Kurdistan. (2) یاد گرفتن *yād girifstan*, "to learn." For this is substituted the purely Persian version of the same thing, دست گرفتن *dast girifstan*, which has in colloquial

Persian the meaning of "commencing". The Shādī is دست گرفتن *dast girtin*, "to learn." (3) ایستادن *āyestādan*, "to stand." This dialect has lost this verb and substituted for it one constructed from the Arabic root سَكَنَ *sakana*, namely سَكَنَ *sikkinin*, "to stand."

4. When there is an object to the verb the prefix *da-* may appear in both present indicative and preterite, sometimes separated from the verb, and sometimes repeated, forming an objective inflexion to the noun.

دا چه دوی *dā chi davī* ? what sayest thou ?

دا چه وا *dā chi wā* ? what did he say ?

5. The verb "to say" appears to be formed from two roots, and to possess two sets of parts formed from these, but various parts are interchangeable and do not always occur in conjunction with the other parts formed from the root.

The two roots are گو and و, from which appear the infinitives گوتن and وتن *watin*, respectively equivalents of modern Persian and Kurdish.

The parts in use with these infinitives are as follows:—

	With گوتن	With وتن
Imp.	بگو <i>bagū</i> .	ببه <i>biba</i> = <i>biwa</i> or <i>biva</i> .
Pres. Ind.	دوم <i>divim</i> (from وتن).	دوم <i>divim</i> or دیم <i>dibim</i> .
Preterite	مگو and کوتم	وام <i>vatim</i> .

There appears to be very little preference in the use of these two verbs, which are repeatedly heard in conversation impartially employed by the same person.

The following is a list of some of the simple and compound verbs:—

بین *bīan*, to be. All Kurdish dialects have the same or very slight variants.

بون *būn*, to become. Ibid.

- کوتن *kavtin*, to fall. Kurdish *kaftin*, *kaotin*, etc.
- هاتن *hātin*, to come. A purely Kurdish verb appearing in all dialects not possessing a Luri element.
- آفتن *āwutin*, to throw. Persian انداختن.
- وارن *vārin*, to bring. Persian and Kurdish آوردن and هاوردن.
- وگرن *vagirrin*, to turn back. Kurdish هرگردبان, هرگردبان, etc.; Persian برگردیدن.
- چی کرن *chī kirin*, to tie. There is no equivalent in other dialects.
- گوتن *gūtin*, to speak. Persian گفتن; Mukrī کوتن.
- خفن *khwan*, to eat. Persian خوردن; Kurdish بخواردن.
- فخفن *fakhwan*, to drink.
- گرتن *girtin*, to try, take. Persian گرفتن, "to take;" North Kurdish گرتن, "to try."
- کنن *kanin*, to laugh. Persian خندیدن; Kurdish خنن and کنن.
- را کفن *rrā kafin*, to sleep. Kurdish خفتن; Old Persian خفتن.
- دان *dan*, to give. Kurdish دادن; Persian دادن.
- برگرتن *bar girtin*, to raise. Persian برگرفتن; Kurdish الگرتن, هرگردن.
- فکرن *fakirin*, to look at. Kurdish نیرن; Persian root نگه, نگاه.
- گیشتن *gaishtin*, to arrive. Kurdish the same.
- ریشان *raishin*, to pour. Persian root ریز; Kurdish روشن, ریشان, ریژان, etc., etc.
- آزن *āzhin*, to sow. Persian پاشیدن; Kurdish واشنان, etc.
- کیشن *kīshnin*, to pull, draw. Persian کشیدن; Kurdish کیشن, etc.
- راون *rraavin*, to run. Old Persian رهانیدن; Kurdish راکردن, etc.
- فرتین *fraitin*, to sell. Kurdish the same; Persian فروختن.

خیونن *khūnin*, to read, sing. Kurdish خۆنانن خیونن ; Persian خواندن.

مشان *mashān*, to send.

مرن *mirrin*, to die. Kurdish مرن ; Persian مردن.

پرسن *pirsin*, to ask. Kurdish پرسین, پرسیان ; Persian پرسیدن.

لرزن *lirzin*, to tremble. Kurdish لږزان لرزین ; Persian لرزیدن.

ماین *māin*, to remain. Kurdish منن ; Persian ماندن.

بهیستن *bhīstin*, to tear. Hakārī only, the same.

دین *dīn*, to see, find. North Kurdish دین, "to find."

هبرن *birrin*, to cut. Kurdish برین ; Persian بریدن.

واکرن *wakirin*, to open. Kurdish واکردن, کرداوا ; Persian واگردن, بازکردن.

سای کرن *sāi kirrin*, to count. Persian حساب کردن.

بان کرن *bān kirrin*, to call. Persian بانک زدن, بانک کردن.

رونشتن *rūnīshṭin*, to sit. Old Persian نشتن ; Kurdish نمشتن.

کالین *kaalīn*, to cook. Kurdish کلیان.

شافتیان *shawotīān*, to burn. Kurdish سوزنان, سوچیان, etc.

درن *durun*, to sew. Kurdish درزیان, دوریان, etc.; Old Persian root درز.

ترسن *tirsin*, to fear. Kurdish ترسین ; Persian ترسیدن.

پیشن *paishn*, to cook. Persian root پز ; Kurdish root پێ.

پاهتن *pāhtin*, to cook. Apparently formed from the Persian root پخت.

هشتن *hishtin*, to place. Persian هشتن ; North Kurdish هشتن.

شستن *shшту*, to wash. Persian شستن ; Kurdish شستن, شوریان, etc.

قپ گرتن *qat girtin*, to bite. Kurdish قپ گرتن.

دزدیدن *diszin*, to steal. Kurdish دزین ; Persian دزدیدن.

هلبیرن *halbarin*, to raise. Persian برداشتن.

فرین *farin*, to fly. Persian پریدن ; Kurdish پرین, etc., etc.

SPECIMENS OF PROSE

1. آزیف چوم بازاری وچند می گرتم خازم بيم درچون هوا .
 پتر سار بو چاره ناو شارمام . The syntax is exactly as in Persian,
 and word for word is in that language من دیروز رستم بازار وچند
 گسفتد گرتم خواستم ببرم بیرون چون هوا خیلی سرد بود چاره
 نبود شهر ماندم .

2. In this specimen the English and Persian appear beneath
 each word, the English being thus read from right to left.

Sh.	اگر	خُفَدِه	فِرَصَن	دا	چند	روژ	شُدَا	تیم
P.	اگر	خدا	فرست	داد	چند	روز	بعد	میایم
E.	If	God	gave	chance	some	days	hence	I shall come

Sh.	و	تَدَبِوَتَم	زوی	شنداتر	دِفاره	ترم	وان
P.	به	دیدن	شما	از آن	دیرتر	دوباره	مبروم
E.	to	Vān	I shall go	again	from them	afterwards	see you to

Sh.	دو	ماک	شندا	چون	هوا	رند	دبی
P.	دو	ماه	دیگر	چون	هوا	خوب	میشود
E.	Two	hence	months	that	the weather	becomes	good

Sh.	گا	یَنَم	هی	هرم	چیان	چون
P.	گانم	است	بروم	کود	چون	چون
E.	so that (when)	[to the]	mountains	that I go	is	my idea

Sh.	وگرم	ایشه	خوم	دست	دگرم
P.	برگردم	کار	خودم	دست	میگیرم
E.	I return	of myself	work	I shall undertake	

The following is the free translation of one of the tales from
 Sa'adi's *Gulistan* (that of the King and the sea-sick slave) by
 a Shādi Kurd into his own tongue:—

(1) پادشا به غلام خُقادا وگامیه رونشته غلام وی دِنِر نَدی بُو
 ندی بُوگای چِر تره گری وزاری

(2) کِری و لِرزی جان وی گِرتُ هَرجه کِرن راحَت نَبو پادشا
عاجز بُو و چاره ندی حکیم لِگامیه

(3) بی گو فرمان دَکی آز آوَرَا کَرَوَا دَکَم پادشا گو مرحمت دَبو
حکیم فرمان کِر غلام باوَن و دِتری چنه جاران

(4) غُرُغِر کِرو موی سَری گِرتی و آلیه گامیه کِشَتان غلام و هردو
دست پِشت گامیه

(5) گِرت چون هات و زور آلیه گامیه رونشت و قرارگِرت پادشا
خَواش هات زایشی حکیم و گوچه حکمت هَی

(6) گوپیشی ناچپانه و ترس خندقی و قدرا گامیه نزانى هَرس
گلی دکت لَه رِندی خوا حَقِ آو که خرابی بوینت که
(7) بزانه چیه

In line 1 the inflexion دا appears after the word خَفا, "himself," a parallel to Persian usage.

گامیه = "a ship". This word is apparently borrowed from the Chaldean *gaamī* = "a ship".

وی = "of him". Cf. the Persian but not Kurdish use of the same word.

دِتری = "the sea".

چِرتی = "shaking" (used here in the place of the phrase مَحْمَت کِشتی نیماز موده in the original).

کِری و زاری = "weeping and moaning". Mod. Persian کَرِه و زاری.

Line 2 :

لِرزی جان وی گِرت = "trembling seized upon his body".

لِگامیه = "in the ship". لَه (*li*) is a very much used Kurdish preposition meaning "in", "from", "of", and "to".

Line 3 : گو = "he said".

فرمان دگی = "thou commandest", in the sense "if thou command".

از اورا کورا دکم = "I him silent will make".

مرحمت دبو = "it becomes kindness".

باون = "that they throw".

جاران = "times". The word *jār* is common to the whole Kurdish language.

Line 4 : غُرْغُر = "gurgling".

آلیه = "on", "to", from the Arabic علی .

Line 5 : زور = "above". This word is common to the northern dialects.

ایشی = "work". This word replaces the Persian کار in nearly all dialects.

هی = ' is '

Line 6 : پیشی = "first".

ناچیهانه وترس خندقی = "he had never gone to the fear of the trench"; i.e. "he had never been in danger of drowning".

گیلی دکت = "makes complaint"; Persian گله.

له رندی خفا = "of his own good".

حق اوکه خرابی بوینت = "his right that he shall see bad".

که بزانه چیه = "that he know what it is" (i.e. good).

The tale in the original Persian is as follows :—

پادشاهی با غلام عجمی نشسته بود غلام هر کز دریا ندیده بود و مسحت کشتی نیاز موده کریه وزاری آغاز کرده ولرزه برانه امش افتاده چنانکه ملاطفت کردند آرام نگرفت ملک را عیش از او منغص شد و چاره ندانستند حکیمی در آن کشتی بود گفت اگر فر مالی من اورا خاموش کنم پادشاه کفیت غامت لطف باشد حکیم فرمود تا

غلام را بدریا انه اُختند باری چند غوطه خورد پس مویش بگرفتند
وسوی کشتی آوردنه غلام بهردودست دردنبال کشتی آومحیت
چون برآمد وگفت وراین چه حکمت بود گفت اول محنت غرق
شدن نچشیده بود قدر سلامت کشتی را نمیدا نست همچنین قدر
عافیت کسی داند که بمصیبت گرفتار آید

The following is a literal translation by a Shādi Kurd into his dialect:—

پادشا به علام عجمی نمد لناف گامیه رونشته بون غلام هیچ
وخت دِنِزا ندی بو وِترس گامیه ندی بو گری و زاری آواز کریه
ولرزه و لشه کفتیه هرچه زامَت کِشنان آرام نگرت خُواشی پادشا
ژوی بری و چاره ترانن حکمی و او گامیه بی گواگر فرمان دَگی ازاورا
کروا گم پادشا واغایت دوستی بو حکیم فرمان کرغلاما ورنیز باون
جند جاران غُرغُر کرژپاش موسری گرتن ولای گامیه آن غلام وهردو
دست پِشت گامیه آویژ چون هرهات و گنجی رونشت وقرار کرت
پادشا تدبیر حکیم پَسَنی هات وگو و وه چه حکمت بی گویشی
ترس خفه بین ندی بو فدر سلامت گامیه نزانسی هرچنین قدر
عافیت میری بزانت که و مصیبت گرتیت

As this is exactly parallel with the Persian it may be compared word for word.

XXI

ANCIENT HISTORICAL EDICTS AT LHASA

By L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

HITHERTO our authentic knowledge of the early history of Tibet has been derived, with one solitary exception, not from any records in the country itself, but solely from the references, contemporary and otherwise, embedded in the imperial chronicles of China, which have been rendered accessible to English students through the excellent translations of Dr. Bushell and Mr. Rockhill.¹ The one indigenous early record we have possessed is the imprint of the treaty edict of "822 A.D. with the Emperor Mu Tsung", which Dr. Bushell procured at Peking and published in this Journal in 1880.² That edict, however, though affording an interesting side-glimpse into the state of civilization in Tibet at that period, and incidentally confirming the Chinese accounts, yielded few important historical data; and no other local source of trustworthy early history has been forthcoming. For the Tibetans, unlike the Chinese, are notably deficient in the true historical sense. Their vernacular histories and chronologies date merely from about the fourteenth century A.D.,³

¹ "The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources.—The T'ang Shu, etc.," by S. W. Bushell, M.D., JRAS., 1880: New Series, xii, 435-541. "Tibet, etc., from Chinese Sources," by W. W. Rockhill, JRAS., 1891, xxiii, 1-291. Partial abstracts of these were published nearly a century ago by Remusat and Klaproth. Dr. Hoernle and M. E. Chavannes have supplemented these accounts, with especial reference to Tibetan influence in Khotan: *British Collection from Central Asia*, 1901; *Turcs occidentaux*, 1903; and in Dr. Stein's classic *Ancient Khotan*, 1907, Appendix A. Also Dr. v. le Coq with reference to Turfan.

² JRAS., xii, 535-8. For some doubts as to this see pt. iii of my article.

³ The chief of these are *Ch'os-'byun*, by Bu-ston, about 1330 A.D.; *Baidurya Karpo*, by sDe-srid Sañ-gyas rgya-mts'o, in 1686 A.D.; *Deb-t'ar sNon-po*, abstracted by S. C. Das in Journ. As. Soc. Bengal,

and, compiled by the later lamas, who have inflated their accounts largely with fiction and fable in support of their priest-kings and hierarchy, their stories cannot be accepted as authoritative history for the earlier periods.

Whilst I was in Lhasa in 1904 with the expedition of that year, I was fortunate to find there two ancient edicts of decidedly historical importance by reason of the names, dates, and events inscribed therein, some of the events being of the first importance. One was the treaty of 783 A.D. between the Chinese emperor Tê Tsung of the T'ang dynasty and the celebrated Tibetan king who is reputed to have instituted Lamaism, K'ri Sron-lde-btsan, and the other was inscribed on a pillar of victory of the same epoch, the two forming the earliest authentic historical documents hitherto found in Tibet, and amongst the earliest examples of Tibetan writing and composition yet known to us.

I. THE K'RI SRON-LDE-BTSAN AND TÊ TSUNG TREATY EDICT OF 783 A.D.

The existence of this treaty-edict at Lhasa was noted about two centuries ago, and again as late as 1851, in the Chinese records which have been translated into English by Mr. Rockhill.¹ These stated—

“ Outside the gate (of the great temple Jo-k'an) there is a stone pillar in a poor state of preservation ; it is the tablet containing the alliance of T'ang Tê Tsung with his nephew. On either side of the pillar are old willows, whose aged trunks are bent and twisted like writhing dragons. It is said that they date from the T'ang period.” Another account recorded : “ Before

1881, pp. 213, etc. ; and *rGyal-rabs*, partly translated into German by E. Schlagintweit as *Könige von Tibet*, 1866. *Note*.—In transliterating Tibetan names I have adhered to the Society's system for the Sanskrit alphabet, except in regard to the aspirates, which are here represented as *k'*, *c'*, *t'*, *p'*, *ts'*, and the initial semi-vowel *h* by '*h*' ; and the silent initial consonants I have put into italics when the words are in roman type.

¹ JRAS., 1891, pp. 264, 281.

the Jo-k'an there were two tablets of the T'ang period ; one the tablet of the Tê Tsung treaty, the other that of the Mu Tsung treaty or the 'Tablet of long happiness'. At present there remains only the Tê Tsung tablet, and it is in an impaired condition." And in a list of Chinese inscriptions extant in Lhasa in 1851 was included "Treaty between T'ang Tê Tsung and the king of Tibet, in front of the Jo-k'an".¹

In view of these accounts I made inquiries many years ago from various natives of Lhasa whom I met at Darjiling and elsewhere, and ascertained that a huge inscribed stone pillar, or *rdo-rin*, did still stand at the door of the great Jo-k'an temple, though none of my informants knew the nature of the contents of the inscription, except that it contained both Tibetan and Chinese writing. So, on starting with the Lhasa expedition I was hopeful that this pillar might prove to be the Tê Tsung treaty edict, and so it turned out to be.

This hoary monument, which has weathered the fierce arctic winters of Central Asia for considerably over a thousand years, as well as withstanding the storms of numerous civil wars, was one of the very first objects which I sought out in Lhasa. It is in the form of a tall obelisk of basaltic stone, about 18 feet high, and stands² at the entrance to the greatest Buddhist temple in Lhasa, the Jo-k'an.³ It is safeguarded from street traffic by an investing masonry wall, and is further sheltered under the shade of the remaining one of the pair of giant old willow-trees spoken of in the Chinese narrative of two centuries ago, which protection doubtless explains the gratifyingly fair state of preservation that its inscriptions are still in, better

¹ JRAS.; 1891, p. 264.

² The exact position of this pillar is shown in the plan at p. 365 of my *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1905.

³ An ancient practice of the Chinese was to proclaim sworn treaties in the ancestral temples (Bushell, JRAS., 1880, p. 516). For this temple see my *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, pp. 361-71, and Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1895, pp. 259, etc.

considerably than I had expected from the Chinese report ; for though the surface of the stone is scaled and defaced in several places, by far the greater portion of the inscriptions is still legible.

The pillar displays several inscriptions, incised on three of its four faces, namely : (1) on its east side, facing the Jo-k'añ, is the Tê Tsung treaty, the one for which the pillar must have been originally erected ; (2) on its west side is the bilingual Chinese and Tibetan text of the " Mu Tsung " treaty, which would be a later addition ; and (3) on the north side are the names in Tibetan and Chinese of the Tibetan officials who subscribed to the latter.

Owing to the sacred character of this monument and its position at the door of the great jealously guarded sanctuary in the heart of the city of Lhasa, which for political considerations could seldom be visited, and then only under special arrangement with the civil authorities ; and in view also of the excited temper of the people and swarms of priests at the critical time of our visit to the capital, it was not deemed expedient under these circumstances to attempt to secure imprints or rubbings of these inscriptions. Moreover, an untoward accident destroyed my detailed photographic plates of them. I was fortunate, however, to be able to make careful eye-copies of the Tibetan portions of the inscriptions, with the painstaking assistance of my Tibetan clerk and the aid of a pair of field-glasses, during several visits. And as the copies thus made were revised more than once, I am hopeful that the probable mistakes are reduced to a minimum. Indeed, I have good proof of the general accuracy of the copies, as I have since compared the one of the " Mu Tsung " treaty with the ink imprint of the latter, which Mrs. Bushell has been so very kind as to lend me, and I find that it is remarkably faithful, and furnishes several clues to letters which are almost undecipherable in the rubbing.

The special interest and importance which invest the edict of 783 A.D., recording the treaty between the powerful Tibetan king K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan and the Chinese emperor Tê Tsung, arise from several circumstances. In those days Tibetan arms had raised their country to its zenith, so as to have made it one of the great military powers of Asia. A recent war with India is alluded to, and the conclusion of a peace, sought for, as this one was, by humiliated China¹ from a Tibetan king who had occupied the imperial capital, marked an epoch in Tibetan history. The king of this edict is also known as the founder of Lamaism, as well as of the classical era of Tibetan literature.² His edict, moreover, records events of the first importance, for which it is the earliest authentic Tibetan record.

The king of this edict, K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan,³ was the son of an imperial Chinese princess,⁴ whose marriage with the Tibetan king was a diplomatic concession wrung from the celestial empire by the numerous defeats inflicted on the Chinese by the warlike Tibetans. Wave upon wave of aggressive Tibetan hordes had for some generations broken over Western China and swept away large tracts of that country, and threatened even to swamp the empire altogether.⁵ The Tibetans were also joining hands with the victorious Arabs across the Pâmirs in a joint attack on

¹ The Chinese annals record the repeated rebuffs and indignities their mission suffered at the hands of the Tibetans. Bushell, JRAS., 1880, pp. 486-7.

² My *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 24-33.

³ Also called sometimes in later literature K'ri Sroñ-lde'u-btsan.

⁴ The princess or *Kung-chu* (Tibetan *Koñ-jo*) of Chinch'eng. Bushell, JRAS., xii, 456.

⁵ The Chinese admitted the power of the Tibetans in their contemporary annals in these words: "At this time (678 A.D.) the Tu-fan [i.e. Tibet] . . . on the south stretched to P'olomên (Brâhmana, a synonym of Central India) . . . Their country extended over more than 10,000 li [= about 2000 miles]; and from the Han and Wei dynasties [206 B.C. to 543 A.D.] downwards there had been no people among the nations of the west so powerful." Bushell, JRAS., xii, 450.

the Chinese Empire, as we know from the researches of M. Chavannes and Dr. Stein,¹ so that the emperor of the time was glad to seek a lasting peace with his formidable neighbour, and gave an imperial princess to establish a family alliance. The prince, who was the issue of this union and the king of the edict, succeeded to the extensive inheritance secured by the conquests of his father and grandfather, who had extended their dominion and suzerainty across the Himalayas to Nepal and other northern Himalayan States even as far as Gilgit, and also, as Dr. Bushell and more particularly Dr. Stein has shown,² beyond the mighty Kuenlun and Altyn-tagh ranges down into the Tārim Basin of Turkestan, explaining why the history of ancient Khotan in Turkestan is included in the sacred scriptures of the Tibetans. He seems to have retained suzerainty more or less over the greater number of those frontier states both to the west and north. A warrior by nature, if not quite so mighty a soldier as his ancestor Sron-btsan sGampo, yet little inferior, he did not allow his ties of kinship with the T'ang emperor, who is called in the edict "uncle", to prevent his invading fresh portions of his uncle's territory, and even occupying for a time the imperial capital itself,³ though in his edict those fierce struggles and campaigns of conquest are referred to as having been made under provocation, caused by the violent action of subordinate frontier officials on both sides. The other aspect of his character shows him to have been an enlightened ruler anxious to elevate and civilize his people.⁴ His mother's influence must have brought to him a considerable amount of Chinese culture, and placed as he was between the two great civilizations on either side of him, Chinese and Indian, both of them also

¹ *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 5, etc.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ At that time the capital was at Ch'angan, the modern Hsi-an-fu, in the Shen-si province of Middle China.

⁴ Cf. Csoma de Körös, *Grammar*, p. 196.

active centres of Buddhism, it is easy to see how in his patriotic efforts to elevate his people, to which praiseworthy object expression is given more than once in his edict, he was led to establish a regular order of Buddhist priests in Tibet, the so-called Lamas, and to initiate a higher and classical literature,¹ as ethical and educational factors, for the good of his country, which he avowedly had at heart. Both sides of his strong character are reflected in his edict. With this explanation I hope that the references contained in this edict, which was promulgated near the end of the long reign of this militant Tibetan monarch, will now be better understood.

The edict, my translation of which, together with a copy of the Tibetan text, is here appended, falls into three divisions. The first recites the immediate business portion, which indicates broadly the geographical boundaries of the respective dominions, as the dispute was especially one of frontiers and hinterlands. This is followed by a retrospective historical sketch of the national progress from the earliest times. It begins with an account of the origin of civilization in Tibet in prehistoric times, in the legendary form which was current at that date (of which this edict is the earliest record), and it then specifies the great outstanding epochs in the history of Tibet and the relations with China. The third division indicates the causes which are alleged to have given rise to the ruptures and fierce struggles with China in the past. Then, after a sacrificial oath, the future peace policy is explained, and "every man and woman", as well as the frontier officials, is exhorted to strive to be friendly, and warned that both sovereigns "will think gravely of any disturbance" in the future. The reference to himself in the concluding paragraph as "the helmeted king" vividly suggests the iron glove of this soldier-ruler.

¹ *My Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 31, etc.

Translation of Edict.

(Doubtful readings are placed within curved brackets and explanatory interpolations or additions within square.)

"The enchanted¹ divine king² K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan and the lord of China, Wūn-wū-heū(-te),³ having united [their] dominions in friendship, have made a peace-meeting,⁴ the exact manner of which has been written on [this] stone-pillar.

"As both parties have had dissensions but are not intoxicated by considerations of pride . . . they have listened⁵ . . [to each other]. The breadth of dominions will not again become increased. Eastwards . . . China is to remain sovereign of the region east of the Blue Lake [Koko Nor]. Southwards Nepal likewise cannot encroach beyond its boundary. good. Although Tibet has expanded⁶ because of its great learning, India since cast out after the fight rules [still ?] the outer western direction. Northwards the Drug [Eastern Turk]⁷ land has been entered into possession of.

¹ See note on this title 'p'ru' at p. 942.

² Literally "potentate" or "the powerful one"—*btsan-po*, the early term for the Tibetan ruler, latterly called *rgyal-po* or king, though the latter term also is used in this edict in the sense of "sovereign".

³ This is, says Dr. Bushell, the Tibetan phonetic transcription of the Chinese title *Wén-wu-hsiao-tê*, meaning "learned, warlike, filial, and virtuous", which occurs also as the title of Mu Tsung in his edict (Bushell, JRAS., xii, 534). Dr. Bushell notes that it was a title of Mu Tsung before his canonization, after which "he would have been given a more grandiloquent sacrificial title"; but here we have it also applied to the contemporary of K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan, the Emperor Tê Tsung.

⁴ Or "met and made peace". The fuller form of this word 'dum is used lower down.

⁵ This ancient form of expression occurs also in a letter from the Tibetans in 729 A.D. to the Chinese regarding peace negotiations: "We (the Tibetans) do not listen [to the disputes of quarrelsome tribes], the T'ang also ought not to listen. Let a governor send a confidential officer to return with the Nan-ku to discuss a sworn treaty." Bushell, JRAS., xii, 464.

⁶ Or "grown".

⁷ See my note on this at pp. 935-7.

"The illusory divine king¹ 'O-lde sPu-rgyal,² although he in order to become the great sovereign of Tibet [had] the definite place of [his] coming forth within the boundary of this [land]; what [for?] did an exalted earthly land,³ at the head of the great river of the central province⁴ [receive] a ruler of men from among the gods of the sky? On his passing away, schools arose under good moral laws, crowned by religion by a blessing the orthodox⁵ [?Buddhist] religion was procured.⁶

"After a succession of kings the enchanted divine king K'ri Sroñ btsan⁷ [sGampo] and the lord of China, T'eü

¹ *btsan-po*; see n. 1, p. 930.

² For this legendary king see my note on p. 938.

³ The whole of this paragraph is very contracted and difficult. The use of *sa* or "earth" makes it clear that by *mt'o-sa* a high *earthly* land is intended, otherwise *mt'o* is sometimes used for *mt'o-ria* and *mt'o-sriid*, "heaven"; for the conception, however, of heaven in the Indian and Western sense the Tibetans use the word *mk'ā* (མཁ་ཀ་), which they clearly borrowed from the Sanskrit *k'ā* (क), as they evidently had no indigenous word of their own to express it. This early application of the epithet *mt'o* (pronounced *t'o*) to Tibet is interesting with reference to the origin of the modern and mediaeval name *Tibet* (Chinese *T'u-fan*), as this word is now generally believed to be a corruption of the vernacular word for "High Bod", namely *sTod-bod*, which is pronounced *To-p'ot*. Here *Bod* is the native name for the country, and *stod* is a derivative of the word here used, *mt'o*.

⁴ The *dBus-Ch'u* is the recognized name of the Kyid-Ch'u on which Lhasa stands. It is never applied to the *Tsai-po* or Brahmaputra, which later legend makes the traditional place of appearance of the first legendary king of Tibet, namely, from the sky at the head of the Yarluñ, a great side valley of the *Tsai-po*, to the south-west of Lhasa. See also p. 938.

⁵ The word used, *nañ*, literally "within", i.e. of the party or circle, is the usual term now employed to denote the Buddhist religion in general terms. See also p. 939.

⁶ Or "adapted" or "prepared" (*abyar*).

⁷ The context shows that this undoubtedly is that celebrated king known to later Tibetan history as Sroñ-btsan sGam-po; see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 19-24. For my remarks on his earlier name see p. 939. In my copy the syllable *lde* precedes; but in view of the context it seems possible that this may have been inserted by the mistake of my copyist, through the name K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan recurring so often.

Tsong¹ Wūn-wū-sheng Hwang-te,² consulted together in the year of Cheng-nga Kwan³ [= 634 A.D.]. As darkness Later on, the enchanted divine king K'ri (*gTsug-lde-btsan*)⁴ cemented⁵ relations with the lord of China, Sam (Tso)ng,⁶ by receiving Koñ-jo⁷ as his spouse in the year of Keng Lung⁸ [= 710 A.D.]. As they [thus] became nephew and uncle⁹ they were pleased. But between the happiness came the troubles caused by the frontier officials on both sides, who made mischief and commotion,¹⁰ though it was their duty

¹ The famous Emperor Tai Tsung, the son of the founder of the powerful T'ang dynasty, and the great patron of the celebrated Buddhist pilgrim and geographer Hiuen Tsang or Hsüan Tsang.

² *Hwang-ti* = Chinese for "supreme ruler", the title of every emperor of China (H. A. Giles, *Glossary*, p. 130). For the rest of this title see n. 3, p. 930.

³ This agrees strictly with Chinese history, which records that in the eighth year of the Cheng Kwan period (= 634 A.D.) the Tibetan king K'i-tsun-lun-ts'an (the Chinese transcription of the first portion of the name K'ri Sroñ-btsan sGampo) consulted with the Emperor Tai Tsung. Bushell, loc. cit., p. 438; Rockhill, JRAS., xxiii, 190; *Life of Buddha*, etc., p. 213; Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, p. 380.

⁴ This is the father of the king of this treaty, and is readily identified with absolute certainty by his marriage with the Chinese princess in the King Lung period. He is called in the Chinese annals K'hi-li-so-tsan or Chi-li-so-tsan (Bushell, loc. cit., p. 456) or Chi-lu-so-tsan (Rockhill, JRAS., xxiii, 191), which is a very good transcript of his Tibetan name. In later history the last syllable of his name is sometimes written *brian*.

⁵ Literally "built up".

⁶ This, which is defaced, probably may be written Sang Tsong. It is intended for the Emperor Chung Tsung, who gave his adopted daughter in this marriage. Bushell, loc. cit., p. 456.

⁷ This is the Chinese word *kung-chu*, or "the princess". This is the title by which this princess, the princess Chin-Ch'eng, is known to Tibetan history. She was the "adopted child (of the emperor), the daughter of Shouli, prince of Yung". Bushell, loc. cit., p. 456.

⁸ The Chinese annals state "in the 3rd year of King Lung (= 709 A.D.) in the 11th month they (the Tibetans) sent a mission to receive the bride"; but it did not reach the capital of Tibet till the following year. Bushell, loc. cit., p. 456.

⁹ The princess, the adopted child of the emperor, was probably the niece of the latter, and hence her husband's relation to the emperor would be literally that of nephew to uncle.

¹⁰ Literally "dust".

and province to help [each other]. Greatly agitated¹ in mind they send a thousand soldiers to strike beyond [the frontier]; whereas they personally should have faced each other willingly, glad to clear up [disputes], yet not to punish. As this is the manner of friends, so in like manner it should be the duty of nephew and uncle to meet their sworn covenant.

"[Our] dear father-king, the divine enchanted K'ri-lde² (*gTsug*)-btsan, formed the early virtuous resolve to conduct a great deep [movement] for the religious life [of his people] which also would educate in the blessings of pure love. For that [purpose] he penetrated the eight directions, outwards and inwards, and meeting³ all the four exalted kings⁴ made a sworn peace.

"[We now likewise] having as a sacrifice, split asunder the dead bodies [in front of ?] the grain⁵ and the gods, the [spiritual] peaceful helpers on the altar,⁶ have by this means made the country, the dwellings, and the lakes to be more thoroughly united into one kingdom. Whereas, an agreement was desired between [us] nephew and uncle . . . (K'ri Sron-lde-btsan) and the lord of China (T')en (Tson) Wūn-wū Hwang-te have met and conferred on peace. For, although the old ministers were cleared out,

¹ Or "exercised".

² Here *lde* appears in my copy as the second syllable of the name instead of the third.

³ Or "consulting".

⁴ These four kings would doubtless be the kings of China, India (Magadha), Parthia or Persia (Tib. *sTag-gzig*), and the Scythian or chief of the Mongols or of the Uigur Turkish Tartars (Hor).

⁵ This paragraph is very contracted and presents several difficulties. This particular word is slightly indistinct and seems to have no prefixed འ, so that it reads ཟླ, *bru*, instead of the usual 'bru, འཟླ. A possible reading is ཟླ, a fowl, especially as the sacrifice of a white cock was customary.

⁶ This term, a contraction for *mch'od-stegs*, is now applied to side sacrificial altars, probably the aboriginal ones for bloody sacrifices which are now relegated to a secondary place, and not to the central Buddhistic ones.

the new ones, self-satisfied, were slack and repeated [the same offences]. Up till then,¹ during the one honourable lifetime of the [father] king-nephew,¹ three generations of the family of the lord-uncle of China passed;² but the ministers [still] did not show intelligence. For the continuance of creditable happy intercourse, every man and woman must each strive by kindly talk and good behaviour³ for the commonwealth and good. If this practice decay, then one great condition of the peace-meeting has not been carried out, which according to the will of [both] nephew and uncle shall be completely fulfilled. Any shortcoming is a prohibited crime. To the old inferior intelligence, trifling troubles, for which it was necessary [merely] to explain respectfully the best side of the meaning of the affair, became nothing but weighty matters [of conflict] outside [the frontier], entailing the use of weapons and troops, and both of the kings and [their] men in a commotion, without proper cause. It is the custom of every enemy, for the sake of its own honour, not to deceive a friend. By the early virtuous resolve of the enchanted divine king K'ri gTsong-lde-btsan knowledge has come, also punishment for misconduct. [This] has been agreed to by deeds of sacrifice and the rites of the gods. Think and act with kindness to everyone whomsoever, both outside and inside [the land].

"The helmeted king . . . [K'ri Sron-lde-btsan] has listened, also the lord of China [T'en Tsong] Wün-wū-heū

¹ This use of "then" and not "now" is important as showing that this refers to the reign of the king's father and not to his own.

² The father, namely K'ri gTsong-lde-btsan, whom I identify with the "Ch'ilisulungliehtsan" of the Chinese records who died in 755 A.D. (Bushell, loc. cit., p. 438), survived during the reigns of the emperors Chung Tsung (705-9 A.D.), who gave his daughter in marriage, Jui Tsung (710-12), and Yuan Tsung (713-56 A.D.). These dates are from Mayer's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pp. 381-2.

³ Literally "reputation".

. . Hwang-te. Nephew and uncle both have agreed to think seriously¹ of disturbances."

(For the Text, see p. 948.)

The comments which I here offer on certain striking features of this edict are set down by me in the order in which the subjects occur or suggest themselves in the text.

The date of this treaty-edict is fixed with irrefutable certainty at 783 A.D., through the trustworthy contemporary records of China, in which the exact date is given and the ceremony of the sworn treaty described in minute detail, also the fact stated that this edict on stone was erected at the same time in front of the Jo-k'an at Lhasa.² The sworn compact itself took place at Ch'ing-shui in the vicinity of Koko Nor.³

In the geographical portion it is interesting to notice the mention of what was evidently a Tibetan invasion of a portion of India in the latter end of the eighth century A.D. a dark period in Indian history, on which we are glad to have light from any source. The open acknowledgment, too, by the Chinese that Koko Nor belonged at this date to Tibet is important. The Chinese manuscript copy of the treaty gives details of the boundary in that region and explains this cession of territory in these words: "the government [of China], resolved to give rest to the natives of the border, have alienated their ancient territory, preferring good deeds to profit, and have made a solemn treaty in accordance with the agreement."⁴

The "Drug land on the north" which "has been

¹ Or "inquire particularly into", though it seems to be a threat to offenders rather than a promise to negotiate difficulties.

² Bushell, JRAS., xii, 487-90. Rockhill, *ibid.*, xxiii, 193: "In the 4th year *Chien-chung* [= 783 A.D.] the T'u-fan [= Tibetan] sent officials to make a treaty at Ching-shui, and in front of the Tao-chao [= Great Jo temple at Lhasa] is the tablet of the treaty between the nephew and uncle." Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 264, 281.

³ Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 532, note No. 49.

⁴ Bushell, *loc. cit.*, p. 489.

entered into possession of" is to be identified, I think, with the land of the Drug-gu tribe. A tribe of this name, located in this direction, is mentioned in the ancient history of Khotan as raiding the road between Khotan and China, and had killed a king of Khotan on his way to China,¹ and had repeatedly invaded Khotan, destroying the Buddhist *vihāras*,² thus showing that they were non-Buddhists. In the position here indicated—namely, from the Koko Nor Lake to the borders of the Tārim Basin of Eastern Turkeṣtān—we find in the seventh century, from the Chinese annals, that a tribe called by the Chinese "T'uku-hun", who occupied this region, were driven out about the year 638 A.D. by the Tibetans under King Sron-btsan sGam-po, who annexed their country.³ This tribe after their expulsion settled down in the Shensi province of China, and are described at some length in the Chinese annals, where they are said to have customs somewhat like those of the Tu-küeh (i.e. Turks),⁴ with whom the Chinese affiliated them. These T'uku-hun,⁵

¹ *Saṅghavaradhana Vyākaraṇa*, abstracted by Mr. F. W. Thomas in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, i, 582.

² Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, etc., p. 240; also M. Sylvain Lévi in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, i, 584.

³ Bushell, loc. cit., p. 444.

⁴ Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, pp. 123 and 335-7; also Bushell, loc. cit., p. 527, n. 11. It looks to me as if the Tibetan title *Drug* might be an early attempt to represent "Turk", though in modern Tibetan this is rendered *Turuṣka* in consonance with the later softening of the gutturals—notwithstanding that the tribe had a tradition that their name was eponymic of their personal founder about 300 A.D. Evidently with a similar signification *drug* is used in Tibetan for Turkoise, "the gem of the Turks."

⁵ M. Chavannes, in transcribing from the Chinese records the name of this people, employs throughout his book of 1903 (*Documents sur les Tou-Kine [Tures] Occidentaux*) the French form of *T'ou-kou-hoen*, instead of *Tu-ku-hun* as used by Bushell and others, following the more direct scientific nomenclature of Wade's system; but in his index (p. 372) he has altered it to *T'ou-yu-hoen*, with the following note:—"tribe of the *Sien-pi* race established on the border of the Khou-khe-noor [= Koko Nor]; by error this name has been often transcribed 'Tou-kou-hoen'; the character ought here to be pronounced *Yu* as K'ang-hi's dictionary

then, it seems to me, are clearly identical with the Drug or Drug-gu, of which the first portion of the Chinese form of the name is evidently intended as the phonetic equivalent. According also to a modern vernacular work on the religious topography of Tibet,¹ a place named Dug-gu, with a large monastery, is described as situated several days journey to the north of Kumbum and the Koko Nor Lake. The relative fertility of part of this region round Koko Nor, at an elevation of about 10,000 feet, is spoken of in glowing terms by M. F. Grenard,² who remarks on its "flourishing champaign country covered with kitchen gardens, with wheat, barley, and millet". Mr. Rockhill, too, speaks of its pastures and greenery, and so too, but to a less extent, Colonel Prjevalsky. This productiveness explains why the Tibetans fought so fiercely for it, also why they are again reoccupying it, as Mr. Rockhill found in his journeys in 1889 and 1891-2. They are steadily ousting the Eleut Mongols who entered it in 1509 A.D.,³ and who afterwards had as their head the notorious Gus'ri Khan, who in 1640 invaded Lhasa and bestowed the sovereignty of Tibet on the Talai Lama.

The legendary account of the origin of the first Tibetan king, as contained in this edict, is important and interesting for at least two reasons. In it, the indicates." M. Chavannes, however, does not suggest what the original form of this foreign name may have been which the Chinese intended to transcribe. It seems to me, that the Tibetan forms *Drug* and *Drug-gu*, which are clearly applied to this people in the edict of the eighth century and in the scriptures of probably the same or a somewhat earlier date, are decidedly more authoritative evidence for the pronunciation and identification of the tribal name than the notions of the modern Chinese compilers of K'ang-hi's dictionary in regard to the mutilated Chinese transcription of a barbarian name. Tibetan is much better adapted for reproducing Turkish sounds than is Chinese, and the form *Drug* is probably very near, if not identical with, the original Turkic word.

¹ "Dsamliñ Gyeshe," a very defective translation of which is in the Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1887, p. 29.

² *Tibet*, 1904, p. 206.

³ Rockhill, *Diary of Journey through Mongolia and Tibet*, 1894, p. 112. Cf. also H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*.

earliest version of the story yet known to us, the legend is given in a much less expanded form than in the later histories,¹ and secondly the place of the first king's appearance, in this early version, has not yet been transferred from the east of Tibet to the west, as in the later monkish histories, but is stated to be at the head of the Kyid River, i.e. to the north-east of Lhasa. Whereas the later versions of the legend transfer this event from the great upper valley (Yarlung) of the Yangtse Kiang on the east, where their first kings are known from contemporary Chinese history to have really arisen, to the smaller Yarlung Valley of the Himalayas in the west, in the course of the Tsang-po or Brahmaputra, in the new land of their adoption, after the migration of the tribe westwards, and after they had embraced the Buddhist religion of India, across the Himalayas, and wished to give their kings an Indian Buddhistic origin.

The first legendary or prehistoric king of Tibet is made in this edict version to appear on earth in a supernatural manner from the sky, as he likewise does in the later embellished accounts; but here he is given the name and title of 'O-lde sPu-rgyal. Now, the bearer of this name, in the later expanded versions of the priests, figures merely as the eighth in the list of legendary kings, and is made to be preceded by a set of seven "celestial kings", whose unreal character might be inferred from the rest of the legend, which states that none of them left any earthly traces, but all were bodily carried off to heaven. These personages our lithic record now proves to be an invention of later scribes, and merely a clumsy adaptation of the Chinese myth of the early "celestial sovereigns" of China, as was indeed suspected.²

The alleged date here given for the introduction of

¹ *My Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 19, 20.

² Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, etc., p. 209.

the Buddhist religion is noteworthy. Religion, according to the edict, was not brought to Tibet by their first king, as was to be expected seeing that he is credited with being divine in origin; but it was only "on his passing away" that it was afterwards "prepared", under implied human agency. The term used here to express religion, namely *nan-gi ch'os*, has the meaning of "prevailing orthodox religion", and is the same which is in current use to denote the Buddhism of Tibet; and it is not, nowadays at least, applied to the old pre-Buddhist religion, the *Bon*, an animistic cult.¹ We know, however, with practical certainty that Buddhism was not introduced into Tibet until the middle of the reign of Sron-btsan sGam-po, about 638 A.D., nor could there have been schools before then; for both Tibetan tradition and history are unanimous in asserting that there was no written language before the time of Sron-btsan sGam-po, and that it was he who introduced both Buddhism and writing. In my *Buddhism of Tibet*² I have adduced evidence at first hand from vernacular sources making this clear. Possibly the illegible sentence relating to Sron-btsan which follows here may have spoken of his introduction of Buddhism; indeed, the occurrence of the word "darkness" suggests this as probable.

It is remarkable that the name of the first great historical king of Tibet, as given in the edict, supports the Chinese records in not giving to him the surname of *sGam-po*, by which he is known in all the vernacular manuscript histories, where he is invariably styled Sron-btsan sGam-po. In this edict, however, he is called K'ri Sron-btsan or K'ri-lde Sron-btsan. The Chinese records term him Lung-tsan and K'i-tsung Lung-tsan,³ which, considering the Chinese habitual substitution of

¹ *My Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 19, 26-41, etc.

² 1895, pp. 19-24.

³ Bushell, loc. cit., pp. 438, 443, etc.; also Rockhill, *ibid.*

l for r, represents fairly closely the name Sroñ-btsan and K'ri-lde Sroñ-btsan. And it is known that before his accession he was called K'ri-ltan Sroñ-btsan.¹ The inference which this suggests to me is that, under the prevalent practice in Tibet of bestowing titles on famous personages, and using such titles frequently to distinguish the particular individual without his personal name at all, sGam-po is a title affixed to K'ri Sroñ-btsan's name by later scribes¹ to distinguish him from other kings bearing the same name of Sroñ-btsan, namely, his father gNam-ri Sroñ-btsan, his successor Mañ Sroñ-btsan, as well as the K'ri Sroñ-lde-btsan of this edict. In a somewhat similar manner Sroñ-btsan sGam-po's favourite minister, who was sent by his master to India to bring back an alphabet and a knowledge of the Indian language, and who is the accredited author of the Tibetan alphabet and grammar and the first Tibetan book, is not known by his own name, but by his title, which is "The good Bhotiya (or Tibetan) of T'onmi Village"—T'on-mi Sam-bho-ta. The title sGam-po means "the profound" or "the unfathomable [as a god]", and it is one of the titles now taken by the Talai Lama, who poses as a reincarnation of this great and popular king, K'ri-lde Sroñ-btsan (sGam-po).

Although Buddhism appears to have been introduced into Tibet for the first time in the reign of the above-named king, who built several Buddhist shrines and temples and translated several Indian scriptures into the newly reduced written language, it does not seem to have become the religion of the people until several generations later.² The credit of first establishing the Buddhist monastic system in Tibet and of building the first monastery, as well as of arranging for the systematic translation of

¹ Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 211.

² A Chinese record of the eleventh century A.D. mentions that he was also known as "Fuyehshih" (Bushell, loc. cit., p. 443), possibly a Chinese translation of a Tibetan word, or it may be a Chinese title.

³ For the evidence as to this see my *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 20, etc.

the Indian scriptures into Tibetan, is given to the king of this edict, K'ri Sron-lde-btsan, by all the vernacular histories. In this edict, however, the credit for the great religious as well as social advance is given to his father K'ri-lde gTsug-btsan. This may possibly be merely a modest filial tribute paid to his "dear father-king", though from its reiteration it looks as if the father's important share in the religious progress has been lost sight of by the later writers, and that the son merely carried on the work which his father had begun, but on a larger scale and more energetically.

In respect to the religion of the edict, nothing positively Buddhist whatever is revealed. The reference to the king's "virtuous resolve to conduct a great, deep [movement] for the religious life [of his people], which also would educate in the blessings of pure love", implies nothing distinctively Buddhist. On the contrary, the pagan feature of bloody sacrificial rites for the ceremony of the sworn covenant seems irreconcilable with Buddhism; yet the vestiges of such bloody rites survive even to the present day amongst the unreformed sects of the Lamas, who also claim to be the especial followers of the Indian Buddhist monk Padma-sambhava of Udyāna (Swāt-Kāfiristān), who, according to all the native histories, was the chief priest of the king of this edict.¹ We also know from the detailed accounts of this particular treaty in the Chinese annals² that though the altar was raised outside, with its ceremony of bloody sacrifice, the concluding part of the ceremony "to burn incense and to make oath" was held at the special request of the Tibetans within "a Buddhist temple" in the Tibetan camp.

In the title of all these kings, in addition to the appellation of "divine", an idea which, of course, is not unknown to the conception of kingship in the West, it is

¹ *My Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 24, etc.

² Bushell, loc. cit., p. 490.

curious to find even at this early time that the power of miraculous or magical transformation is expressly ascribed to the Tibetan king in his title, and this by the use of the very same word *'p'rul*, which in its verbal form *sprul* is employed by his successors, the later Lama priest-kings, in the more technical Buddhistic sense of a miraculous transformation, to designate the divine incarnations and hierarchic reincarnations or rebirths to which they lay claim, and on which they base their rights to the succession.

The language of this edict is of great importance from a palæographic point of view, as it affords a safe criterion of the development of the language, its date being fixed with absolute certainty. When it is remembered that this proclamation was inscribed within 150 years from the date when the Tibetan language was first reduced to writing, its importance will be recognized.

The shape of the alphabetical letters seems identical in every respect with that of the ordinary capital or *dbu-ch'en* letters as used at the present day. This is what was to be expected, from the letters in Dr. Bushell's print of the "Mu Tsung" edict, and the known fact¹ that the Tibetans regard the Indian alphabetical characters, which T'on-mi introduced from India about 640 A.D., as intrinsically sacred and so have preserved their forms strictly unaltered.

The orthography differs remarkably little from the spelling of the present day, and much less than had been anticipated it would, at so early a period, though the proportion of old and semi-obsolete words is considerable.

It is specially noteworthy, however, that there is an entire absence of any trace of the double consonantal affix or *drag*, which has always been recognized by the English lexicographers of Tibetan as a genuine archaism,² and of

¹ *My Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 142.

² The use of this terminative or finite *d*, the *drag* or, to be more precise, the *da-drag*, is thus explained by Csoma de Kőrös in his *Grammar*, 1834, p. 11: "There are yet, according to ancient orthography, three double

which examples have been found by Mr. Barnett in two of the ancient Tibetan MSS. and sgraffiti discovered by Dr. Stein at Endere in Khotan in 1901.¹ The fact that this archaism has entirely disappeared from this edict at such an early period, namely, within 150 years of the introduction of the written language, seems to me to be due, firstly, to this proclamation having been composed well within the early classical period of Tibetan literature, which we know was instituted by this king over twenty years previously; and secondly, that this edict being an important state document erected in the capital, it was doubtless revised by the staff of keen and scholarly Indian pandits and Tibetan students, who were engaged at this time in the work of translating the Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan, under the orders of the king. For, although the two great cyclopædias of the Buddhist canon and commentaries of the Lamas, the *bKā-'gyur* and *bsTun-'gyur*, were not put together in the final order and form in which we now have them until the fourteenth century or even later, their foundations were laid in the reign of this king, and a very large number of their texts were translated by the literati employed by him.² At the outset, one of the first tasks which those literary pioneers

[consonantal] affixes, *nd* or *nt*, *rd* or *rt*, and *ld* or *lt*, as in *gsand-pa*, he heard; *gyurd-pa*, he became; and *gsold-pa*, he requested. Though this mode of writing is the more correct for designing the past tense, yet according to modern practice the *d* is omitted." Jaeschke in his Tibetan Dictionary, 1882, p. 246, says: "*Da-drag* is a term used by grammarians for the now obsolete *d* as second final after *n*, *r*, *l*, e.g. in *kund*, changing the termination *du* into *tu*; *no*, *ro*, *lo* into *to*; *nam*, *ram*, *lam* into *tam*." And in his *Grammar*, 1883, p. 45, he adds with reference to its use with finite verbs—"the perfect of the verbs ending in *n*, *r*, *l*, which formerly had a *d* as second final, assumes *to* and *dam*," and he gives the rules for its use and omission.

¹ *Ancient Khotan*, i, 548, etc.; JRAS., 1903, pp. 109-14, 572-5, 821-3.

² Notably Śantarakṣita, Kamalaśīla of India, and Ānanda of Kāśmīr, each of whom has contributed several works to the Bstan-'gyur, and the learned Tibetan students Vairocana and his six associates, all of whom studied in the schools of India. Cf. Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 219, etc.

appear to have set themselves was to erect a literary standard, and determine precisely the Tibetan equivalents, etymologically and otherwise, of innumerable Sanskrit and Buddhist words, of which they compiled elaborate dictionaries to assist them in their translations; and this work they did with such marvellous literal accuracy as to excite the admiration of modern European scholars, and a boast of this "great learning" of Tibet is recorded in the second paragraph of the edict. From such official headquarters it would indeed be a matter of surprise were a state edict to issue retaining those orthographical elements which the consensus of these scholarly scribes had deliberately rejected. As evidence that the total absence of the *drag* here is not to be explained on the supposition of a mere passive dropping out of an obsolete form during the gradual process of the wear and tear of ages, I would point to the fact that not only is there no *drag*, but the edict shows no trace whatsoever of any of its recognized vestiges, namely, the terminatives *tu*, *to*, or *tam*, which survive in many Tibetan compositions even up till the present day. The conclusion suggested by this seems to be that those early classical scholars, who in their reform of the Tibetan language had discarded the *drag*, made it a point, as purists, to deliberately eliminate all traces of it from the text of this state edict.

On the other hand, although by the absence of this archaism we have positive epigraphic evidence that it was already obsolete from an important official document in the year 783 A.D., its presence on non-official and illiterate manuscripts does not necessarily prove these to have been written before 783 A.D. For in such a wild and almost uncivilized country like Tibet, with poor sparse communities, widely isolated, with difficult means of intercommunication and the non-existence of printed books, it would be expected that the ancient translations of the scriptures of the pre-classical period (say 640-760 A.D.)

would continue to be slavishly copied, letter for letter, by pious scribes long after that date, and the writings of the vulgar would retain it still longer.

An archaic peculiarity in the orthography of the edict, in addition to the insertion of a subscribed *y* between the vowels *i* and *e*, which Mr. Barnett remarked in the Endere MSS., is the presence (seemingly absent in the Endere MSS.) of an apparent differentiation between long *ī* and short *i*, in which the short *i*, following its Indian Dēvanāgarī prototype, is represented by a reversion of the tail of the superposed sign to the left, which is not found in modern Tibetan manuscripts.

The grammar and style of composition are more simple and rudimentary than in the contemporary sacred classics, doubtless with the view of rendering the text more easily understood by the populace. Gerunds are very freely used instead of complicated tenses, while part of the text has the rhythm of verse.

In the light shed by the edict on many subjects, illumination is also thrown on a question which has recently been raised as to whether the accepted date for the introduction of writing into Tibet should not be put back several hundreds of years at least. This suggestion is based almost solely on the orthographical ground of the occurrence of a final *l* (the *drag* or intensive terminative particle) in the spelling of certain words in two manuscripts and sgraffiti scratchings, believed, with much reason, to date not later than the end of the eighth century A.D. We have seen, however, from the positive evidence of the edict that this may be easily explained. And, to my mind, there is in the pre-classic style of the two Endere MSS. and in their probable contemporary, if not predecessor, the semi-classic inscription of the edict, nothing incompatible with our accepting 640–7 A.D. as approximately the date for the introduction of writing into Tibet.

This epoch has been fixed unequivocally by the unanimous evidence of Tibetan tradition and history,¹ confirmed by Chinese sources, all of which testify to the fact that until (K'ri-lde) Sron-btsan sGam-po's reign Tibet was without a written language. And the Tibetan records are perfectly consistent and circumstantial in their accounts as to how the clever Tibetan T'on-mi was sent by his king, Sron-btsan sGam-po, to India to bring an alphabet and Buddhist books, and that after an absence of several years he returned with these during the reign of that king.

But on this point, we fortunately do not need to rely exclusively on the testimony of the indigenous records, unanimous though these be. The forms of the alphabetical letters themselves declare their origin from the developing Indian Dēvanāgarī characters at the stage to which they had attained in mid-India in the seventh century A.D., and, it would appear, *not any earlier*, as a reference to the fine photographic illustrations of Indian inscriptions of that period in Mr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, iii, will show. These help to make it clear that the so-called "Tibetan" letters bear a strong family resemblance to those of the somewhat florid style which Mr. Fleet has called "the Kuṭila variety of the Magadha alphabet of the seventh century A.D."² Many of the letters are identical in shape. The tridentate form of the *y*, which Dr. Hoernle shows is a safe criterion of age,³ is still there, and though there are many differences in detail, yet so close is the general resemblance, that Tibetans can, as I have personally ascertained, read a considerable portion of these early Kuṭila inscriptions from Magadha, such as the Aphaśa inscription of Ādityasēna of Magadha (pl. xxviii

¹ Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 211, etc. ; my *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 21.

² J. F. Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, iii, 201, 202 ; the italics are mine.

³ A. F. R. Hoernle, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1891, pp. 84-6 ; 1893, pp. 6, etc.

of Mr. Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind.*), with comparative ease. Besides, we know as an historical fact that about this time, in the year 647 A.D., Tibet was in direct contact with Magadha. In that year an army of Tibetans and Nepalese (Nepal at this time being, it is believed, subject to Tibet), under a Chinese general Yuan-t'se, did actually invade Magadha and occupy its capital (evidently Patna).¹

At that epoch, then, somewhere about 640-7 A.D., we see that the Tibetans were started off with the ready-made alphabet which T'on-mi had imported from India (in which he made several slight modifications,² mainly to adapt it to the palatal sibilants and other peculiarities of Tibetan speech), and in addition a code of grammar. This latter, we are told, he had elaborated with the experience acquired during a period of over ten years study at the great university of Nālanda and other famous seats of learning in India and Kashmir, in the study of Sanskrit and Buddhism; and the grammar attributed to him is still used to this day in Tibetan schools.

The progress which the language exhibits in the 140 years or so which elapse until we see it in the classic stage, in the period of this edict, is not more, I think, than was to be anticipated. We have several somewhat analogous instances in India and elsewhere of semi-savage tribes having their language reduced to writing for the first time by missionaries; such as in the case of the Santāls, who have had their language reduced into the Hindi character; and we know how soon the uneducated Santāl can be taught to read the Bible in his new alphabet, and to write in the latter freely for the purposes of everyday life. The Tibetans, with their much higher

¹ Bushell, JRAS., loc. cit., p. 529; *Chinese Art*, i, 24; also M. Sylvain Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 297, 401; *Indian Antiquary*, 1904, p. 112. As the Chinese reached China in the fifth month of 648 on their return with the king of Magadha as their prisoner, the occupation must have taken place in 647 A.D.

² *My Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 22, for summary of these.

intelligence, would make better progress. A contemporary Chinese record of this very period says in 730 A.D.: "The T'ufan (Tibetans) are naturally endowed with energy and perseverance, they are intelligent and sharp, and untiring in their love of study."¹ We also know that in this interval they had invited several learned Indian monks to translate Buddhist books, and had sent several clever Tibetans to India to study Buddhism.² In addition to this, the Tibetans had been brought into intimate intercourse with Indian civilization and literature through the provinces of Nepal and Khotan, which, amongst others, were subject to them for long periods during this interval.

These points I would offer for consideration, as explaining sufficiently the development which has occurred in the 140 years which have elapsed from the time of the first introduction of the written language until the classic period of this edict, without the necessity of putting back the date of introduction of Tibetan writing.

TEXT OF THE TÊ TSUNG—K'RI SROŃ-LDE-BTSAN EDICT.

Note.—In this copy the length of the lines as inscribed on the pillar has not been marked; nor has the distinction of the short *i* by reversal of the superscribed limb been noted in every instance.

1. ཨ། །འབྲུག་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་ཁྱིམ་ཁྱེ་བཙན་དང།
2. །བྱ་ཆེ་བླ་བླ་ཉེད་(དེ)་གཉིས་ཆབ་སྤྱིད་གཅིག་དུ་སོལ་དེ།
3. །མཇལ་དུས་མཛད་པའི་ . . གཉིས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཅི་འདྲ་བ་དང།
4. ། . (འདི)་དོ་རིང་ལ་བྱས་པའི།

¹ Bushell, JRAS., loc. cit., p. 467.

² Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, etc., pp. 212-18.

XXII

THE MAGAZINE OF MYSTERIES (MAKHZANU-L-ASRAB) BY NIZAMI OF GANJA

By H. BEVERIDGE

IT was, apparently, Sir William Jones who introduced the *Makhzanu-l-Asrār* to the Western world. Among his works is a translation of the twenty stories which form the illustrations to the twenty sections (*maqālat*) of the poem. In the advertisement prefixed to his translation Sir William remarks that the warmest admirers of Nizāmī cannot but allow that the sententious brevity of his couplets often renders them obscure, and he warns those who do not know Persian that they have no right to judge from his version of the merits of the original. His renderings are indeed admittedly so literal as to be arid and hardly intelligible, and were intended only to assist the student. Probably he meant to include them in his Grammar. One of the stories, however, namely the tenth, was so interesting and beautiful that it attracted attention in spite of the baldness and incompleteness of the translation, and has often been quoted and admired. Hammer-Purgstall translated it into German, and there is a versified rendering in Alger's *Poetry of the East*, Boston, 1856. I offer the following prose translation of the story and its moral. I have consulted the Persian commentary on the *Makhzan* by Muḥammad b. Qiyām, and several MSS. of the poem, but, in spite of this, one or two lines are to me very obscure.

A LEGEND OF THE LORD JESUS.

When the Messiah was on this earth He happened one day to pass through a small bazaar. The carcass of

a pariah dog was lying there in the gutter. Its Joseph-like¹ spirit had risen from out the well of its body, and a group of spectators was standing by, like a flock of carrion vultures. One said, "This horror darkens the brain, like as a wind quenches a lamp." Another said, "Nay, that's not all, 'tis a sight blinding the eyes, and an affliction to the soul." Each one croaked, bird-like, in this strain, but when it came to Jesus' turn to speak, He put blame aside and made a spiritual application. "Pearls," said He, "are not so white as the teeth in his mouth."

Upon this the spectators were abashed, and from fear of rebuke and hope of forgiveness they humbled² themselves before that ruined shell.

Moral.

Regard not the defects of others or your own merits, lower your eyes into your bosom. Break your mirror when you take it in your hand; be not a self-worshipper. Vaunt not yourself, as doth the Spring,³ lest time take vengeance upon you. The garment over your faults is thin and short. The Powers have not made it a thick veil. What is there in this ring-circle (*halqa-i-angashtarī*, i.e. the world) which is not fit to be an ornament (*tauq*), to you when you examine it? Reject not a dog, he may be a necklace⁴ for the Pleiades! Reject not an ass, he

¹ *Yūsufashī*, literally "his Joseph". The expression is here used ironically, for Joseph is celebrated in the East as the type of manly beauty, and is called the "Moon of Canaan". There is also an allusion to the pit into which he was thrown.

² Literally "whitened their teeth with that burnt shell". The commentator says that to whiten the teeth is a phrase for a smile. But it also means to humble oneself. There is also a play upon the practice of using the powder of a burnt shell as a dentifrice. The carcass is called a shell as containing pearls.

³ The Spring is supposed to be proud of his blossoms, and to forget that there is such a thing as the decay of autumn.

⁴ The commentator explains this as an allusion to the dog's supposed love for the moon, as indicated by his barking at it, and also to the lunar mansions, one of which is the Pleiades. But it seems more probable that the reference is to the dog's teeth being as lustrous as the Pleiades.

was the equipage of the Messiah ! What is Heaven ? An aged widow !¹ What the earth ? A withered fruit ! The whole world, whether old or new, when appraised, is not worth a barleycorn. O Master mine, partake not of the world's sorrows. If you do, cast aside the share of Nizāmi.

The next story which I shall attempt to translate is that of the old brickmaker. The language is quaint, but the substance may remind us of Wordsworth's "Leech-gatherer". Sir William Jones styles it "On Independence".

THE OLD BRICKMAKER.

There lived an old man in Syria who dwelt apart from mankind like a gnome (*pari*). He wove his garments from grass, and he made bricks and got his living thereby. When swordsmen were vanquished they took refuge in the brickmaker's kiln (?), and whoever had no other shelter than the bricks was not repulsed, even if he were a criminal.² One day the old man was busy with his work when a troublesome fellow thus harangued him : "What toil and trouble is this ? This dealing with mud and straw is the service of an ass. Up and smite the earth with your tools. No one will refuse to give you bread. Fling your brick-mould into the fire, and make bricks of another fashion ! How long will you toil over clods ? What profit comes to you from mud and water ? Reckon yourself as one of the company of old men. Leave young men's work to young men."

The old man replied : "Speak not with the insolence of youth. Depart, and trouble me not. Let brickmaking be the business of old men, and the bearing of loads that

¹ Heaven and the world are often compared to an old widow who has slain many husbands, i.e. the races of mankind who have possessed her. The concluding couplet is obscure. The Master (*khvāja*) is perhaps Nizāmi himself, or it may refer to his spiritual guide.

² According to the commentator, the meaning is that when holy warriors were martyred the brickmaker buried them, and also gave shelter to all distressed persons, even if they were criminals.

of prisoners. I've put my hand to this trade in order that I may never stretch out my hand before you. I lay hold of no man's hand for keep. I support myself by the labour of my own hands. Blame me not for so earning my livelihood. If I don't do so, count me not an honest man (*ḥalāl*, perhaps 'a good Musalman')." When the critic heard the old man's rejoinder he went off weeping bitterly.

The second story in the poem, that about Noshirwan and the owls, has been neatly versified by Professor Browne. The twentieth and last story, that of the Nightingale and the Falcon, is in praise of silent action as against babblement. According to Hammer-Purgstall it has been made use of by Addison.

THE DATE OF THE POEM.

This is an interesting point, and has not as yet been fully elucidated. In 1871 Dr. W. Bacher published at Leipsic an essay on the works of Nizāmī, and in 1873 there appeared an English translation of this by Mr. S. Robinson. Bacher's essay is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Nizāmī's life and poetry. Unfortunately his materials were scanty. He had not seen the MSS. in England, nor Nathaniel Bland's edition of the *Makhzan*, and apparently the only copy of that poem which he personally consulted was a MS. in the Breslau Public Library. It was not a good one, as the copyist himself acknowledged, and among its omissions was the heading of the dedicatory canto. This was calamitous, for it led Dr. Bacher to make the wrong guess that the poem was dedicated to the Atābeg İldigiz. In this mistake he has been followed by Professor Browne in his *Literary History of Persia*, ii, 401, where he seems to have overlooked the remarks of Dr. Rieu. In fact, the poem was dedicated to Fakhru-d-din Bahrām Shāh b. Dāūd. This was pointed out by Dr. Rieu (*Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, ii, 565a), and

is proved not only by the MS. used by Bland, p. 18 of his edition, and many other MSS., including one in my own possession, but also by the *Khazāna 'Āmra* and the *Haft Asmān* of Maulvī Āghā Aḥmad. In both of these works, and also in the *Haft Iqlīm*, it is mentioned that Bahrām Shāh, who was ruler of Arzanjān, rewarded the poet by a present of 5000 dinārs (gold coins) and a string of camels laden with silks. Dr. Bacher has also, I think, been misled by a faulty Dresden MS. quoted to him by Professor Fleischer into supposing that the colophon to the *Makhzan* described the work as having been completed in 552 A.H. This date does appear in some MSS., and apparently was found by Sir William Jones in his MS., for he says that the work was written in 1157 A.D. (which corresponds to 552 A.H.). Dr. Bacher justly remarks that 552 A.H. is improbable, as Nizāmī was then only 17 years of age, and it appears that 552 is a mistake for 559 (see Rieu, ii, 565*b*). The commentator, however, who wrote in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, seems to have found 552 in his copy.

I am of opinion that the true date of composition is neither 552 nor 559, but 569 A.H. My reason for this is a line in the poet's third invocation of Muḥammad, p. 15 of Bland, which has been strangely overlooked by Dr. Rieu. In this invocation, which for vigour of expression and depth of feeling is not unworthy of being compared to the "Ring out, wild bells" canto of *In Memoriam*, the poet calls upon Muḥammad to arise and put an end to the evils of the age. At l. 271 of Bland he cries—

"Enough to have slumbered 550 years;
'Tis high noon, haste to the Congregation."

Now, as Muḥammad died ten years after the Hijra, 550 must be read as 560 A.H., corresponding to 1164-5. Unfortunately Dr. Bacher found *hashtād*, "eighty," in his MS. instead of *panjāh*, "fifty," and so concluded that the

date was 590 A.H., and that the canto must have belonged to the *Sikandarnāma*. He admits in his Persian extracts, p. 21, that the canto occurs in the *Makhzan*, but at p. 52 of the Essay he, with true German dogmatism, decides that its proper place is in a later work, and that it must have been inserted in the *Makhzan* because of its being a prayer to the Prophet.

I have examined several MSS. in the British Museum and the India Office, and I regret to say that they vary, some having "fifty" and some "eighty". In the oldest of all the copies in England, viz., that in I.O. No. 989, p. 602 of Ethé's Catalogue, and which was written in 637 A.H. or 1239, that is, only about seventy years after the poem was composed, the word is *panjāh*, "fifty." Dr. Ethé describes this MS. as an extremely old and valuable copy, and he also refers to it in his excellent article on Nizāmi in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. However, even 550, i.e. 560, is hardly compatible with Bahrām Shāh's reign. As pointed out by Dr. Rieu, Bahrām Shāh seems to have lived till 622 A.H. = 1225, and it is not likely that he reigned more than sixty years, or at least that he had in 559 or 560 A.H. earned the right to be called the Subduer of Rūm, Conqueror of Abkhāz. I am therefore glad to find that in one MS. in the India Office, viz., No. 985, p. 601 of Ethé, the date given in the invocation is 559. The copy is dated 1020 A.H., or 1611, and so is not a very old one, but the figures 559 agree with those in the colophon¹ given by Rieu, and therefore are, I think, entitled to credit. If we take 559 as the true figures and convert them into 569 in order to correspond with the Hijra, we get 1173-4 as the date of the poem. This would agree with Bahrām Shāh's reign, and allow time for him to be a distinguished conqueror at the period of Nizāmi's dedication. Bahrām

¹ The colophon figures, however, should naturally refer to the Hijra, and so vary from those in the canto by ten years.

Shah, it may be remarked, was the son-in-law of Qilij Arslān II b. Masā'ūd, who, according to Professor Houtsma, began to reign in 1155 (551 A.H.) and who died in 1192. It is clear, I think, that the figures 580 must be wrong, for, as Rieu remarks, the *Makhzan* is undoubtedly anterior to the *Khusrau-u Shīrīn*, which is dated 576. We are therefore shut up¹ to the conclusion that the true date is either 550 or 559. I prefer 559, but 550, if we take it to be counted from Muḥammad's death, and so to be equal to 560 A.H., is not impossible. The author of the *Kāmil*, xii, 312, seems to say that Bahrām Shah reigned over sixty years, and he does not distinctly say that it was Bahrām Shāh who died in 622, though probably Dr. Rieu is right in inferring that he is the king of Arzanjān who is meant.

Dr. Rieu takes a line in the prologue to the *Makhzan* as implying that Nizāmī was 40 when he wrote the poem, and that consequently its date should be 575. But the line as quoted at ii, 566, does not seem to scan, and we must read either *makhwān*, as in most MSS., or *bakhwān*, as in some. It does not seem to me to be a reference to his age, but an exhortation of the angel or *hātif* to Nizāmī not to trouble himself yet about the lessons of 40 years of age (see Bland, p. 28, l. 1). As Dr. Bacher remarks (p. 13, n.), Sādi has touched upon the term of forty years as the end of enjoyment. If the line does refer to Nizāmī's age, it seems to indicate that he was not yet 40.

In conclusion, I may remark that Nizāmī is reckoned as one of the four great poets of Persia, the other three being Firdūsī, Anwārī, and Khāqānī. He was a native of Western Persia, and his birthplace, Ganja, now known as Yelīza²etpol,² is 102 miles south-east of Tiflis and in Russian territory. It would be interesting to know if

¹ But see Addendum.

² So called because taken on January 3, 1804, the birthday of the Empress Elizabeth.

his grave is still recognizable. He was born apparently in 535 A.H., or 1140–1, and died probably in 1202–3 A.D. The poet Jāmi says that the *Sikandarnāma* was Nizāmī's last work, and was completed in 592 (1196 A.D.), and that Nizāmī was then over 60. There is a pleasing translation of the *Lailī and Majnūn* by Dr. Atkinson in the old series of the Oriental Translation Fund.

I am indebted to Mr. A. G. Ellis for an explanation of the epithet Ījāzgir applied to Bahrām Shāh in l. 340 of Bland. The true reading is Abkhāzgir, and the meaning is that Bahrām Shāh was the conqueror of Abkhāz, which was a country adjoining Georgia, and is now a Trans-Caucasian province of Russia. The Abkhāzis were famous for their violence, and the name Abkhāz occurs again at l. 1059 of Bland, where it is spelt Īkhāz. The old woman, in reproaching Sultan Sanjar, tells him that he is worse than the Abkhāzis, as they do not rob orphans. Abkhāz is the Abkasia of Blackie's *Imperial Gazetteer*.

ADDENDUM.

Since writing my paper I have consulted other MSS. of the *Makhzan*, and also the commentary of Muḥammad b. Qiyām,¹ with regard to the line which seems to give the date of the poem (p. 15 and l. 271 of Bland). The result is perplexing. B.M. MS. Or. 1363 has 570 and so has the copy of the commentary, Or. 56, which belonged to Sir William Jones. On the other hand, the B.M. MS. Add. 26,149 copy of the commentary has 550. The I.O. MS. No. 998 of the commentary is an inferior copy, and only goes down to the middle of the eighth story. It begins the comment on the passage by quoting the line as 580, but immediately below it three times over speaks

¹ His name occurs as the copyist of extracts from the *Khamṣa* (Bodleian Catalogue, p. 493, No. 597). The copy gives his home as Shirāz. The Bankipore Catalogue says Nizāmī's diwān appears to be lost. But see Sprenger, p. 523, and Bodleian Catalogue, p. 496, No. 618, and p. 497, No. 619.

of the date as 550 and says that it refers to the Hijra date and not to the death of Muḥammad, the reason being that at the end of the poem the date given is 552 A.H. The Bankipore Catalogue has an account of Nizāmī, but it is chiefly taken from Rieu. It gives 582 as the date of the *Makhzan*. This I take to be a mistake for 572. Sprenger's Catalogue, p. 519, also has 582.

There can be no doubt that the line in question would give a clear indication of the date of the poem if we only knew the true reading. In order to settle this point it would be necessary for some scholar to examine more copies of the *Makhzan* than I have been able to consult. I am, however, now of opinion that neither fifty, *panchāh*, nor eighty, *hashtād*, is right, and that the true reading is *haftād*. *Haftād* and *hashtād* are very much alike in Persian writing and are often confounded. *Hashtād*, which occurs in so many MSS., is clearly inadmissible, for, as Rieu remarks, p. 565*b*, the poem is undoubtedly anterior to the *Khusrau-u Shīrīn*, which was written in 576 A.H.; 550, too, is absurd, for Nizāmī was only 15 then, or 25 if the 550 is to be taken as a date calculated from Muḥammad's death. Even 560 A.H. seems too early, for the poem does not give the impression of being the work of a young man. At l. 532, p. 29 of Bland, the poet speaks of half of his life having been spent. According to the analogy of the first line of Danté this should mean 35. There is also the striking fifth *maqālat*, the one to which the story of the old brickmaker is an illustration, where the poet seems to regret his wasted youth. "Youth has passed away in carelessness, alas, alas!" And though the lines which give 24 Rabi' I, 559 A.H., do not, as remarked by Rieu, occur in the best copies and are probably spurious, there seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of what is the last line of the poem according to the best copies. This contains a thanksgiving for the poet having been able to finish his poem before the end

of his life, and so is hardly likely to be the utterance of a young man. Rieu's brilliant suggestion that the correct reading of the passage which occurs in some copies is *haftād du* or *haftād seh* would solve all difficulties, and ought, I think, to be adopted. If so, the poem was completed in 572 A.H. = 1176-7 A.D. (see Bodleian Catalogue, p. 487).

The line which immediately follows the one we have been discussing is a curious illustration of the defects of our MSS. and of the enigmatical style of Nizāmi. He there calls upon Muḥammad to give an order to Isrāfil (the angel of the Resurrection), and says, according to Bland's edition, l. 272—

Bād damīdan du seh qindīl-rā.

Dr. Bacher's MS. had the same reading, and so at p. 53 he translates—

“Auf, gebiete dem Seraphimheere
Dass den Glanz der Lichter sie entzündet.”

This is rendered by his translator, Mr. S. Robinson, p. 76, as—

“Rise thou, and give command to the Seraphim
To herald the dawn with their countless candles.”

But Isrāfil was a trumpeter and not a lamplighter, and what Nizāmi really called upon Muḥammad to do was to command Isrāfil to give two blasts of his trumpet. *Du seh* is probably a mistake for *du sar*, and *qindīl* in this line does not mean a lamp, but the sky. The commentator explains that Isrāfil is to blow his trump twice, once for the death of all men, and again, forty years later, for their resurrection.

XXIII

FRAGMENTS OF HITTITE CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM BOGHHAZ KEUI

By THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

THE fragments of Hittite cuneiform tablets from Boghaz Keui, copies of which I publish herewith, all contain religious or ritual texts. Many of them must have formed part of the tablets I have published in earlier numbers of this Journal, or at all events of the same series of tablets as that to which the latter belong. No. 1 is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. McNaughten, Nos. 3-5 of the Rev. Dr. G. E. White; the rest are in my own collection. As they were all found before the German excavations were begun at Boghaz Keui, it would seem that the peasants had lighted upon a portion of the library in which the religious texts were kept. This would have been in a temple rather than in the archive-chamber where the political and historical documents discovered by Dr. Winckler were preserved.

No. 1 (the property of the Rev. Mr. McNaughten) is from the same series of tablets as those which I have given in the JRAS., October, 1907, and October, 1908. It reads—

1. [AR]KI-SU-MA . . .
After that . . .
2. III GAR KHAR-as pa-u-wa-an[-da] . . .
*. 3 * gar of rings (?) as a gift* . . .
3. I GAR la-ri-ri-in . . .
1 gar of . . .
4. I ga-qi-ak ri . . .
one . . .

5. sa-ma-be pal-ti . . .
6. GU-GUB nu MAR da-[a-i] . . .
the back for an offering (?) I have set . . .
7. a-na pa-ni AN Khi-i[m] . . .
before the god Khim . . .
8. ARKI-SU-MA GESTIN . . .
after that wine [pour out].
9. ARKI-SU-MA a-na AN . . .
After that to the god . . .
10. V GAR GIS-RA I GAR . . .
5 gar of tubing (?), 1 gar of . . .
11. I GAR a-a-an ma . . .
1 gar of . . .
12. ? GAL li . . .
. . . great . . .

1. Since the sign for *su* (𐎶) is not the same as that (𐎶) which is used in the tablets previously published, we may infer that the new fragment belongs either to a different tablet of the series or to a different edition.

2. KHAR-as, which is probably to be read ideographically, occurs in the "Yuzgat" text (*Obv.* 30).

4. For *gaqia*k see JRAS., October, 1908, p. 993, and YUZGAT, *Rev.* 31.

5. In JRAS., October, 1908, p. 988, we have what is apparently the proper name Sama-Samsi; we may consequently have a proper name, Sama-Bel, here. *Pa-al-ti* is found in CHANTRE, ii, *Rev.* 6.

6. Since the usual form of *li* in the Hittite texts is different from that which here follows GU (or TIK), it is probable that the form we find here was intended to express the second value, *gub*, belonging to the Assyrian sign for *li*. This is confirmed by the YUZGAT tablet, where the name of the goddess hitherto read Te-li-bi-nu-s is more than once written with the same form of the

character as is found here, indicating a pronunciation Te-gub-bi-nu-s, which, as *b* follows, is more probable than Te-li-bi-nu-s.

For MAR see the YUZGAT tablet. It is rendered *saragu*, "to give" (W.A.I., v, 11, 36).

10. For GIS-RA see the YUZGAT tablet. Perhaps reference is made to the long tubes through which on North Syrian seals wine is represented as being drunk.

No. 2 (the property of the Rev. Dr. White).

1. . . . nu(?) is-tu qar(?)-me(?)-a(?) GESTIN (?) . . .
 . . . to(?) from a jar(?) of wine . . .
2. . . . na-as ar-kha tar-na . . .
 . . . these for a month . . .
3. . . . ARKI-SU-MA wa-a-tar un . . .
 . . . after that below . . .
4. . . . nu te-iz-zi ki-i . . .
 . . . according to order thus . . .
5. . . . [ga-]qi-ak-zi ki-i . . .
 . . . thus . . .
6. . . . LUGAL ki-i . . .
 . . . the king thus . . .
7. . . . Sa-ma . . .

1-3. For *istu* and *watar* see the YUZGAT tablet. The borrowed Assyrian *arkha* occurs frequently in the Hittite texts. It is possible that the adverb *arakhzanda* in the second ARZAWA tablet (l. 19) is derived from it. If so, the word will signify "monthly", and not "completely" as I have supposed. *Tarna* is found in the tablets copied by SCHEIL, i, *Obv.* 3, 4.

4-5. For *te-izzi* and *ki* see the YUZGAT tablet. On *gaqiak* see note on No. 1, 4, above.



7. For *sa-ma* cp. note on No. 1, 5, above.

No. 3 (the property of the Rev. Dr. White).

1. . . . it kha-an-zi . . .
-
2. . . . kha-ya-an u zir(?) -ri-wa . . .
-
3. . . . as GU gar-mi-qi GU . . .
-
4. . . . an-za khi-e-u-wa . . .
-
5. . . . ti nu SAL-LUGAL . . .
- . . . thy(?) to the queen . . .

1. -it may be the termination of the 3rd person of a verb.

2. It is possible that *an* is here the determinative of a deity, Uzirriwa (?).

3.  is for the more usual . *Garmiqi* (or *samiqi*), according to analogy, would be borrowed from Assyrian, but I know of no Assyrian word like it.

No. 4 (the property of the Rev. Dr. White).

1. da-a-i na-at(?) . . .
- *I have set: these(?)* . . .
2. [ARKI-SU-MA] la-kha-an-ni-us si-pa-an-ti . . .
- [after this] the . . . as thy tithe . . .
-
3. nu AN IM sa-te-mi(?)
- to Sandes . . .
- NIG-GA ma(?) -ga-khu-us mas-si-ya
- property . . . my lord
4. a(?) -ya-sa¹ I ma-akh-kha-
- 1 libation-
- an-na-at wa-at su-un-ni-wa-an-zi
- bowl(?) one(?) provide

¹ Or *ir*; cf. *páir*, YUZGAT, *Obv.* 22.

5. bi-ya-ya an-te-is¹
. herbs(?)
su-un-ni-an-zi
provide
6. [ARKI-SU-MA la-kh]a-an-ni-us si-pa-an-ti
[after this] the . . . as thy tithe.
-
7. ni AN Te-nu-ši-iz-zi
. the god *Tenušis*
nu IV GAR ip . . .
for 4 gar of . . .
8. [? mas-si-y]a se-ra-as-sa-an GU . . .
. [my lord] . . . flesh . . .
9. da-a-i ARKI-[SU-MA]
. I have set: after [this]

1. Parallel passages would suggest *na-ta* instead of *na-at*.

4. *Makhkhannat* must be an Assyrian loan-word. Cp. *makhākhu*, "to pour out," *mikhkhu*, "libation." In the following line *sunni-wanzi* is written *sunni-anzi*; here, therefore, 𐎶𐎵 must have the value of *ya* or *y* instead of *wa*. The general signification of the word is made clear by a comparison of this passage with one in the tablet I have published in the JRAS., October, 1908, p. 986 (*Obv.* 12-14). In Dr. Belck's tablet we have LUGAL-*i-zi su-nu-us-sa-an*, which probably means "providing it for the king".

5. *Anteš* (or *anteut*) must be the *anteit* of a tablet published by Dr. A. Jeremias, in which it seems to have the signification of "leaves", "shoots", or "buds".

7. *Tenušis* is a new deity to be added to the Hittite pantheon.

8. For *serassan* see YUZGAT, *Rev.* 31, and JRAS., October, 1907, p. 914.

¹ Less probably *ut*.

No. 5 (the property of the Rev. Dr. White).

1. khal-lu-u e-es-ta(?)
2. nam-ma GAN BIT-iz-zi
then for the garden of the house
3. NISU bu-bu-us pa-iz-zi na
the bubu-man for a gift this(?)

4. i-ni wa-za-gu(?) ku-it u
he is
5. ku-it wa-za-an-ku kha-a-si
he is
6. ki-is-sa-an me-ma-i ta
of the servant

1. With *khallá* cf. *khaluga-tallas*, "a messenger."
3. *Bubus* may be acc. pl. rather than nom. sing.
4. *Wa-za* seems to be a particle of time.
5. *Khasi* . . . is probably connected with *khassi* and *khassiya* found in the CHANTRE tablets.
6. I connect *memai* with *memis* and *memian*, "servant." It is met with on another fragment belonging to Dr. White, where we have: LUGAL *nu me-ma-i*, "the king to (his) servant."

No. 6 (belonging to myself).

2. . . . [s]a ki-e-it
he . . . s
3. . . . LU GAN bi-e-te-ir
sheep (and) garden of the house
4. . . . [s]a ma-a-an ka-ru-u
this I contrib^uted
5. . . . is-sa-an e-es-tu
ing it you have (it)

3. The suffix *-ir*, which may also be read *ša*, recurs in other words, e.g. *páir* in the YUZGAT tablet.

4. The meaning of *kará* is settled by one of the Boghaz Keui tablets belonging to the Institute of Archæology at Liverpool, in which the noun *karas* occurs with the meaning of "tributes", "contributions", along with the corresponding verb *kará*.

5. *Estu* is found in the ARZAWA tablet, *esmi* in the YUZGAT tablet.

No. 7 (belonging to myself).

1. . . . NISU-MES mar-dis a-na LUGAL-BIT
the men mardian for the king's house
2. . . . sa-ni nu-us ma-as su-qu-es-ni
property mine
3. . . . bi ma-an-na BIT a-na NISU mar-dis
this house for the mardian men
4. . . . [z]i sa-as tar-ri-is
his
5. . . . me(?) sa-li-ga NISU gam-ma-mi-ti
the g. men.
6. . . . KHAR-zi nu-za ma-a-an ARKI-pa
for a ring(?) this after
7. . . . nu KHAR a-na . . . mi(?)
for the ring(?) for
- ma-an-za-an

1, 5. It is uncertain whether *mardis* and *gammamiti* are ethnic or class names. The second name, however, written Gam-ma-ma-[ti], occurs in one of the Liverpool tablets as the name of a deity.

It will be noticed that in LUGAL-BIT the Hittite and not the Semitic order of the words is represented. A parallel case is that in which the Sumerian order of two ideographs is reversed in their Semitic translation.

2. *Nus* seems to be "property" rather than "gifts", as I rendered it in the YUZGAT tablet. *-ni* would appear to be a particle here.

3. From the fact that *man*, "this," is here written *manna* we may perhaps infer that the word for "house" began with *a*.

4. *Tarris* will be connected with *tar-ri-ya*, which is found in one of the Liverpool tablets.

6. KHAR is either a "ring" or a "round vessel of bronze", Assyrian *khirru*, *amtu*, and *ummdtu sa éré*, not "interest" as I suggested in the YUZGAT tablet. There it is preceded by *nuzzi-yanza*, which seems to have the same root as *nuza* here. Possibly the root has some such signification as "weigh".

No. 8 (belonging to myself).

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|----------------------------|-------|
| 1. . . . | na-as-ku(?) | NISU PAQID AN | . . . |
| . . . | <i>these</i> | <i>the superintendent</i> | . . . |
| 2. . . . | na-at PANI | BIT-ILI-is-sa-an | . . . |
| . . . | <i>these</i> | <i>before the temple's</i> | . . . |
| 3. . . . | dhur-za-as | i-da-al u | . . . |
| . . . | . . . | . . . | . |
| 4. . . . | u-ukh (')-ki | ku-us-ku-us-zi | . . . |
| . . . | <i>as</i> | . . . | . . . |
| 5. . . . | u (') na-at | mil-li GESTIN (?) | . . . |
| . . . | <i>this</i> | <i>wine (?)</i> | . . . |
| 6. . . . | u-a-a-si | ti-i-e-iz-zi | . . . |
| . . . | <i>by order</i> | . . . | . |

1. The third character may be either *ku* or *ma*. It is possible that AN is the accusative sing. suffix of the word meaning "superintendent". In the preceding line we have PAQID-*in*, which is found in the ARZAWA tablet, where it has hitherto been read DAMIQ-*in*, "prosperity."

2. *-issan* seems to be an adjectival suffix of BIT-ILI, "belonging to the temple." Parallel passages would imply that the word to be supplied is *biran*, "dish."

No. 9 (belonging to myself).

1. . . . na-ta GIS-PASSUR
. . . on this dish
2. . . . [da-]an-zi
. . . set
3. . . . gu-ri-in
.
4. . . . ya-la-an i-ya-an-zi
.
5. . . . an I DUK ku-ku-ub GESTIN-in
. . . 1 jar of wine
6. . . . an-da-ma BIT ID-KHU as
. . . the house of the eagle . . .
7. . . . la-za sa-an-khir lu-zi
.
8. . . . zi is-sa-an-zi
.
9. . . . a-bi-e-da ub-be GISAL
. . . as a father(?) the top of the vessel
10. . . . ri(?) a-na GISAL GIS-PASSUR
. . . to the top of the dish
11. . . . [k]a-an-khi-is i-ya-an-za
. . . ing . . .
12. . . . [i]-ya-an-za-an khu-u-ub-ru AN IM-ni
. . . the cup of the god Sandes
13. . . . zi nu-us PANI GIS PASSUR URUD-u
. . . the property before a dish of bronze
14. . . . [kh]u-an-zi
15. . . . GIS PASSUR URUD-u
. . . a dish of bronze
16. . . . na-ta khat-ra-a
. . . on this former (one)

The fragment evidently belongs to the same series as those which I have published in the JRAS., October, 1907,

and October, 1908. These show that the verb in the second line is *danzi*.

3. With *gurin* cp. *ligu* . . in the broken second column.

4. For *iyanzi* see YUZGAT, *Obv.* 7 and *Rev.* 39 (where it is written *iyazi*). In a fragment copied by Dr. Pinches we have SAL *Su-gi* LU *i-ya-an-[zi]*, "O priestess, offer(?) a sheep."

6. "The house" or "temple of the eagle" is interesting, since the double-headed eagle was the totem or ensign of Eyuk in the vicinity of Boghaz Keui.

7. With *sankhir* cp. *sankhis* in the YUZGAT and ARZAWA tablets.

9. The suffix *-da* is new and may represent the adverbial *-nda*.

Ubbe GIŠAL is the Assyrian *gišal uppi*, with the order of the words reversed. *Ubbe* is borrowed from *uppi*.


11. The first character is not *sa*. The relation between the terminations *-nzi* and *-nza* has still to be determined.

12. *Khubru* is also found in the tablet I have published in the JRAS., October, 1908, p. 985, and is borrowed (like *bibru*) from the Assyrian *khuburu*. AN IM-*ni* is an adjective in *-nis* agreeing with it.

To these fragments I add the transliteration of one found at Boghaz Keui by Dr. Belck, a photograph of which he has published in *Anatolia*, ii:—

- | | | |
|----------|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. . . . | si-pa-an-ti | [na ?]-ta (?) |
| | thy tithe, | on this (?) |
| 2. . . . | LUGAL-i | khat-ra-a . . . -ši-ib |
| | of a king | former the . . . |
| 3. . . . | [s]a | te-iz-zi khal-me da-as |
| | by order | setting(?) |
| 4. . . . | AN | Kha-ba-an ta-li-ya |
| | [to] the god | Khabas I have sent. |

the YUZGAT tablet, where *a-bi-e-a-ki-as* is probably a proper name, Abê-akias, *akias* being a passive participle.

9. The identification of the ideograph is uncertain, but it may represent , the pouch or tray in which incense was kept.

11. The land of Kas is mentioned also in the Liverpool tablets. In one of them we have *ka-ra-as AN Kaš-ša-wa-as sa LUGAL*, "the contributions of the Kasian god belonging to the king," and in another "the god Ka-ša" is named.

12. Sinuaruwatti is another deity to be added to the list of Hittite divinities already known—Umma, Khaba and Khebe, Khebe-bina (or Khebe-kasna, "Khebe of the land of Kas"), Zabbimim, Alkhisuwa, Dumqi ("prosperity"), Argapa, Khattu, Nanni (the goddess of flocks), Teligubbinus, and Sandes, besides Gula, Makh, Zamama, and Bel, who, like Dumqi, were borrowed from the Assyrians.

In his book on *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie* Dr. Alfred Jeremias has published a complete paragraph from a Hittite cuneiform text copied by Professor Winckler. He supposes it to relate to astronomy; this, however, the ideographs that occur in it render improbable. In the following attempt at an approximate translation, ideographs and words, the meaning of which is known, are enclosed in brackets. For the rest, the reader will be able to judge what is probable and what is only possible.

1. *šu-uk-kak-ta-ma i-na sa-mu SI bi-en-nu-an-zi*
A . . . (in) (the sky) (is seen): plough¹:
2. *VII kasbu ar-nu-an-zi nam-ma-as tu-o-ri-ya-wa*
(7 kasbu) plant: (then) row
3. *tu-o-ri-ya-wa VII gan² mas-kha-nu-us KI-iz-zi*
by row (7 times) the . . . s (in the ground)

¹ Assyrian *bennu*, "forced labour."

² Or possibly for GAN-ZUN, "gardens," as in l. 11 below.

4. ma-akh-kha-an-ma-as ar-kha la-a-an-zi nu i-na
*watered*¹ (for a month) leave. (After)
IV mu-si
(4 nights)
5. â-an-te-it ar-ru-ba-an-zi nam-ma-as
*the leaves*² *pluck:* *then*
6. i-na BIT AMEL-ZU an-da bi-e-khu-da-an-zi
(in) (the house) (of the wiseman) them place:
7. nu KHA-LA-su-nu az-zi-ig-gan-zi nu nam-ma
(for) (their distribution) separate. (Afterwards)
ina UD III KAM
(on the 3rd day)
8. bi-en-nu-wa¹-an-zi VII kasbu ar-nu-an-zi
plough: (7 kasbu) *plant:*
9. i-na VII mu-si-ma bi-en-nu-wa³-an-zi II SU
(after) (7 nights) *plough:* (twice)
VII kasbu
(7 kasbu)
10. ar-nu-an-zi tu-o-ri-ya-an-zi [nam-]ma-as
plant: *set in rows:* (then)
11. ma-si-ya AN-KI nu KHARRAN
(the lord) (of heaven and earth) (for) (a road?)
SI KHARRAN SI⁴ ENUMA i-na
(appears?) ? (Then) (in)
VII GAN-ZUN⁵
(7 gardens)
12. an-da bi-en-ni-es KI-iz-zi ma-akh-kha-an-ma-as
them *ploughing* (in the ground) *irrigated*
ar-kha
(for a month)

¹ Cf. *gakhkhanat* above.

² Cf. *anteis* above. Of course, the word may mean "shoots", "seeds", or "fruit".

³ Written *ma*.

⁴ Perhaps to be read *kas-si kas-si*. The meaning is obscure.

⁵ Less probably, reading GAN as the Hittite *gan*, "on seven occasions."

13. la-a-an-zi na-as GAN-[as] as-ru-an-zi nam-ma-as
leave. (These) (gardens) . . . (then)
14. I ub-na¹ u-zu-ukh-ri-in-UD-DU-A² ar-kha
(1 measure) (of . . . herbs) (for a month)
ya-da-an-zi
water:
15. II ub-na SE-GAN it-ti-in-nu-da im-mi-ya-an-zi
(2 measures) (of garden-seed) in furrows sow:
16. na-as ar-kha a-da-an-zi nam-ma-as GIS-NI-it
(these) (for a month) water: (then) (sesame)
17. sa-ra-a khu-it-ti-ya-an-zi ne-khu-uš me-khar-ma
round about plant; hedges of thorns
18. tu-o-ri-ya-an-zi na-as I KASBU-a bi-e-ni-is-sa-an
set in rows. (These), (for 1 kasbu) ploughing it
19. bi-en-na-i ma-akh-kha-an-ma-as ar-kha
with a plough, irrigated (for a month)
la-a-an-zi
leave.
20. na-as as-nu-an-zi nu wa-a-tar a-ba-wa-an-zi
(These) . . . ; (to) (below) cut:
21. nam-ma-as i-na BIT AMEL-ZU an-da
(then) (in) (the house) (of the wise man) them
bi-c-khu-da-an-zi
place:
22. nu mi-an khu-o-ma-an-da-an u-zu-ukh-ri-in-
(to) an amount (abundant) (the . . . herb)
UD-DU-A
23. in-nu-du-as i-wa-ar³ be-ri-wa-an⁴ az-zi-ig-gan-zi
pouring over the crop distribute.

THE WORD *tuel*.—Thanks to the new material I can now offer an explanation of the word *tuel*, which occurs in

¹ Perhaps the Assyrian *uban*.

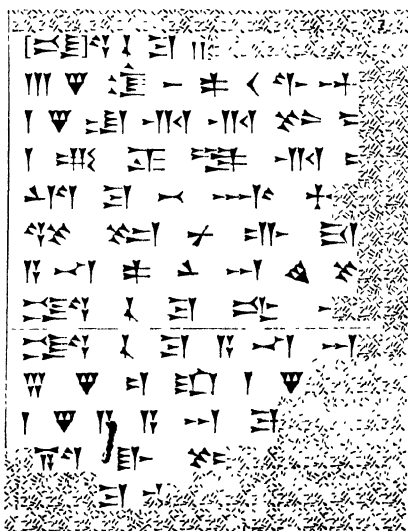
² Assyrian *u-zukhri-udda*, "the little herb that grows up."

³ In CHANTRE, vi, 4, 5, we find: *u-da-an-zi* GESTIN-an
i-wa-ar . . . , "deliver the wine over . . . [pour]."

⁴ Probably borrowed from the Assyrian *pir'u*, "shoots," or *bird*,
"fodder." *Be-ri-y-an* would be a better reading than *be-ri-wa-an*.

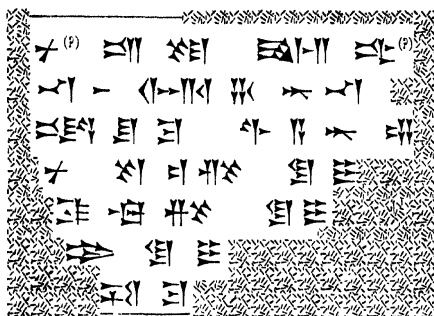
both the ARZAWA and the YUZGAT tablets. It means "hereafter". In YUZGAT, *Obv.* 9-11, *Khakhkhimas aris khuwanti ana akhi-su SIL-as KI-izzi . . . KHAR-SAG-MES-as uidar GIS-KHIR-ZUN uellu nu tuel . . . warsulas SE-MES pais gataru* is "Khakhkhimas the elder has granted in full to his brother the paths in the plot of land . . . (and) the hills together with the plantations for the future . . . giving [the cultivated fields?] and seed for a gift".

In ARZAWA 24, *tuel éit*, or, better, *wit*, is "hereafter he will deliver". The root *u* signifies "to deliver", "hand over"; hence *nutta uwanzi uduzi kusatu TUR-SAL-ti AMEL, khaluga-talas mis AMEL khaluga-tallasa kuis tuel wit nas aggas* means "to thee, that thou mayest deliver (and) hand over (*u + du*) in marriage thy daughter, my messenger, acting as a messenger,¹ will hereafter deliver these presents". From the same root comes *uwandu*, "I will deliver," where *-ndu* must therefore be the suffix of the 1st person of the future.

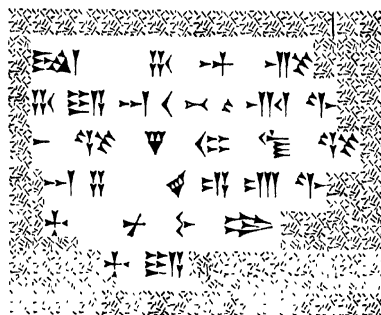


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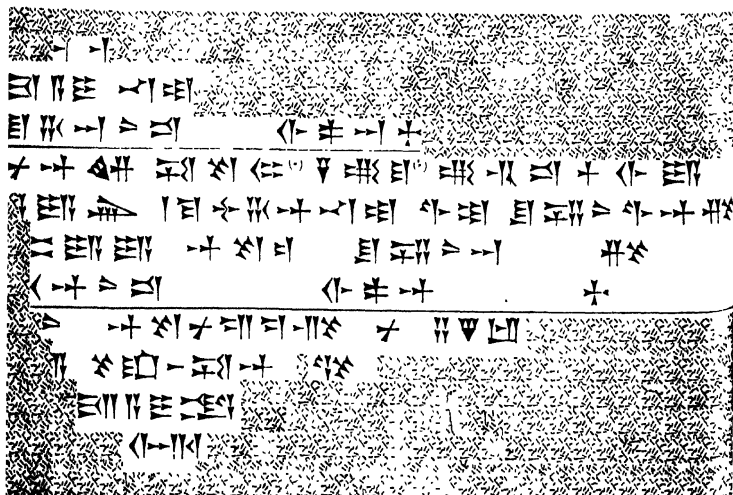
¹ Being of the messenger class, or, as we should say, being really a member of the diplomatic service.

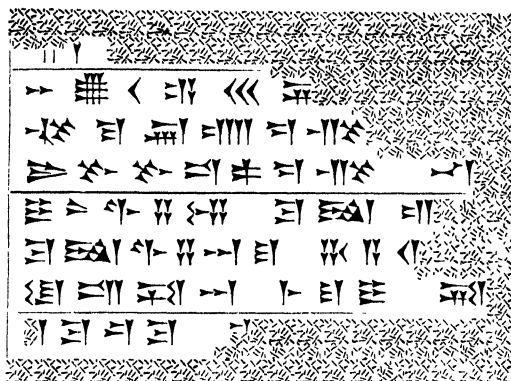


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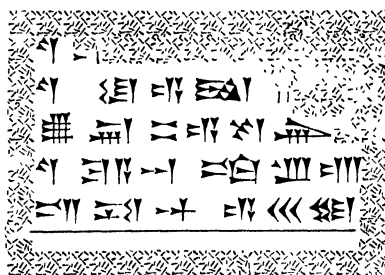


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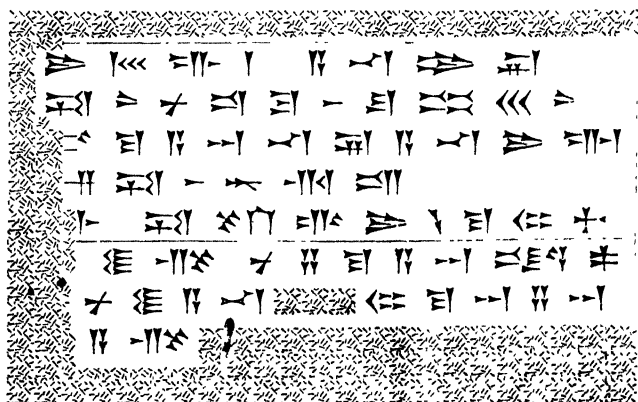




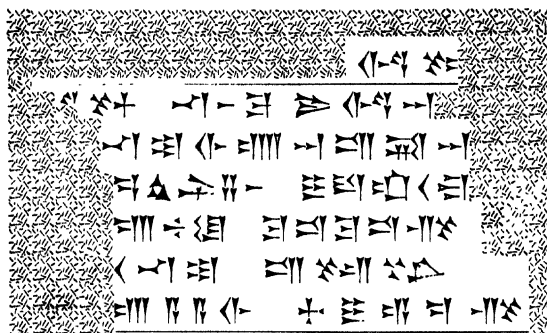
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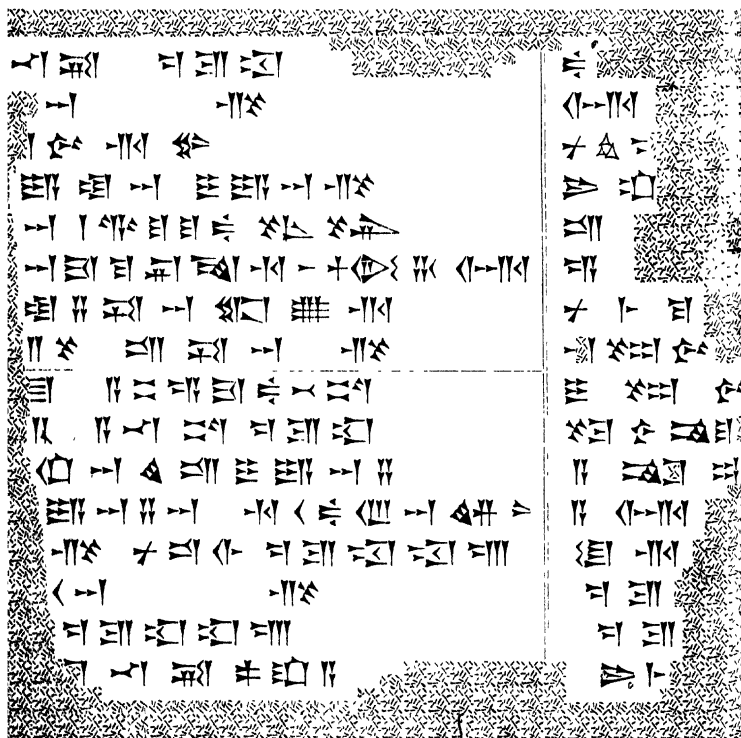
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No. 8.



No. 9

XXIV

THE LAST WORDS OF ASOKA

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

WE could hardly fail to read with interest and close attention Professor Hultzsch's note, published at p. 728 above, on the Rūpnāth recension of the Last Edict of Aśōka: particularly because his views are calculated to be completely subversive of the chronological arrangement laid out by me at p. 27 above, and to require us to find an entirely new date for the death of Buddha. Accepting what is plain, that the figures 256 are a date, he has revived the view that they mark the number of years elapsed since the renunciation of Buddha, when he left his home and went forth as a wandering ascetic mendicant into the houseless state, in the search for true knowledge. He has referred the issuing of the edict to the seventeenth year after the anointment of Aśōka to the sovereignty. He has propounded the view that Aśōka himself renounced the world in or just before the eleventh year. And, following a proposition that "his twelfth year corresponded to about B.C. 259", he has said:—"Consequently, the Rūpnāth edict would fall in about B.C. 254, and the 'renunciation of the (*great*) being' in about B.C. $254 + 256 = 510$."

If Professor Hultzsch should wish to maintain his position, he cannot leave the matter as it stands. He will of course give us, some day, his exact reading of the record. But he ought, without waiting for that, to give us now a chronology to suit his interpretation and application of it. And that would be no easy task. We will waive the point, as only a negative one, that no other instance has ever yet been adduced, of an historical reckoning from the renunciation of Buddha: the dating

is always from the death. We will confine ourselves to indicating the positive difficulties that he would have to face.

* * * * *

In the first place, it would not be enough for him to rely, as he has done, on the chronological arrangements proposed by M. Senart. That eminent scholar has not, so far, accepted the figures 256 as a date. His chronological proposals hinge on a passage in another record of Aśoka which we shall see here in quite a new light. And they were laid out to suit the understanding that, of the two periods in the career of Aśoka which are mentioned in this record, the second is only a period of somewhat more than "one year"; with the result that he assigned this record to the commencement of the thirteenth year after the anointment of Aśoka, and marked it as probably the very first of Aśoka's proclamations. But that is distinctly not the case. As is recognized by Professor Hultzsch, the period was one of somewhat more than "six years": the terms being *chhavachhare* in the Rūpnāth text, and *sadvachhale* in the Sahasrām text; both = *śadvatsaram*. Consequently, the record would belong, as Professor Hultzsch has observed, to the seventeenth year after the anointment of Aśoka; and it would be preceded by at any rate the third and fourth rock-edicts: in the former Aśoka says "by me twelve-years-anointed this command is given"; the other says "by the king Dēvānampriya-Priyadassi, twelve-years-anointed, this has been caused to be written": and in the sixth pillar-edict, framed in the twenty-seventh year, Aśoka reminds us of that: "by me, twelve-years-anointed, a writing about *dhamma* was caused [or, if it is preferred, writings . . . were caused] to be written."

In the second place, Professor Hultzsch would have to explain how a renunciation of the world by a reigning king could be compatible with his continuing to reign for

a further period of not less than sixteen years: the seventh pillar-edict of Aśoka was framed when he was "twenty-seven-years-anointed." The state of *pabbajjā*, *pravrajyā*, which he attributes to Aśoka, was no mere mental attitude: it was not the renouncement of the world which we all make, or which our sponsors make for us, at our baptism. It was a physical state, explained by Professor Kern as renouncing the world and embracing the life of a monk or nun; leaving the world and adopting the ascetic life.¹ It is defined in the Pāli texts as *agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitum*, "to go forth from the house to the houseless state".² And it entailed a relinquishment of everything: said Buddha, when he had adopted the life of *pabbajjā*:³—"No Brāhmaṇa am I, nor a king's son, nor any Vessa; having thoroughly observed the class of common people, I wander about the world reflectingly, possessing nothing."

How was Aśoka to adopt such a life as that, and yet continue to reign? There is no question of his leaving the throne in the eleventh year, and mounting it again some six years later: as we have seen, we have the third and fourth rock-edicts, framed by him when he was twelve-years-anointed; and the fifth rock-edict registers an act done by him as king when he was thirteen-years-anointed.

What Aśoka really did, was, after reigning for thirty-seven years, to abdicate and withdraw to spend his remaining days in religious retirement. And, in doing that, he simply followed a not infrequent custom of ancient Indian kings. The books constantly mention the custom;

¹ See his *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 76.

² See, e.g., *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 5. 13. 1: and compare *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta*, ed. Childers, this *Journal*, 1876. 250, line 7; *Suttanipāṭa*, ed. Fausbøll, 15, line 14; 103, line 2; and verses 274, 1003.

³ *Suttanipāṭa*, verse 454/455: I quote verbatim Fausbøll's translation in SBE, 10. 73.

attributing it, notably, to Milinda, Menander:¹—“And afterwards, taking delight in the wisdom of the Elder, he handed over his kingdom to his son, and abandoning the household life for the houseless state, grew great in insight, and himself attained to Arahatsip.” The literary instances may be, of course, in many cases imaginative. But they suffice to prove the practice. And we have an historical instance, amongst the Jains, in the case of the great Western Gaṅga prince Nalambāntaka-Mārasimha:²—“Having carried out acts of religion in a most worthy fashion, one year later he laid aside the sovereignty, and, at the town of Baṅkāpura, in the performance of worship in the proximity of the holy feet of the venerable Ajitasēna, he observed the vow (*of fasting*) for three days, and attained rest.”

* * * * *

The other difficulties that Professor Hultsch would have to face will be best made clear by exhibiting the bases of my own chronology. It recognizes, with him, that the second period in the career of Aśoka, mentioned in this record, is one of “somewhat more than six years”, and that the figures 256 are a date.³ It rests otherwise

¹ Milindapañha ; translation by Davids, SBE, 36. 374.

² See his epitaph at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa, edited by me, *Epi. Ind.*, 5. 180.

³ In respect of these figures, there has now been revived a proposal which had almost been forgotten and might well have been left unrecalled. Mr. Vincent Smith, in his *Asoka*, 1st ed., pp. 139, 141, wisely, though doubtfully, followed the opinion that they denote the number of years elapsed since the death of Buddha. In his recently published 2nd edition, however, he has followed other leads, and, abandoning that interpretation, has suggested on p. 150 that they may mean “256 (?) departures from staging-places (or possibly, days spent abroad)”, but on p. 152 that the whole clause may mean “the precept quoted above was preached by (me) on tour 256 [?times]”. And to the latter interpretation he has attached a footnote, in the course of which he observes that “the Hindus would consider $256 = 16^2 = 32 \times 8 \neq 64 \times 4$ to be a ‘perfect number’.” He has not, however, understood what a “perfect number” is. “Perfect numbers [I quote the definition from the first book that I have at hand, Gow’s *History of Greek Mathematics* (1884), p. 70 : but we need not look about for any better authority] are those which are equal to the

on the practical basis of accepting independent statements which present nothing improbable, and which explain and endorse each other.

The Mahāparinibbānasutta, which is held, I believe, to be one of the most ancient Buddhist texts, tells us that Buddha was 29 years old when he renounced the world, and that his subsequent wanderings lasted for 51 years. This statement is placed in the mouth of Buddha himself: on the day on which he died, he said to the last convert: 1—

—sum of all their possible factors (e.g. $28 = 1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14$).” But all the possible factors of 256 are 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, and 128: the sum of them falls short by one; it only amounts to 255: and any Hindū, who had the idea of “perfect numbers” at all, would certainly have detected that.

We need say no more (see this Journal, 1908, 819 ff.) about the idea that the figures 256 can here denote “departures from staging-places” or “days spent abroad”. The other idea, that they may mean “256 times”, has simply the following genesis. In the Mysore versions the Last Edict is followed by another, which begins, in the Brahmagiri text, *sē hēvaṃ Dēvāṇapīye*; the word *sē* standing immediately after the figures. Mr. Rice offered us, in 1892, a text and translation, in a report or pamphlet entitled “Edicts of Aśoka in Mysore”. After the word *sē* he inserted a mark of punctuation, though the original has none. He Sanskritized the word as *śaḥ* = *śas*, a suffix which gives, e.g., *ekaśas*, ‘one by one, singly’, *śatasas*, ‘in a hundred ways, by or in hundreds’, and *bahuśas*, ‘in many ways’. He confused the *śas* with *kṛitras*, with which we have, e.g., *ekakṛitras*, ‘once’, *śatukṛitras*, ‘a hundred times’, and *bahukṛitras*, ‘many times’. And so he arrived at the rendering:—“This exhortation has been delivered by the *vyūtha* (or? society) 256 times.” He abandoned that rendering in his later treatment, given in *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Chitaldroog (1903), translations, p. 93, No. 21. But the influence of it has survived.

1 See the text, ed. Childers, this Journal, 1876. 249; and compare the translation by Davids, SBE, 11. 108. In the third line of the verse the words are *vassāni paññāsa samādhikāni*. The last of them is taken as *samā* or *sama* + *adhikāni*, ‘more by one year:’ but it is possible that it stands by metrical license for *samadhikāni*, ‘having something more’; i.e. “for fifty years with somewhat more”. The translation refers us to the Jātaka, ed. Fausboll, 2. 383, where the same expression is used, but in a different connexion. There we have the various reading *samadhikāni*, to be scanned with the *a* in the second syllable treated as *ā*: and the commentary seems on the whole to explain the words as meaning *atireka-paññāsa-vassāni*, “fifty years and somewhat more”. With *samadhika* in that sense, compare *sātīleka* = *sātīreka* in line 1 of the Rūpnāth text, p. 1013 below: in the Sahasrām text the word is *sādhika*: the Brahmagiri text uses *adhika* and *sātīreka*.

"I was 29 years old, Subhadda, when I wandered forth (*pabbajin*) to find what might be good: since when, Subhadda, I have been a wanderer (*pabbajito*) for 50 years and one year more, abiding in the sphere of right conduct and religion, outside which there is no (*true*) ascetic."

To this statement, indeed, which marks Buddha as 80 years old at the time of his death, there might be raised, in the first place, the objection that it is made in verse; that the narrative could easily have run on without it; and that, consequently, it may be an interpolation. The detail, however, that Buddha was 80 years old when he died, is woven inextricably into the prose part of the narrative in a previous place: in his conversation with Ānanda at Bēluvagāmakā three months before his death (see p. 17 above) Buddha had occasion to observe that he was 80 years old, and had reached such an age that the end of his journey was near at hand.

The statement, therefore, that Buddha was 80 years old when he died, is an inherent part of the work. And we need not hesitate to accept, with it, the second statement, that he was 29 when he wandered forth, renouncing the world.

But there might also be raised the objection that the statement is not credible; that it is improbable that Buddha can have attained so great an age, which seems, indeed, a somewhat exceptional one for an Oriental. Well: we will not base any arguments on the saying of Varāhamihira (died A.D. 587), who laid down, as if it was no unusual thing in ancient India, 120 years and 5 nights as the extreme limits of the life of men and elephants.¹ I will cite two cases in point which have recently come under my observation. The *Standard* of 26 April last, in its account of the deplorable fire at the

¹ Bṛīhaj-Jātaka, Bombay text, 1882, chap. 7, verse 5. We may note that he gives 32 years for horses, 25 for mules or donkeys and camels, 24 for bulls and buffalos, 12 for dogs, and 16 for goats and such animals.

Zozoji Buddhist temple at Tokio and the attempts that were made to save the building, tells us that "foremost in the work of the volunteers was the aged Bishop Kwan-mu, who, 82 years of age, personally took command of a force of priests and saved a portion of the contents of one of the buildings." The same paper, in its account on 29 April of the proceedings of the meeting which formulated the Fetva for the deposition of 'the late Sultan of Turkey, tells us that the Fetva Emini, in whose hands lay the guidance of the Council, was "an old man of nearly 90 years." We may further note that the great Jain monk and author Hēmachandra is said to have died at the age of 84 years.¹

We take it, then, that it was a fact that Buddha renounced the world when he was 29 years old, and died at the age of 80.

Now, the Dipavaṃsa tells us, in a passage (6. 1) which dates in all probability from shortly after the time itself of Aśoka, and may at any rate be taken as based on some local record made in his time, that the interval from the death of Buddha to the anointment of Aśoka was 218 years. It further tells us (5. 101) that he reigned for 37 years.² That takes us on to the year 255. And in perfect agreement with that we have the figures 256, which can only denote the year 256, in this record of Aśoka, which distinctly belongs³ to quite a late time in his career. However, that is not our point just here. We are concerned here in combining the statements of the Dipavaṃsa with those of the Mahāparinibbānasutta.

Buddha renounced the house-life when he was 29 years old, and died at the age of 80 at 218 years before the

¹ Prabandhachintāmaṇi; translation by Tawney, 150.

² The seventh pillar-edict supports this to the extent at any rate that he reigned on into the twenty-eighth year after his anointment. The Vāyu, Matsya, and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas assign to him a reign of thirty-six years.

³ See this Journal, 1908. 486-98, and compare 822.

anointment of Aśoka. He was born, then, 298 years before the anointment; and he made his renunciation 269 years before the anointment. Yet we are to understand that the renunciation by Aśoka, in the tenth or eleventh year after his anointment, came only 256 years after the renunciation by Buddha.

That is the chronological difficulty which Professor Hultsch would have to face. Would he reject the statements of both the Mahāparinibbānasutta and the Dipavaṃsa?; or of either of those works?; if so, of which?; and, in any case, on what grounds? And what chronological arrangement would he give us, in the place of the reasonable and intelligible one which is furnished by those statements and the Last Edict?

We shall look forward with interest to what he might have to say on that point. Meanwhile, I will submit some more observations on the Last Edict itself, Professor Hultsch's note having led me to study its literal details more closely than before, with the result that we can now take it a step farther than when I last wrote about it;¹ in fact, to its absolute end. My present remarks cancel some, and modify others, of those that I have made on previous occasions regarding the actual translation of the record. But they do not affect my chronology; except that I can now add the detail that Aśoka died in B.C. 226.

* * * * *

The record uses two verbal roots which we have to consider. One is *kram*, 'to step, walk, go', with a prefix, from which we have the following verbal and nominal forms, in respect of all of which we must note that the spelling is more or less incomplete:²—

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¹ This Journal, 1908. 811.

² We have to rely principally on the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Brahmagiri texts. The other three, at Bairāt, Siddāpura, and Jāttinga-Rāmēśvara, are so much damaged that, to avoid introducing too many

Sahasrām: *palakamīte*, line 1; *palakamamīnēnā*, line 3-4; *palakamamītu*, line 4-5; *palakame*, line 5.

Rūpnāth: *pakate*, lines 1 and 2; *pakamasi*, line 2; *pakamami(? mā)nēnā* and *pakamamītu*, line 3.

Brahmagiri: *pakamīte*, lines 2 and 3; *pakamasa*, line 4; *paka[mami]nēnā*, line 5; *pakamē[yu]*, line 6.

Professor Bühler took the forms in S. from *parā + kram*, 'to march forward; to show courage or zeal; to distinguish oneself'; whence we have *parākramā* with the meanings 'bold advance, attack, heroism, power, energy, exertion', etc. He took the forms in R. and Br. from *pra + kram*, which he held to be used here with the meaning of *parākram*. And he translated the record as a lecture on the good results of displaying "exertion" in matters of religion.¹

details, it is better not to quote them, except when they may be needed to supplement, or may be found to differ from, our principal guides.

For the latest published full critical treatments of the record, see Professor Bühler's articles in *Ind. Ant.*, 22 (1893). 299, for the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt texts, and *Epi. Ind.*, 3. 138, for the Mysore texts.

The Sahasrām text is available, so far, only from the lithograph given by Sir A. Cunningham in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. 1, plate 14, reproduced with Professor Bühler's article in *Ind. Ant.*, 6, 155, and from a facsimile, published with his article in *Ind. Ant.*, 22. 299, of an ink-impression supplied by me. Sir A. Cunningham's lithograph was worked up by hand, and is consequently not a facsimile. But it was based on, or revised according to, a photograph of the original: see op. cit., 21. And it has a special value because the original suffered some appreciable damage in between the times when the photograph was taken and my ink-impression was made.

For the Rūpnāth text we have at *Ind. Ant.*, 6. 156, a facsimile of a good ink-impression supplied by Sir A. Cunningham, and at *Ind. Ant.*, 22. 299, a facsimile of another good ink-impression supplied by me.

For the Mysore texts we have at *Epi. Ind.*, 3. 138, 140, facsimiles of good ink-impressions supplied by Professor Hultzsch. Mr. Rice's lithographs in *Epi. Carn.*, 11, Chitaldroog, at pp. 162, 164, 168, of the texts in roman characters, were worked up by hand, and are not facsimiles of the originals. See a remark on them made by me in this Journal, 1908. 815, note 2. Regarding two particular details in the Brahmagiri lithograph, see p. 999 below, note, and p. 1012.

¹ For his translations see *Ind. Ant.*, 6. (1877). 156; *Epi. Ind.*, 3. 140.

So also M. Senart, on the same lines, translated it as a lecture on the good results of displaying "zeal".¹

Professor Hultzsch has taken a different view. He has not commented on the forms presented in S. Nor has he actually stated the verb used by him in his interpretation of R. But he has made it clear that he has used *prakram*. He has taken that verb in the sense of *nishkram*, *abhinishkram*, with the technical meaning of *pravraj*, *pabbaj*, 'to go forth from the house to the houseless state (see p. 983 above); to go into the state of *pravrajyā*, *pabbajjā*; to become *pravrajita*, *pabbajita*'. He has thus taken the record as inculcating the propriety and advantage of "renouncing the world". And he has applied a subsequent part of the record as meaning that Aśōka himself practised what he thus preached.

Setting aside the question as to when Aśōka renounced the world, I should have no objection to accept that interpretation, if other considerations permitted it: to accept it so would in no way clash with my chronological arrangement. In fact, I was inclined at first to regard it as probably correct, and to find support for it in the supposition that Aśōka was very possibly comparing a period of six years in his own life with a similar period in the life of Buddha as presented in the Mahāvamsa, ed. Geiger, 2. 26, 27:—"The Bōdhisatta was five years older than Bimbisāra: at the age of twenty-nine the Bōdhisatta went forth (*abhinikkhami*): having striven (*padahitvāna*) for six years, and having gradually attained knowledge, at the age of thirty-five he approached Bimbisāra."² It is the case, indeed, that Professor Hultzsch has not adduced

¹ For his translations see *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2 (1886). 195; *Ind. Ant.*, 20 (1891). 165; *Journal Asiatique*, 1892, 1. 487.

² The Dipavamsa does not present this particular statement: it only says (3. 57, 58) that Buddha was thirty-five years old when he began to preach "his eternal truth", and that Bimbisāra was then thirty. But the period follows naturally from that statement combined with what we have in the Mahāparimibbānasutta: see p. 985 above.

any passage presenting *prakram* used in that sense: and I cannot find one. But Aśōka did at a certain time renounce the world, and pass into religious retirement. And, though we have no good evidence that he actually became *pabbajita*, a wandering ascetic mendicant, still the life of *pabbajjā* is found taken as a special topic for eulogy in, notably, the beautiful Pabbajjāsutta of the Suttanipāta:¹ and there is no reason why Aśōka should not, towards the end of his life, select it as the subject of an address delivered by himself. At the same time, judged by his other proclamations, he was too practical to urge a universal adoption of *pabbajjā*: if everyone had to become *pabbajita* in order to attain heaven, who would be left to support all the wandering ascetic mendicants?

It is not necessary to crowd these pages by handling all the words and forms in this record which are from the root *kram*. It is sufficient to take any one of them. And we select, as the most convenient, the nominal base which we have in the Sahasrām text as *palakama* and in the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri texts as *pakama*.

The *pakama* of R. and Br. stands for *pakkama*, which may well = *prakrama*. And the *palakama* of S. stands for *palakkama*, which may equally well = *prakrama*, on the analogy (combined with the well-known interchange of *r* and *l*) of such forms as *paramāṇa* = *pramāṇa* and *parasaṇṇa* = *prasaṇṇa*.²

On the other hand, however, the *palakama* of S. is also a natural equivalent of *parākrāma*, which in Prakṛit becomes *parakkama*.³

I cannot find, either in dictionaries or in literature, any use of the verb *prakram* in the technical sense of *nishkram*, *abhinishkram*, and *pravraj*. Its meanings are

¹ Text, ed. Fausböll, Verses 405-24: translation by the same scholar in SBE, 10. 66-8. I have cited some passages from the Sutta in this Journal, 1904. 24, 25.

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 132.

³ Pischel, § 366^a; Childers, Pali Dictionary, under *parakkamo*.

'to step forward, march on, advance; to go out, set out; to depart; to go, pass, walk; to begin to do anything'. Illustrations of its use in Sanskrit in those senses may be found in the St. Petersburg Dictionary: I need not quote them. I need only illustrate the similar use of it in Pāli: e.g., *utthāy = āsanā pakkāmi*,¹ "the Brāhmaṇ Vassakāra, the High Minister for Magadha, having received with pleasure and satisfaction the words of the Bhagavat (Buddha),² rose from his seat and went away;" *padakkhiṇaṇi katvā pakkāmi*,³ "he walked round him, keeping the right side turned towards him, and went away;" *chārikaṃ pakkāmi*,⁴ "he set out on his journey (to Rājagaha);" *pakkāmuṇi uttarāmukhā*,⁵ "they departed with their faces turned to the north (i.e. travelling towards the north)."

We may further note that any use of the verb *prakram*, or of any derivative from it, has not, so far, been found in any other record of Aśoka.

On the other hand, *parākrama*, in the sense of "steady application" in the despatch of business, is the topic of rock-edict 6.⁶ And *parākrama* or "exertion" with a view to securing an advantageous position in the other world is inculcated in rock-edict 10.⁷ Here in the Kālsī, Dhauli, and Jaugada texts of edicts 6 and 10,⁸ we have the same ambiguous forms; *palakamāmi*, *palakamaṇṭu*, *palakamēna*. But the matter is made clear by the forms in the Girnār text: ⁹ *parākramāmi*, *parākramēna*; *parākamate*, *parākamēna*.

¹ Mahāparinibbānasutta (1875), 52, line 26.

² The word Bhagavat, as applied to Buddha, has been usually rendered by "the Blessed One". I prefer to abandon that expression.

³ Id. (1876), 236, line 20.

⁴ Suttanipāta, 92, line 1.

⁵ Id., 184, verse 1010.

⁶ For Bühler's translation, see *Epi. Ind.*, 2. 468.

⁷ See *ibid.*, 469.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 455, 459, and plates: *Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind.*, 1. 118, 120, and plates.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 455, 459, and plates.

I follow Professor Bühler and M. Senart in holding that the topic of the record is *parākrama*, *parakkama*, 'energy, exertion, zeal', or, as I would say here, 'application': I should have preferred 'diligence', but that word is already appropriated to another special term, *apramāda*, *appamāda*. But what is inculcated here is *parākrama* with special reference to the Buddhist faith. That is the point in which this record differs from edict 10, which inculcates *parākrama* with respect to *dharma* as meaning religion in general, morality, the duty of pious kings, and so on; and from edict 6, which inculcates *parākrama* in matters of business.

It may be decided hereafter whether we are concerned with two verbs, as Professor Bühler held; namely, with *parākram*, and with *prakram* used in the sense of *parākram*. My own opinion is that we have only one verb, *parākram*, and that the forms in the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri texts are from *prakram* (whence we should have those forms just as readily as from *prakram*) as a clipped or vulgar form of *parākram*.¹ In support of it I may refer to such words as *kutta* = *kalutra*, through **kaltra*,² and *agga* = *āgāra*, through **agra*,³ and *jaggai*, *iaggati* = *jāgarati*, through **jāgrati*.⁴ Many other instances of contraction in the Prākṛits might be cited: but these three seem particularly to the point, and sufficient.

* * * * *

The other verbal root used in this record, which we have to consider, is *vas*, 'to dwell, stop, stay'. It occurs here with the prefix *vi*, which gives us *vivas*, 'to change an abode, depart from, go abroad, go forth'. From *vivas* we have here the following forms:—

Sahāsrām: *vivuthēna*, instr. sing. of the participle in *ta*, line 6; *vivuthā*, abl. sing. of the same, line 7.

¹ A verb *prakram* itself (*pra* + *ā* + *kram*) does not seem to occur.

² Pischel, § 148.

³ Childers, under *aggaṇ*.

⁴ Gray, *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, § 12.

Rūpnāth: *vivasētavāya*, dat. sing. of the participle in *tavya*, line 5; *vyūthēnā*, instr. sing. of the participle in *ta*, line 5; *vivāsā*, abl. sing. of the nominal base *vivāsa*, line 6.

Brahmagiri: *vyūthēna*, instr. sing. of the participle in *ta*, line 8.

Professor Hultzsch has taken the instrumental *vivuthēna*, *vyūthēnā*, *vyūthēna*, as denoting Aśōka. He has applied this verb also in the sense of *nishkram*, *abhinishkram*, and *pravraj*. And he has interpreted this part of the record as meaning that Aśōka "renounced the world", and that the record was framed 256 years after the renunciation of Buddha.

Here, again, Professor Hultzsch has not cited any passage presenting *vivas* in the special sense assigned to it by him: nor can I find one, either in dictionaries or in literature. And I may invite attention to a remark made about this verb long ago. In the view that this part of the record presents a date of the year 256 after the renunciation of Buddha, Professor Hultzsch has followed (as he tells us) Professor Rhys Davids and M. Boyer. But, while holding that view, or at least admitting the possibility of it, Professor Rhys Davids was at a loss to understand "why, in an edict of this kind, the usual word [*nekkhamma* or *ahhinikkhamana*] should have been displaced by one [*vivāsa*] that may indeed exist, but has not yet been found in any of the Buddhist Sanskrit or Pāli texts."¹

We shall come farther on to the meaning of the verb *vivas* as used in this record. I will only say here that I agree with Professor Hultzsch that the instrumental *vivuthēna*, etc., denotes Aśōka. He is, indeed, not the first to have indicated this: but he is the first to have established it. A previous proposal in this direction left unaccounted for the absence of *mē* (r *mayā*, 'by me,' in apposition with *vivuthēna*, etc.² Professor Hultzsch has

¹ *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon* (1877), p. 58.

² See my remarks in this Journal, 1908. 816 f.

accounted for that, by separating the clause from the rest of the text; making it, not part of the speech or precept of Aśoka, but a sort of postscript added by the persons who drafted the record: see his translation, p. 730 above, of what follows after the clause beginning in line 5.

That is an important step towards the understanding of the record, for which we really are greatly indebted to Professor Hultzsch. We shall come to the application of it farther on. We must first consider two passages in the Mysore recension of the record.

* * * * *

In the Mysore recension, the record is prefaced by a preamble which runs thus:¹—

Suvamṇagirite ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ cha vachanēna
Isilasi mahāmātā ārōgiyaṃ vataviyā hēvaṃ cha vataviyā.

Immediately after that come the words *Dēvāṇampiye āṇapayati*, introducing the edict. And we may note here that, in the Mysore recension the Last Edict is followed by a short proclamation, not found elsewhere, beginning *sē hēvaṃ Dēvāṇampiye āha*, which sums up, as “the ancient rule which conduces to long life,” obedience to parents, consideration towards all living creatures, truthfulness, respect for preceptors, and suitable behaviour to relatives. This was added by the persons who drafted the record for transmission to Isila, as a summary of what seems to have struck them as being the most important matter taught in various places in the rock and pillar edicts: notably, in rock-edict 9, Girnār lines 4, 5; rock-edict 13, Girnār line 3; and pillar-edict 7, line 8 of the circular part.

The clause constituting the preamble is not a difficult one. But two terms in it have been misunderstood in some quarters.

¹ See *Epi. Ind.*, 3. 138, and plate.

Suvamṇagirīte is not a genitive or a locative. It is the ablative of the place of issue of the edict, as treated by Professor Bühler in his translation of the record. This ablative is of such common occurrence in inscriptions that it is unnecessary to cite any instances. But, as regards the particular form used here, we may note the ablatives *Ujēnite*, 'from Ujjain', and *Takhasilāte*, 'from Taxila', in the Dhauli detached edict No. 1, lines 23, 24.

Vachanēna does not here mean 'by the order or command of': that would be *ānayā*, or some other local form of the Sanskrit *ājñayā*. Professor Bühler's translation, "with the words of", goes close to the mark, but does not exactly hit it. The word *vachana* means 'the act of speaking; statement; speech, sentence': sometimes it means 'a message', as in Mahāvamsa, 17. 18: *thērassa vachanam vatvā*, "having spoken the message of the Thēra." Here, as in various other places, *vachanēna* means 'by a speech of, by the words of'; or, as we say, 'in the name of'. Compare the passage in which king Ajātasattu says to the Brāhmaṇ Vassakāra, the Mahāmatta or High Minister for the Magadha country: ¹—"Go, O Brāhmaṇ, to where the Bhagavat is, and, having approached (*him*), salute the feet of the Bhagavat with (*thy*) head in my name (*mama vachanēna*), and ask whether he is well, free from pain, active, strong, and comfortable." Compare also the Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay text, 2. 58. 21, where Rāma says to his charioteer:—"Bharata should be asked as to (*his*) welfare, and should be addressed in my name (*mad-vachanēna*): 'Behave as propriety directs towards all (*our three*) mothers!'" We have even the expression *Dēvānaṃpiyashā vachanēnā* in the edict of the Second Queen of Aśōka: ²—"In the name of Dēvānaṃpiya the High Ministers are to be everywhere addressed: 'This, indeed, is the gift of the Second

¹ Mahāparinibbānasutta, this Journal, 1875. 49, line 10.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 19. 125, and plate.

Queen.'” And it occurs again in the Dhauli separate edicts 1 and 2.¹

Thus, the Mysore recension of the record begins:—

“From Suvannagiri, in the name of the Prince and the High Ministers, the High Ministers at Isila are to be asked whether they are in good health, and are to be thus informed: ‘Dēvānāmpiya issues an injunction.’”

Why do we find this preamble attached to the Mysore versions of the record, and not to those which we have from Northern India? Plainly, because, in communicating the record to a foreign power,² a formality had to be observed, which was not necessary in publishing it in the Maurya territory. And why does the preamble run in the name, not of Aśōka, but of the officials at Suvannagiri? Plainly, because Aśōka was not reigning at that time: either he had abdicated;³ or he was dead.

* * * * *

It will be convenient to make at this point my remarks on the places mentioned in the preamble to the Mysore texts.

Isila was evidently an ancient town situated somewhere in the locality where the records are; and it was, no doubt, a subdivisional town of the Vanavāsi kingdom: its name has apparently now disappeared.⁴ Siddāpura, Brahmagiri,

¹ *Archaeol. Surv. South. Ind.*, I. 125, line 1; 127, line 1.

² There is no valid reason for thinking that Aśōka's sovereignty included Mysore. On the contrary, this preamble is distinct evidence that that was not the case. We know that he possessed Kāthiāwād, and conquered the Kalinga countries. But it is improbable that, except in Kalinga, his dominions extended anywhere to the south of the Narbadā; unless, perhaps, they included the strip of country between the Western Ghats and the sea, from the mouth of the Narbadā down to near Bombay. The value of the existence of a remnant of the eighth rock-edict at Sopārā in the Thāna District has still to be weighed.

³ Compare my remarks in this Journal, 1908. 497.

⁴ Mr. Rice, indeed, would find in the word Isila the origin of the *siddā* of Siddāpura: see *Epi. Carn.*, 11, Chitaldroog (1903), introd., p. 3, and his *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (1909), p. 11, and preface, p. 11. We need not make any comments on this remarkable proposition.

and Jatṭiṅga - Rāmēśvara are in the Moḷakālmuru sub-division of the Chitaldroog District, Mysore. Siddāpura is a village in lat. 14° 48', long. 76° 52', about seven miles north-north-east from Moḷakālmuru, and 115 miles east-half-north from Banawāsi in the North Kanara District, Bombay: it is shown as 'Seedapore' in the Indian Atlas sheet 59 of 1828, and as 'Shiddapur' in the quarter-sheet 59, N.W., of 1895 and 1901. Brahmagiri is a hill three miles east of Siddāpura; and Jatṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara is a hill four miles north-west-by-north from Siddāpura: these two names are shown as 'Burmaggerry Droog' and 'Jetting Ramishwar' in the Atlas sheet of 1828; but they have been allowed to drop out from the revised quarter-sheet.¹

Suvaṇṇagiri is easily located, as I have said long ago.² It is one of the hills, still known as Suvaṇṇagiri, Sōnagiri, surrounding the ancient city Girivraja just below Rājagṛiha, Rājgir, in the Patṇā District in Behār.³ For this hill, see Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), 463, and the map, plate 12, at p. 452: the Last Edict had not then been discovered; much less the Mysore recension of it: otherwise Sir A. Cunningham would very

¹ On the Jatṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill there are also other records, two of which — Western Chālukya inscriptions of A.D. 1064 and 1072 — have been edited by me in *Ep. Ind.*, 4. 212, 214.

² In opposition to my identification we are now told (V. Smith, *Asoka*, 2nd edition, 94, note) that there is a "Songir" in Khāndēsh, "with an old fort," and "a Songarh, the early Gaikwār capital, with 'vast ruins,' in Baroda": the said ruins dating from quite late times. So there are. And we could indicate various other places with the same or similar names: for instance, there is Suvaṇḍurg, also with a fort, in the Ratnāgiri District, much nearer to Mysore. But what does it all matter? We have a Suvaṇṇagiri itself in the heart of Aśoka's dominions. Why should we look about for any other place with even the same name, much less a different one?: except, of course, from the point of view, which has produced confusion in so many directions in our inquiries into the ancient history of India, of seeking every opportunity to leave the track of common sense in order to find any explanations rather than natural ones.

³ Girivraja was the city inside the hills; Rājagṛiha was just outside them, on the north: see this Journal, 1907. 360-2.

probably have made the identification. Reference may also be made to an old sketch-map entitled "Plan of the Hills of Behar", in hand-drawing and manuscript by a "Native Assistant", which can be consulted in the Map Room at the India Office. See also the "Extracts from the Journal of Colonel Colin Mackenzie's Pandit of his Route from Calcutta to Gaya in 1820", reproduced in *Ind. Ant.*, 1902. 71 ff., from the *Oriental Magazine and Calcutta Review*, 1823. See also, now, the map, plate 29 at p. 86, given in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1905-6.

From the preamble to the Mysore texts, it is plain that it was on this hill Suvarṇagiri, Sōnagiri, that Aśōka ended his days.

* * * * *

The second important passage in the Mysore texts is complete in only the Brahmagiri copy, line 2 f. It runs thus:—

Ēkaṁ savachharaṁ satirēke tu khō samvachhare yaṁ
mayā saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ cha mē pakānte.

The text is unmistakable. I give it precisely as M. Senart has given it; except that he has misread *upayīte* as *pāpa-yite*. After *khō*, Professor Bühler read *sa[m]vachhar[a]m*: but there is no reason to bracket the Anusvāra as in any way doubtful; and the termination *re*, not *raṁ*, is distinct. In the Siddāpura text he read *samvachhare*: and the facsimile shows the reading clearly there also. In that text, at the beginning of the clause, he read *ēk[am] samva* . . .: but the facsimile does not show an Anusvāra with the *sa*.¹

¹ The lithographs given by Mr. Rice in *Epi. Carn.*, 11, Chitaldroog, plates at pp. 162, 164, of the texts in roman characters, are mostly in agreement with my reading: but they are not facsimiles; and after the *khō* they give us *samvachhareṁ*, the termination of which is strongly suggestive of modern Marāṭhī. His reading in the Brahmagiri text is *samvachharam*, which is not in accordance with his lithograph, and does not even match the *sātirēke* which he has given correctly.

We know from the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth texts (see p. 982 above) that there is here a reference to “a period of somewhat more than six years”. And Professor Bühler translated:—“One period of six years, but indeed more than a period of six years (*has elapsed*), since I have entered the community of the ascetics (*and*) have strenuously exerted myself”. He attached notes which show that he took *savachharani* as meaning ‘six years’, either just as it is, or as standing for *savvachharani* = *shadvatsarani* in accordance with a frequent assimilation of the *t*, *d* of *shat*, *shad*, from *shash*, to a following consonant.¹ And as an analogy to *sanivachhare* he cited *ā-sam-māsike*, ‘up to six months old’, from pillar-edict 5, line 9.²

But what Oriental would be so precise as to draw a distinction between ‘six years’ and ‘somewhat more than six years’? Partly for that reason, partly from the use of the word *ekam*, ‘one’, which could hardly denote “one period of six years”, except in a contrast (which we have not here) with a second period of the same duration,³ and partly from the difference in the terminations, I find in this passage an antithesis between “one year” and “somewhat more than six years”. The forms *sanivachhara* and *savachhara* occur promiscuously in the sense of ‘year’ in the Nāsik inscriptions:⁴ thus, Nos. 13, 14, and 18 give us the word without the Anusvāra, against Nos. 12, 15, 16, and 22, which have it; and No. 19 gives us twice the

¹ In actual illustration of the two possibilities we may cite *chha-vassa* from the Dipavaṃsa, 7. 22, and *chhab-bassa* from the Mahāvāṃsa, 2. 27. For the Mahāvāṃsa I am of course using Professor Geiger’s invaluable text.

² Here we may quote *chha-māsa* from Dipavaṃsa, 11. 14, and *cham-māsa* from Mahāvāṃsa, 13. 5.

³ It might perhaps be said that we could translate “a certain period of six years”. But the use of *eka* in that manner seems to be confined to somewhat late literature: see Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 482, c; Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 281.

⁴ I quote from the latest published readings, those by M. Senart in *Épi. Ind.*, 8. 59 ff.

abbreviation *sava*, without it. We have the word twice, without the Anusvāra, in one of the Kārle inscriptions.¹ And there can be little doubt that, as given in the published reading, it occurs in the same way in the Pabhōsā inscription of Āsāḍhasēna.² As regards the *saṁvachhare* of our text, we know that the *m. m.*, in *chham-māsa*, *saṁ-qāsika*, has its origin in the *ṇ* of *shaṇ-māsa*. But, in dealing with so rough a dialect as that with which we are concerned, there can be no difficulty in the way of accepting *saṁvachhare* as a form of *shadvatsaram*.

That is how I take it. I translate, in the Brahmagiri text, "oṇe year, but indeed a period of six years and somewhat more." And I find that Aśōka has here singled out for special mention one year out of a total period of somewhat more than six years.³ That year was the last of the six, the year 256 current after the end of the year 255, to which we are carried by the 218 years from the death of Buddha to the anointment of Aśōka to the sovereignty, plus the 37 years that he reigned after his anointment.

* * * * *

We now revert to the use of the verb *vivas*, which, again, Professor Hultzsch would apply in the special sense of *nishkram*, *abhinishkram*, and *pravrāj*; without, however, adducing any instance of its use in that manner, and without explaining why the record, having (according to him) previously used *prakram* in that sense, should now pass over to a different verb.

In the Rūpnāth text the verb occurs first in *vivasētavāya*, line 5, in a passage which presents also *lakhāpētavāya*. Here, Professor Hultzsch has shown, by his translation, that he has too easily followed Professor Bühler and

¹ *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.*, 4. 113, No. 21, and plate.

² *Epi. Ind.*, 2. 242, and plate.

³ Compare, e.g., my remarks in this Journal, 1908. 496, and 819, note.

M. Senart in correcting *lākhā°* into *likhā°* or *lēkhā°*, and the terminations *tavaya*, *tavāya* into *taviye* or *taviyam* = *tavyam*. He has translated :—“It [the matter of the record] is to be caused to be engraved (people) are to be caused to renounce the world.”

I have already pointed out¹ that there is neither necessity nor justification for that course, which violates a primary rule for the interpretation of inscriptions and all other records and texts: namely, that we must not assume mistakes, and must not alter a text by correcting it, until we have exhausted every possibility of explaining it as it stands. The two words here are datives singular, expressing the purpose or aim; “infinitive-like datives.”² *Lākhāpētavaya* stands quite regularly, according to the spelling of the text, for *lakkhāpētarvāya* = *lakṣhayitavyāya*, ‘for that it should be caused to be observed’. And *vivasētavāya* stands quite regularly for *virāsētarvāya* = *vivāsayitavyāya*.

We have next to note that the Sārnāth edict also uses the verb *vivas*, in the passage :³—*ētam = ēva sāsanam visvamsayitave ājānitave cha āvatake cha tuphākam āhāle savata vivāsayātha tuphe ētēna viyamjanēna*. Here, as is readily seen when we remove the mark of punctuation, not in the original, which Dr. Vogel has introduced into the text after *ājānitave cha*, it is the *sāsana*, the order registered by the record, to which the word *vivāsayātha* applies.⁴

¹ See this Journal, 1907. 521, note 2.

² Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 87.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, 8. 168, line 9 f., and plate.

⁴ The practice of punctuating the texts of ancient unpunctuated inscriptions cannot be too strongly deprecated. There is, indeed, no objection to doing it when we have to separate metrical passages from prose: there can hardly be any questions of doubt in such a case as that. But the matter is very different as regards the prose passages: to treat them in the same manner, by breaking up a text into clauses which are not marked in the original, prejudges the case at once: it lays before us a text shaped as the individual translator has understood it, which may be

The use of the causal of *vivas*, 'to change an abode, depart from, go abroad, go forth', in the sense of 'to send forth', is well illustrated by a verse in the Mahābhārata, in which Yudhishtira says to Dhaumya :¹—

Mayā sa purushavyāghrō Jishnuḥ satyaparākramaḥ |
astra-hētōr-mahābāhur-amitātmā vivāsitaḥ ||

"I have sent out for weapons that tiger among men, Arjuna, a truly valorous man, great-armed, of immense mind."

I take the causal in that same sense in the Sārnāth edict, and translate thus :—"This same order, indeed, is to be received implicitly, and is to be understood: and, by the same token, cause ye (*it*) to go forth (i.e. publish it) everywhere as far as your sphere extends." And I apply it in the same way in line 5 of the Rūpnāth text: see my translation on p. 1014 below.

To understand the remaining use of the verb *vivas* in the Last Edict, we must have before us the full passage. It runs thus :²—

Sahasrām :³ iyaṁ cha s[ā]vane vivuthēna du[v]e sapuṇṇālāti satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6.

very different from the manner in which it was intended to be understood; and it creates an additional and gratuitous obstacle to a reconsideration of the meaning. I do not claim to have never myself committed the fault which I deprecate: but I do not think I have ever carried the practice to the length to which it has been taken in Dr. Vogel's otherwise excellent transcription of the Sārnāth text, and in some of the previously given texts of the Last Edict.

¹ Vanaparva: Calcutta text, verse 8277; Kumbakonam text, § 84, verse 2.

² The discrepancies in the recensions of this passage are very marked. The same feature, however, both in words and in phrases, as well as in actual forms, runs more or less through all the records of Asoka, and suggests that perhaps in not a single case have we any of his proclamations as they were actually dictated by him, or even framed in his secretariat. It would seem as if copies framed there were sent out to other offices, and fresh drafts were then made to suit local peculiarities.

³ It may be noted that an essential word, *kaṭe* or *nāvāpīte*, is wanting in this version.

Rūpnāth: vyūthēnā sāvane kaṭe 200 50 6 sata-vivāsā ||.

Brahmagiri: iyaṁ cha sāva[ne] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthēna
200 50 6.

I must, in passing, make a remark regarding the mark of punctuation which I place at the end of the extract from the Rūpnāth text. That text ends with the word *sata-vivāsā*, followed by a sign closely resembling *ta* or *t*. The same sign stands also after *lākhāpētarāya* in line 5. M. Senart proposed to correct it in both places into *ti = iti*. Professor Bühler thought that not necessary, and considered that we might take it as a shortened form of *ita* regarded as a vicarious form of *iti*. But the latter proposal is certainly not satisfactory. As regards the former, it would (unless we should ignore the substituted *iti* after *lākhāpētarāya* in translating, as Professor Bühler and M. Senart did) require us to insert a gratuitous " in the course of Aśoka's speech : also, an *iti* after *sata-vivāsā* would extend his speech to the end of the record, and would destroy the light thrown by Professor Hultzsch on the meaning of this clause. The termination of Aśoka's speech is clearly marked by the *ti = iti* after *vivāsētarāya*.

The Prākṛits, of course, do not recognize the ablative in *t*. And we cannot regard this as an isolated Sanskrit ablative in a Prākṛit passage. But there is no difficulty. The Sahastrām text is punctuated in a few places, somewhat aimlessly, with the usual single stroke. And, with that hint, I take this seeming *ta* or *t* in the Rūpnāth text as a variety of the double mark of punctuation. Perhaps it may be found again in some of the other edicts. At any rate, we have a fairly large variety in the forms of marks of punctuation ; and I suspect that it would not be very difficult to find one somewhere, resembling what we have here : but it does not to me seem necessary to search.

We have now to determine the meaning of the ablatives *vivuthā* and *vivāsā* and the instrumental *vivuthēna*,

vyūthēnā, vyūthēna. To do that, we must first deal with the terms *sata* and *satā*.

* * * * *

Professor Bühler took the *satā vivūthā* of the *Sahasrām* text as = a Sanskrit *śatāni vivṛittāni*: "two hundred (years) exceeded by fifty-six, 256, have passed."¹ He took the *sata-vivāsā* of the *Rūpnāth* text as identical with a Pāli *satthu-vivāsā*, = Sanskrit *śāstṛi-vivāsāt*. He translated:—"This sermon has been preached by the Departed. 256 (years have elapsed) since the departure of the Teacher" (IA, 6. 157). And he understood the meaning to be that the record was framed 256 years after the death of Buddha.

Professor Pischel, however, soon pointed out that we cannot have such a base as *sata*, much less such an ablative as *satā*, from *śāstṛi*, *satthu*.

Professor Hultsch has taken *sata* as standing for *satta* = *sattva*, 'being, existence; true essence, nature; a living or sentient being, creature, animal', etc. He has applied it in the sense of *mahāsattva* or *bodhisattva*, the latter of which terms is a well-known appellation of Buddha in his various states of existence, the last one included, previous to attaining *bōdhi*, true knowledge, i.e. to becoming a Buddha. And he has translated:—"(*This*) edict is issued by (*the king*) who has renounced the world, 256 (years) after the renunciation of the (*great*) being (i.e. of the *Bōdhisattva* or prospective Buddha)."

On that I will first remark that no instance can apparently be quoted of the use of *sattva* in the sense of *mahāsattva* or *bōdhisattva*; and that, while the use of

¹ This explanation of *satā*, probable enough in itself, is now abandoned. As regards another view, of recent date, the words *sata*, *satā*, could no doubt stand for *satta*, *sattā*, of *satta* as = *sattva*, 'a board-and-lodging house, a hospice': but the proposal to interpret them here in that manner need not be seriously noticed again. They might also stand for *sattā*, 'existence'; or for *satta*, *sattā*, of *satta* as = *śakta*, 'able, strong'; or, again, for *santa*, *santā*, of *santa* as = *śranta*, 'weary': but these possibilities, too, may be at once put aside.

those terms in the masculine, as adjectival compounds, is intelligible enough, the only instance of the use of *sattva* itself as a masculine that Childers could give seems to be *ayam sattō*, "this person", from the Chūlavamsa.¹

For the explanation of this term I am greatly indebted to Professor Barnett, who suggested that *sata*, *satā*, might stand for *saṁta*, *saṁtā* = *sānta*, *sāntā*, and gave me a reference to the Dharmasaṅgraha, § 55, where we are told that there are four *dharmapadas* or 'ways of religion',² the last of which is *sāntam nirvāṇam*, "the tranquil Nirvāṇa." This invaluable suggestion has enabled me to reach the ultimate solution of the puzzle presented by this record.

There is no difficulty about taking *sata*, *satā*, in the manner suggested by Dr. Barnett. We really cannot say whether, in the Sahasrām text, there is or is not the Anusvāra which would give us *saṁtā* instead of *satā*. In the Rūpnāth text the Anusvāra is absent. But that presents no difficulty. We are at liberty to supply it here because we are compelled to supply it so often in the rest of the record: notably in *pakate* for *pakkante*, twice, lines 1 and 2, and in *ṭhabhē*, for *ṭhaṁbhe*, and *viyaṇjanēnā* for *viyaṁjanēnā*, line 5. There is no question here of altering a text: we simply supply a deficiency in spelling.

Looking further into this matter, I find that the expression *paḍam saṁtam* (= *sāntam*) occurs in the Dhammapada, verse 368, and is explained by the commentary as meaning Nibbāna:—"The Bhikshu who behaves with kindness, who is happy in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (Nirvāṇa), happiness

¹ Turnour, *Mahāvamsa*, 250, line 12; 255, line 3.

² The term *dharmapada*, *dharmapada*, seems to be a difficult one to translate: chiefly as regards the second component. Max Muller favoured "path of virtue" or "path of the law" (SBE, 10, 2nd ed., preface, 10), and translated *appamādo amatapadam*, in Dhammapada, verse 21, by "earnestness is the path of immortality". Childers, in his Pali Dictionary, 269b, rendered the same expression by "diligence is the way of Nirvāṇa".

arising from the cessation of natural inclinations.”¹ And I find exactly what is wanted in the first verse of the threnody pronounced by Anuruddha over the corpse of Buddha just after the death :²—

N = āhu assāsa-passāso ṭhitachittassa tādino |
anējo santim ārabba yañ kālam akari Muni ||

“There was no struggle for breath on the part of him of steadfast thoughts, when he, the unflinching Saint, whose aim was the tranquillity of Nirvāṇa, ended his days.”

In short, then, I take *sata*, *satā*, as standing for *santa*, *sanitā*, = *śānta*, *śāntā*. And I render the word as denoting Buddha as “the Tranquil One”, he who attained the tranquillity of death.

I find this same term *santa*, *śānta*, used to denote Buddha in even another record of Aśoka. I refer to the much-discussed passage in rock-edict 8, which runs as follows in the Girnār text :³—

Atikātaṃ aṃtaraṃ rājāno vihāra-yātāṃ ṇayāsu⁴ eta
magayvā añāni cha ētārisaṇi⁵ abhiramakāni ahuṃsu sō
Dēvānaṃpiyo Piyadasi rājā dasa-vas-ābhisito Saṃto ayāya
saṃbōdhiṃ tēn = ēsā dhamma-yātā.

It has been hitherto understood that *saṃto* here = the Sanskrit *san*, ‘being’, and should be connected with the preceding words : “this king Dēvānaṃpiya-Piyadassi,

¹ I quote verbatim Max Muller’s translation in SBE, 10 (2nd ed.), 87.

² Mahāparinibbānasutta ; this Journal, 1876. 252. Professor Rhys Davids’ translation, SBE, 11. 118, is highly appreciative ; but it is metrical and expanded. He has rendered *santa* by Nirvāṇa ; whence we may conclude that it is so explained in the commentary, which I have not been able to look up : at any rate, that is obviously its meaning. The meaning to be given here to *assāsa-passāso*, lit. ‘inhalation and expiration’, is indicated by his rendering, “gasping struggle”.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, 2. 456, and plate.

⁴ It seems hardly necessary to treat this word as an irregular spelling of *niyyāsu*. The *ñ* implies an original *ny*. Childers gives *niyā*, as well as *niyyā*, as = *niyā*, ‘to go forth’ : and from *niyā* we might surely have *nyayāsu*, which would become *ṇayāsu*.

⁵ Read *ētārisaṇi*.

being ten-years-anointed, went to *sambōdhi*." But that has always seemed strange to me, because such an expression is not found in any of the other passages presenting a similar date.¹ The words *saṃto ayāya sambōdhiṃ*, however, scan as the first or third pāda of a Śloka: so also do the *sato nikrami sambōdhi* of the Shāhbāzgarhi text.² And they are plainly a quotation. I now translate this passage thus:—

¹ Without any inclusion of duplicates, the Aśoka records give us fifteen other such passages, in which the participle *sat* might have been used but was not used.

² Loc. cit. The Mansehra text is supposed to have *saṃtaṃ*: but we might, I expect, easily read *saṃta* or *saṃto* instead of that. The Kālsī text is presented as having *saṃtaṃ nikhamiṭhā* (or *ṭhā*) *sambōdhi*: but it seems possible that it may have *sate*, for *saṃte* (see loc. cit., 457, note 8); and no special difficulty is raised by the point that the word after that presents one syllable too many for the metre.

The Jaugada text does not help in this matter; the words after *lājā dasa* being hopelessly illegible. The Dhauli text apparently omits its equivalent (*saṃte* or *sate*) for *saṃto*, and gives:—*sē Dēvānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā dasa-vas-ābhūṣite nikhami sambōdhi(m y)ēn = ētā*, etc.: see *Archaeol. Surv. South. India*, 1. 119, and plate 65. If the word really is absent from that text, the omission would not be of much avail against the point that the word stands in four other independent texts. But the Aśoka edicts present many cases in which the writers at first omitted syllables, and then inserted them on revision, sometimes in full-size, sometimes in miniature. The immediate repetition in *ṣāte sa(m)te* might easily lead to an omission here, which might quite possibly be overlooked even on a revision. And the essential word *kaṭe* or *sārvāpīte* was omitted in a certain clause in the Sahasrām text of the Last Edict (see p. 1003 above, and note 3), and apparently was not inserted on revision. Before basing any argument on an apparent omission here in the Dhauli text of edict 8, we should have to examine the surroundings closely, and ascertain whether the word was, or was not, supplied, either in miniature above its place, or in the margin or some other position.

Can this be the explanation of the mysterious detached word, read as *ṣēto*, but equally capable of being read as *sate* or *saṃte*, which stands at a short space after the end of Dhauli edict 6?: see op. cit., plate 64. This word is in different characters from those of the Dhauli texts; and, in fact, in apparently much later characters, of "an alphabet closely resembling that of the Guptas" (ibid., 115). And it has been supposed (ibid., 124, note) that it represents *ṣvīto* = *śvītaḥ*, "the white one", with reference to the dream of Māyā, in which she saw a white elephant descend from the heavens and enter her side: and that it was added in connexion with the elephant sculptured in relief over the panel containing

"In times gone by, the kings went forth on pleasure-tours, on which there were hunting and other similar amusements : (*so did*) this same king Dēvānaṃpiya-Piyadassi, when he was ten-years-anointed : (*but*) 'the Tranquil One went to true knowledge' : therefore (*there is now*) this touring for *dhamma*."

Thus, the 8th rock-edict does not tell us that Aśoka went to, or set out for, *sambodhi* in the eleventh year after his anointment to the sovereignty.

When, exactly, that edict was framed we do not know : except that it can hardly have been framed before the thirteenth year after the anointment of Aśoka, because rock-edicts 3 and 4 are dated in that year. I have said that it may have been framed even after the twenty-eighth year.¹ But there would be no objection to refer it to an early date. The Dipavaṃsa tells us (6. 18) that Aśoka became favourably disposed (*pasanno*) to the Buddhist doctrine when he was three-years-anointed ; apparently² after having been actively hostile to it. And I have never maintained more than that it was not until the thirtieth year that he actually became a convert to that faith. It may easily be the case that he was strongly drawn towards the religion long before the time when he definitely accepted it. That would account for his allowing his morganatic son and daughter, Mahendra and Saṃghamitrā, to join the Buddhists in the seventh year after his anointment.³

* * * * *

the Dhauli edicts 1 to 6 : see *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 29. But Professor Bühler observed (loc. cit., 115) that the Dhauli dialect would require *arēṭe* (not *reṭo*) as = *arēṭaḥ*, and that "it is difficult to imagine how, in later times, anybody could have an interest in making such an addition." In this detail, and in some other peculiarities in the Dhauli texts, he was inclined (ibid.) to find support for a view that "the alphabet of the Aśoka inscriptions was not the only one known and used in his times."

¹ This Journal, 1908. 490.

² See loc. cit. (preceding note), 487.

³ See Dipavaṃsa, 7. 22 ; where *chha-vassamhi* means "at the sixth year" ; i.e., in the sixth year completed.

We must now find for *vivāsa* and *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, *vyūtha*, meanings which shall suit that rendering of *sata* for *saṃta* = *śānta*, and shall also be in accordance with the meaning used by me for the causal of *vivas* in *vivasētavāya* = *vivāsayitavyāya* in the Rūpnāth text and *vivāsayātha* in the Sārnāth edict, and with the point that the communication of the Last Edict to the officials at Isila was not made in the name of Aśoka himself.

In referring to the death of Buddha, Pāli literature usually employs the terms *nibbāna*, *parinibbāna*; *niibbata*, *parinibbata*; and so on; from *nirvā*, *parinirvā*, 'to be blown out, extinguished', like a lamp. So, also, does the Dipavaṃsa in connexion with the great Thēras. In speaking, however, of kings and other people, that same literature uses not quite so romantic a term. In Sanskrit we have the verb *atī*, 'to go beyond or over, pass by', and from it *atīta* and *atyaya* in the sense of 'dead' and 'death'. These terms—the latter in the form *achchaya*—occur constantly in Pāli literature. Further, while the Mahā-parinibbānasutta generally uses the more exalted terms when its author speaks, or makes Ānanda and other persons speak, of the death of Buddha,¹ and sometimes makes Buddha himself speak in the same fashion,² in one notable passage, in Buddha's last address to Ānanda, it makes him use the terms *atīta* and *achchaya* in respect of his own decease:³—"It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, 'The word of the Master is ended,⁴ we have no teacher more.' But . . . the truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth

¹ I notice in one passage, as an exception, *antaradhāyissati*, 'will vanish away, disappear from sight': text, loc. cit. (1876), 240, 241; trans., SBE, 11. 89. Perhaps a few others might be found: the Sutta is an artistic work.

² e.g., text, loc. cit., 236-8, 241, 245.

³ Text, loc. cit., 250. I quote verbatim the translation by Professor Rhys Davids, SBE, 11. 112.

⁴ *Ālāsaṭṭhukam pāvachanam*; lit. "the word has a teacher who is dead."

and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone,¹ be the Teacher to you." And it even puts the term *achchaya* into the mouth of Ānanda:²—"But, Lord, after the end of the Blessed One, we shall not be able," etc.

There is, therefore, no such rule as that the death of Buddha could be only spoken of by the terms *nibbāna*, *parinibbāna*, etc. In the terms *vivāsa* and *vivutha*, *vyūṭha*, *vyūṭha*, from *vivas* in its ordinary meaning 'to change an abode, depart from, go abroad, go forth', we have natural synonyms of *atyaya* and *atīta*. And that is how, following Professor Bühler in the idea, though he did not work out these grounds for it, I apply them, namely, as meaning 'going away, gone away', with the sense of 'departure, departed; passing away, passed away; death, dead'. They may be regarded as slightly poetical. But do not we speak freely of "the departed" in the sense of "the deceased"? Did not the great Psalmist say (at any rate, does not the classical translation of his words make him say): "Before I go hence, and be no more"? Is not the passing-bell still sometimes sounded? And did not one of our greatest poets give us "The Passing of Arthur"? Why should we deny to the framers of this record the good taste to select terms a little out of the common perhaps, but easily intelligible, in the case of two personages whom they held in high esteem?

* * * * *

There remains only one word on which we have to comment. The record tells us, according to the *Sahasrām* and *Bairāt* texts, that for two and a half years Asōka was an *Upāsaka*, a lay-worshipper. In the *Rūpnāth* text, where the word is damaged, Professor Bühler read at first *śivaki*, and took it as standing for *sāvake* = *śrāvaka*, "a hearer". To that M. Senart raised the objection that

¹ *Mam* = *achchayēna*; text, line 18. So again in lines 20, 24-5, 26.

² *Bhagavato pana mayam bhante achchayēna*, etc.: text, 241, line 8; translation, loc. cit., 90.

śrāvaka, *sāvaka*, is a Jain term: and he maintained that the stone must originally have had *upāsake*. Subsequently Professor Bühler read [*sava*]*ke*, but added the remark that "the possibility that the reading may have been *upāsake*, is not absolutely precluded."

The Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara text does not help us: the passage is lost. Nor does the Brahmagiri text help: excellent as is the preservation of most of that text, this particular word is hopelessly illegible; apparently because some accidental hardness in the rock prevented the mason from engraving it properly: and, though the person who prepared Mr. Rice's lithograph bravely applied himself to supplying the deficiency, he has given us neither *sāvake* nor *upāsake*, but *papaka*, which very possibly may now be found on the original rock. The Siddāpura text, however, presents distinctly [*u*]*pāsake*.

As regards the Rūpnāth text, there is, indeed, no objection of the kind raised by M. Senart: the word *śrāvaka*, *sāvaka*, 'a disciple', occurs just as freely in the Buddhist as in the Jain texts. But I think we must take it that this text had *upāsake*, like the others.

It may be added that an Upāsaka was "one who had pronounced the formula: "I take my refuge in the Bhagavat (Buddha), and in the Dhamma (the Faith), and in the Saṅgha (the Order)." ¹ Also that he was one who had not relinquished the household life.²

* * * * *

¹ See, e.g., Vinayapitaka, ed. Oldenberg, Mahāvagga, 1. 7. 10, which passage narrates the admission of the first Tēvāchika-*Upāsaka*: and compare the definition of an *Upāsaka*, given by Buddha to Mahānāma the Sakka, as presented in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, part 4, p. 220. Originally there were only two refuges, Buddha and the Dhamma: see Vinayapitaka, Mahāvagga, 1. 4. 5, which passage narrates the admission of the first Dvēvāchika-*Upāsakas*. The two passages in the Mahāvagga indicate that, while Buddha was alive, it was customary to add the words: "let the Bhagavat receive me as an *Upāsaka* who has taken refuge from this day forth as long as life endures."

² See, e.g., *ibid.*, 5. 13. 1, and Suttanipāta, verse 376/375.

With the preceding introductory remarks, I give my reading and translation of the Rūpnāth text as follows:—

Text.¹

- 1 Dēvānampiye hēvaṃ āhā sāti[lē]kāni adhati[y]āni
va² ya sumi pākā³ u[pāsa]k[e] nō chu bādhi
pakate sātilēke chu chhavachhare ya sumi haka
[saṃgha] upite
- 2 bādhi(?dhiṃ) cha pakate yā ināya kālāya Jambu-
dipasi amisā dēvā husu tē dāni mis[ā] katā
pakamasi hi ēsa phale nō cha ēsā mahatātā
pāpōtave khudakēna hi k[inḥ]-
- 3 pi pakamami(? mā)nēnā sakiye vipule pi svage
ārō(? lā)dhave⁴ ētiya aṭhāya cha sāvane kate
khudakā cha udālā cha pakamanṭu ti aṃtā
pi cha jānanṭu iya paka[me va]⁵
- 4 kiti chirāṭhitike siyā iya hi aṭhe vadhiavadhisiti
vipula cha vadhisiti apaladhiyēnā diyadhiya
vadhis[i]t[i] iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lēkhāpēta⁶
vālata hadha cha ath[i]

¹ From the facsimiles in *Ind. Ant.*, 6. 156 ; 22, 299. Square brackets are used to mark syllables or parts of them which in the original are illegible, seriously damaged, or imperfectly formed. Ordinary brackets mark doubtful readings.

² As observed by Professor Hultsch, this is an abbreviation of *rasāni*.

³ We must, perhaps, correct this into *hakā*, in accordance with Professor Buhler, who held that "the stroke, intended for the curve of the first consonant, has been attached by mistake to the top."

⁴ The correct word appears to be *ārādhan* or *ālādhan* : see, for instance, rock-edict 6 ; *svayam ārādhamān*, Girnār, line 12 ; *svayam ālādhamān*, Jaugada, line 6. If we compare the *lā* in *śālāḥabhu* at the beginning of line 5, we may almost take it that the writer intended to give *lā*, not *rō*, here.

⁵ Professor Buhler read *pakar*. *ra*. M. Senart read *pakarā ra*. I follow Professor Hultsch's proposal to restore *pakam ra*, which, in spite of the apparent *ra* or *rā*, seems to be required by the *Sahasrām* and *Siddhāpura* texts.

⁶ This cannot be a 2nd person plural, even of the imperative ; the termination would be *tha*, not *ta* : moreover, *aṭhe* is a nominative, not accusative. The word may possibly stand for *lēkhāpētan*, as the rare

5 silāthabhe silāthambhasi lākhāpētavaya ||¹ ētinā
 cha v[i]yajjanēnā yāvataka tupaka ahāle savara
 vivasētavāya(?yā) ti vyuthēnā sāvane kaṭe 200
 50 6 sa-

6 ta-vivāsā ||¹

Translation.²

Thus saith Dēvānāpiya:—“(There were) two and a half years and somewhat more, during which I was a lay-worshipper (Upāsaka) but did not strongly apply myself. But (there has been) a period of six years and somewhat more, during which I have betaken myself to the Order (Saṅgha) and have strongly applied myself; until, in this time, those (who) were (deemed to be) really gods in Jambudīpa have now been proved false. For there is that result in application. And it is not to be reached by high rank (alone); for even the great heaven may be attained by a lowly person who contrives to apply himself.³ And to that same purport an address was composed: ‘Let both the lowly and those of high estate apply themselves!’⁴ And let the very ends know it! How may this same application endure for a long time?: for this matter will constantly increase, and will increase greatly; at a low estimate it will increase to half as much again. Let this matter be caused to be engraved

3rd person sing. of the imperative, *ātmanēpada*. But it is more probable that the original has *tu*, 3rd person sing. of the imperative, *paramai-pada*, used as the passive.

¹ Regarding these marks of punctuation, see p. 1004 above.

² Words supplied to complete the sense in translating are given in italics, in brackets.

³ Lit. “by a lowly person somewhat or somehow applying himself.”

⁴ The reference seems plainly to be to rock-edict 10, on the subject of application with a view to welfare in the other world: in the Girnār text, line 4 (EI, 2. 459, and plate), we have:—*Dukaraṃ tu khō ētaṃ chhudakēna va janēna usatēna va añata agēna parākamēna savaṃ parichajitpā*; “but that, indeed, is difficult to be done by either a lowly person or an exalted one, otherwise than by extreme application, laying aside every (other aim).”

on rocks,¹ and, (*where*) there is a stone pillar elsewhere and here, on (*that*) stone pillar, for that it may be caused to be borne in mind;² and, by the same token, for that it may be caused to go forth everywhere as far as your sphere extends."

(*This*) address was composed by him (Dēvānaṃpiya) who has passed away 256 (*years*) after the passing of the Tranquil One.³

* * * * *

The record may indeed be called the Last Edict of Aśōka, as I have previously styled it. But it is more than that. It presents his dying speech, delivered at Suvarṇāgiri, Sōnagiri, and reduced to writing and published, just after his death, by the high officers of the province which included that hill.⁴ And in it he applied himself to expanding the topic of the last words of Buddha: "Work out your salvation by diligence!" These I take from the Mahāparinibbānasutta (this Journal, 1876. 251; compare the translation, SBE, 11. 114):—

Atha khō Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantēsi handa dāni

¹ It does not seem necessary to take *paratīsa* as equivalent to *parvatēśu*, 'on hills or mountains'. In the old literature we have *parvatī*, *parvati*, in the sense of 'rock, stone'.

² I take the *cha* at the beginning of this clause as a mere expletive. With this clause in answer to the preceding one, compare what we have at the end of the seventh pillar-edict: "wherever there are stone pillars or stone surfaces (*for writing on*), there this writing about *dhamma* should be placed (lit., made); by which means this (*matter*) may endure for a long time."

³ The translation of the Sahasrām version of this postscript will be:—"And this address [was composed or delivered] by him (Dēvānaṃpiya) who has passed away two (*hundred and*) fifty-six (*years*) since the Tranquil One passed away: (*in figures*) 256."

The translation of the Brahmagiri version will be:—"And this address was delivered by him (Dēvānaṃpiya) who has passed away (*in the year*) 256."

⁴ Dying speeches are not altogether unknown. We may note the dying speech of Dutthagāmaṇi, king of Ceylon, presented in instalments in the Mahāvamsa, 32. 16-62.

bhikkhave āmantayāmi vō vayadhammā saṅkhārā appa-
mādēna sampādēthā ti ayaṃ Tathāgatassa pachchhimā
vāchā.

“Then, indeed, the Bhagavat addressed the brethren,
‘Come now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying “Worldly
conditions are doomed to destruction: work out your
salvation by diligence”!’ This was the last word of the
Tathāgata.”

**THE TALAING INSCRIPTION OF THE MYAZEDI PAGODA
AT PAGAN, WITH A FEW REMARKS ON THE OTHER
VERSIONS**

By C. O. BLAGDEN

THE inscriptions connected with the Myazedi pagoda at Pagan, Burma, are inscribed on two pillars. One of these pillars stands within the walls of the pagoda and is four-sided, having four inscriptions of the same general purport expressed in four different languages, viz., Pali, Burmese, Talaing, and an unidentified language. The other pillar is in the Kubyaukkyi cave, to the west of the pagoda. It has three inscriptions, which are apparently replicas of those that are on the first pillar excepting the Talaing version, which (it seems) is wanting; but they are not in such a good state of preservation as are those on the first pillar.

My attention was drawn to the Talaing inscription by two references in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* for 1904, which, however, merely mention its existence and state that it has not as yet been deciphered. I must express my gratitude to various friends who have given me assistance in my attempt to decipher and translate it as set forth in this paper. Mr. David Shearman of the Burma Commission was good enough to write to Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent of the Burma Archæological Survey, on my behalf. Mr. Taw Sein Ko very kindly furnished me with two photographs of the Talaing inscription, on different scales, and also with a photograph of the inscription in the unidentified language and a transcript and translation of the Pali inscription. MM. Antoine Cabaton and Louis Finot of Paris gave me much help on the linguistic and

palæographical questions that arose, and the latter was good enough to lend me two excellent rubbings (estampages), one of the Talaing and the other of the Burmese text,¹ as well as the photograph of the former from which the plate illustrating this paper was produced. But, above all, I am indebted to Mr. Robert Halliday of Ye, Burma, who took the greatest pains to go over the Talaing and Burmese texts with me, and gave me the benefit of his intimate acquaintance with these languages in their modern forms. He answered a great number of queries arising out of the difficulties of these texts, and I cannot adequately express my sense of gratitude to him for his invaluable assistance.

The Burmese text, short of the last ten lines, has been published in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, Rangoon, 1892, p. 102, and the Pali one, also short of the last few lines, on pp. 102, 100 of the same work. An English translation of the Burmese text is given on p. 97 of *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, Translation, with Notes, Rangoon, 1899, where the above-mentioned descriptive particulars regarding the position of the inscriptions are also recorded. A French translation of the Pali text will be found on pp. 109-10 of General de Beylié's *Prome et Samara*, Paris, 1907, together with photographs of the Pali inscription and the unidentified one. I am here concerned with the Talaing text, and not with the others except in so far as they can be made to throw light on the obscurities of the Talaing version. As, however, a good many references to the Burmese text will be necessary, and as the latter has only been published in an imperfect form, I think it desirable to give here a transcript of it copied from the rubbing with the

¹ The dimensions of the rubbings (counting only the actually inscribed parts) are—(1) Talaing, height (from top of superscript letters of first line to bottom of subscript letters of last line) $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches, breadth $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches; (2) Burmese, 39×13 inches. In most parts of these rubbings the letters show up at the back of the rubbing in fairly high relief.

assistance of Mr. Halliday: being myself unacquainted with Burmese, I should not have been able to make such a transcript without such assistance, but I have carefully gone over the text with him and compared it with the Talaing version. From this comparison it appears that, though some obscure points still remain in the Burmese text, it is plainly a close parallel to the Talaing version, which was presumably a translation from the Burmese. It must be mentioned that the inscriptions were put up by a Burmese prince, the stepson of a king who was himself, according to Burmese history, the son of the great Burmese monarch Anawrata, who conquered the Talaing country about the middle of the eleventh century of our era. Accordingly the presumption is that the Burmese text must be regarded as the original draft. There are, however, a few cases of special agreement between the Pali and Talaing versions which make it probable that the author of the latter had access to and used, or perhaps himself drafted, the former.

Now the translation of the Burmese text as published is, to put it mildly, a very free translation; it tells the story very differently from the way it is told in the Talaing version, which I shall give presently. But it appears that there is no justification for any such divergence, in support of which contention I now append the Burmese text for the benefit of such scholars as are able to test the question by their own knowledge.

1. ။ ဇြိ နမော ဗုဒ္ဓဃ။ ပုဂ္ဂာ သွင် သာသနာ အနှစ် တ
2. ဝ် ထောင် ခြောက် ချာ နှစ် ဆာသ် ဟေတ် နှစ် သောနံ
3. ယိယံ ဇြိ ရ ကာ။ ဤယံ အရိမဒ္ဓ¹နပုရိ မည် သု ပြည်
4. ဝက် အာ။ ဇြိ ဩဝုနာဒိဏ္ဍုဓမ္မရာဇ် မည် သု ဝ

¹ The published transcript reads ဌ. The subscript letter is, however, certainly not *dh* but a subscript form of *d* almost identical in form with the subscript *ḍ* in the word *paṇḍit*.

5. င် ဣဝ် အေ။ ထိဝ် မင် အေ ပါယ် မယာ ထ
6. ဝ် ယောက် သု ကာ ဩထောကဝဋ်သကာဒေဝိ
7. မည် အေ။ ထိဝ် ပါယ် မယာ သာ တမု² ထေဟ် ရာဇ
8. ကုမာရ် မည် အေ။ ထိဝ် မင် ကာ ကျောန် သုံ ရှောဟ်
9. တေဟ် ပါယ် မယာ အာ ဝိယ် အေ။ ထိဝ် ပါယ် မ
10. ယာ ဟွိ³ ခ ဂ ကာ။ ထိဝ် ပါယ် မယာ တန်ဆာ နှဉ် ထိ
11. ဝ် ကျောန် သုံ ရှောဟ် သု နှဉ် ထေဟ် ထိဝ် ပါယ် မယာ
12. သာ အ⁴သာ ရာဇကုမာရ် မည် ထော⁵ အာ မင် ဝိယ် တုံ
13. အေ။ ထိဝ် မင် အနှစ် နှစ် ဆာယ် ဟေတ် နှစ် မင် မူ ဗြိ ရ
14. ဟွိ⁶ အေ ထိယ် ခ မူ နာ သု ရှောင် နှိက် တေဟ်။ ထိဝ် ရာဇကု
15. မာရ် မည် ထု ပယ် မယာ သာ မိမိ⁷ ကော် မယ် ထော မင်
16. ဗြိ ဟွေအော ဩက်မိ ဂ ကာ။ ရှယ် အထိ သု ပုရှာ သွင် အ
17. ဆင် ဣရုဗ္ဗိ အေ နှစ် ထိယ် သု ရှောင် တေထိ ထုယ် ထိ
18. အ် မိန္ဒိ အေ။ ရှယ် ရှယ် ပုရှာ ကာ င သွင် အဗေဒ် အထိအ် င
19. ကျောန် ဣဝ် အု ထေဟ်။ ကျောန် သုံ ရှောဟ် အထိအ် ကျော
20. န် င သွင် ဝိယ် သု သည် ကာ ရှယ⁸ ရှယ⁸ ပုရှာ အာ အထိအ် ကျော
21. န် ဝိယ် ထေဟ်။ ထိဝ် ရှောင် ထေဟ် မင် နှစ် ဣဝ် ဂ ကာ ကောင်

² Perhaps the original has မူ .

³ Evidently a wrong way of writing ထိယ် .

⁴ [Sic], but the rubbing is blurred here owing to damage to the stone.

⁵ So far as the letters go, this word might be read ဝော .

For ဣဝ်. In this inscription အ subscript is used for the tonal accent ဝ subscript. အ် final appears to be used much in the same way as in Talaing.

⁷ ဗြိ would be ဗြိ in modern Burmese, and perhaps the original has it so.

⁸ ယ is for ယ် in these two words.

22. လွေန္တံ တေဟံ ကောဉ် လွေန္တံ တေဟံ မိန္တံ ရုပ္ပံ ဒေသံ သင်္ဂြို
 23. မဟာထေရ်။ သင်္ဂြို မုဂ္ဂထိပုတ္တထိသာ ဧတ္တရ်။ သင်္ဂြို သု
 24. မေဓ ပတ္တိတံ။ သင်္ဂြို ဗြဟ္မပါယ်။ သင်္ဂြို ဗြဟ္မဒိ
 25. ဝိ။ သင်္ဂြို သောနံ။ သင်္ဂြို သဗ္ဗသေန ဝရပတ္တိ
 26. တံ။ ထိုဝ် သွင် တိုဒ် အဓောကံ တေဟံ မင် ရိယံ သောနံ ဒေသံ
 27. ။ထိဝ် ဗြိ ရ ကာ ထိုဝ် ရာဇကုမာရ် မည် သု ပယ် မယာ အ⁹သာ
 28. ထိဝ် ရှုယ် ပုဂ္ဂာ ထာပနာ ရုပ္ပံ ဒေသံ ဣယံ ရှုယ် အထောတံ မူ သော
 29. ကု ညေဉ်ဒ် ဒေသံ။ ညေဉ်ဒ် ဗြိ ရ ကာ ဣယံ ကု ပုဂ္ဂာ ညေဉ်
 30. သု ရှောင် နှိကံ တေဟံ။ သကံမုနလောနံ တစ် ရှောင်။ ရပါ
 31. ယံ တစ် ရှောင်။ ဟေန်ဗိုဝ် တစ် ရှောင်။ ဣယံ ကျောနံ
 32. သို ရှောင် ယာ ရုပ္ပံ ဒေသံ။ ထိုဝ် ရာဇကုမာရ် မည် သု ပယ်
 33. မယာဒ် သာ ဣယံ ကု ပုဂ္ဂာ အာ ရိယံ သောနံ ရုပ္ပံ ဒေသံ ဣယံ သေ
 34. ဒ် မိန္တံ ဒေသံ။ ဣယံ ရာ အဓောဒ် ကာ သင်္ဂြို¹⁰ညတညာ
 35. ထံ ပြုတ္တာ ရ အန္တံ နရ အကြောင် ညွတ် စိယံ တေဟံ။ င
 36. နောင် အာ င သာ လည်ဂောင်။ င ညွတ် လည်ဂောင်။ င အဆွ¹¹
 37. ယံ လည်ဂောင်။ သု တစ် ထု လည်ဂောင်။ ဣယံ ပုဂ္ဂာ
 38. အာ ငါ ထူ ခ သု ကျောနံ အနှိဝ် အစက¹² တေဟံ မူ မု
 39. ကာ။ အရိ မိတ္တိယာ ပုဂ္ဂာ သွင် အပူ¹³ ရ စိယံ ။

⁹ Perhaps အ should be read ဒ် and belong to the preceding word.

¹⁰ In the original the ရ and the two ဝ form one letter group, the ရ being superscript, and of course devoid of a virama.

¹¹ Perhaps the true reading is အဆို here.

¹² က is for ကံ.

¹³ The reading appears to be as given, but the letter is blurred. It might be သု, but the sense seems to require ပူ.

The inscription uses two different forms of *th*. The first, which somewhat resembles the modern *co*, is used in ll. 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 (twice), 11, and (probably) 21, where the letter is blurred. The other is identical with the form used in the Talaing text and occurs in ll. 13, 14, 23, 26, 27 (twice), 28 (three times), 32, and 37.

I cannot pretend to guarantee the absolute faithfulness of this transcript, especially as the original is somewhat defective, particularly at the ends of the last four lines. But it is certainly closer to the original than the published one, in which the spelling has been somewhat modernized.

The Pali inscription tells the same story as the Burmese and Talaing, but in a somewhat more flowery and poetical way, introducing epithets and minor descriptive points that are not to be found in the Talaing and Burmese texts. I have not compared Mr. Taw Sein Ko's transcript with any photograph or rubbing of the original. A comparison of it with the transcript published in *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava*, 1892, does not throw any additional light on the difficulties of the Talaing text. But the following should be added to the published Pali version in order to complete it (I copy from Mr. Taw Sein Ko's transcript; the first two lines are incomplete and slightly different in the published text):—

tato so tañ mahāmacco bimbarā sovañṇayañ subharā,
 patitthāpiya kāresi guharā kañcanathūpikarā.
 katvāna maṅgalarā Buddha-patimāya guhāya ca,
 akās' evaṃ panidhānarā nibbinno bhavasankate:
 karentena mayā etañ yañ puññarā tañ samācitarā,
 hotu sabbaññutaññarā pativedhāya paccayo.
 yatthakā tu mayā dāsā gāmataya-nivāsino,
 dinnā guhāya sovañṇa-patimāya mahesino.
 putto me vā paputto vā añño vā pana ñātakō,
 yo koci pāpasankappo naro asaddha-mānaso,
 kareyy' upadduvarā tesarā dāsānarā so narādhamo,
 Metteyya-dipa-dinnasa dassanarā n'adhigacchatū ti.

[illegible]

The following is the transcript I propose for the Talaing text :—

1. || śrī || namo Buddhāya || śrī || sās kyek Buddha tiley
2. kuli ār moy hñim turow klañ bār cwas dijhām cñām
3. tuy || dey ðuñ Arimaddanapur te' smin Śrī Tribhuwanādi-
4. -tyadhammarāj das || gnakyek smin gohh moy Tri-
5. -lokawataṃsakādewi imo' || kon gnakyek goh-
6. -h Rājakumār imo' || smin gohh kil ðik pi twā-
7. -ñ ku gnakyek gohh || kāl gnakyek gohh cuti
8. ār || a-ut kiya gnakyek goh ku ðik pi twāñ goh
9. smin tun kil ku kon gnakyek ma imo' Rājaku-
10. -mār goh || smin gohh kmin bār cwas dijhām cñām tuy
11. kāl smin goh ajey ñan scuti || kon gnakyek ma i-
12. -mo' Rājakumār goh mibas guṇ ma smin ijhim
13. jiku kinnam kyek thar moy ār tubok smin mu-
14. -nas row te' || kyek thar wo' ey ðik par
15. pā' tila ðik pi twāñ ma tila kil ku ey gohh
16. ey ðik kil ku kyek wo' tila anumodanā da'
17. || kāl goh smin sdik garē ma' thic ā thic ā smin sam
18. sādhu kār || kāl gohh tila poy Mhāther || tita-
19. -r Muggaliputtatissa t-her || titar Sumedha paṇḍit || ti-
20. -tar Brahmāpāl || titar Brahmadiw || titar Son
21. || titar Sāghasena warapaṇḍit || kinta tila
22. ta goh smin cut ðek han ti || blaḥ goh kon gnakye-
23. -k ma imo' Rājakumār goh ket kyek thar goh
24. thāpanā kannam guoh clon thar te' || kāl būsac kye-
25. -k guoh te' kon gnakyek goh ket Sakmuna-
26. -lon moy twāñ || Rapāy moy twāñ || ñaḥ gin u-
27. -p moy twāñ || a-ut ðik pi twāñ goh cut ðek ku
28. kyek thar ma thāpanā hin goh te' rāadhanā row te'
29. || sinrañ e' te' or das het ku gwo' sarwwañuta-
30. -ñāñ || kon ey laḥ || cow ey laḥ || kulo
31. ey laḥ || ñaḥ c-eñ laḥ || yal par upadrow ku ði-
32. -k ma ey kil ku kyek wo' yañ fir ñac kye-
33. -k trey Mettey laḥ or ðeh go' || O ||

As will be seen by looking at the plate illustrating this

article, the Talaing inscription (taken as a whole) is very legible. But there are a few puzzles in it. The script of the Burmese, Pali, and Talaing texts is the same, that of the unidentified text a different one. I am not competent to go into a technical discussion of the palæographical characteristics of these scripts. So far as the former is concerned, an inspection of the plate with the help of a magnifying glass will do more than I could do by pages of description. I would merely draw attention to the importance of this script as a stage in the local development of the Indian alphabet, and point out the singular and complex beauty of the characters used for *jh*, *ñ*, *ḍ*, and the initial form of *o*. Almost the entire alphabet is illustrated in these inscriptions, and extracts from them would make very good illustrations for some future textbook on the palæography of Burma.

In this transcript I follow the system recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society except in a few minor details. I write *w*, not *v*, as the letter is pronounced *w*. For a final *ᅇ*, which indicates the abrupt ending¹ of the preceding vowel and is not sounded as a separate syllable, I put '. My *~* represents the symbol *ᅇ*, which is nowadays sometimes used for *ñ* and is written on the top of the consonant that follows. I write it *~* in order to distinguish it from the ordinary *ñ*, and also because I am doubtful whether it was really pronounced as an *ñ* or merely effected a slight nasalization of the preceding vowel. In the proper name *Sāghasena* it represents *ṇ* (the Pali text has *Sanighasena*), but it may have been pronounced *ñ*, as it would be in modern Talaing. In the word *kīyā* I do not see what it can stand for, except mere nasalization of the vowel (for which I can suggest no particular etymological

¹ Caused (I suspect) by quickly closing the glottis; cf. Malay *-k* and Arabic *hamzah*. It sometimes gives a peculiar quality to the vowel that precedes it. Final *w* in Talaing is not pronounced either, but also affects the preceding vowel.

reason). In the other cases in which it occurs it may perhaps really stand for *n*. My *b* represents the peculiar Talaing letter *ḃ*, which is said to sound something between a *b* and a *p*. To my ear it sounds something between *b* and *w* and is slightly nasalized. Besides this *b* there is another form of *b*, *ḡ*, which is rather rare and does not occur in our text.¹ I note that in this inscription *ī* is written in the Burmese form *ṇ*, not the Talaing form *ṇ*.

This inscription was written over eight centuries ago; Mr. Taw Sein Ko informs me that its palæographical character agrees with the date mentioned in it (= 1085 A.D.). It is therefore not surprising that its language differs very considerably from the modern forms of Talaing, and it seems desirable to explain it in detail, so far as I am in a position to do so, by comparing the words with their modern equivalents. For this purpose I shall follow (except when otherwise stated) the pronunciation used at Ye, the southernmost part of the Talaing country, as explained to me by Mr. Halliday, who has resided there for many years. There are many local dialectic differences in Talaing as spoken nowadays, and the phonetic system of the language is very far away from the spelling. Thus we shall have in the spelling of our inscription, the usual modern spelling and the actual modern pronunciation, three distinct stages representing more or less faithfully the historic evolution of the language.²

In modern Talaing the sonants (*g*, *gh*, etc.), with the exception of *d* and *b*, sound to the ear as surds. But they are accompanied in their enunciation by some peculiar action of the glottis or vocal chords which has a modifying influence on the vowel that follows. The nasals, except *n*, exercise the same modifying influence, and so do *y*, *r*,

¹ But *r. infra*.

² I shall not attempt to enlarge upon this subject here, and I merely introduce it as necessary evidence in support of my reading of this inscription, but I hope to discuss it in greater detail elsewhere.

l, *w*, and the secondary form *ɣ* of *b*. The *ɖ* is a true cerebral, but is not as fully resonant as our sonants, though to my ear it sounds more like *ɖ* than like *t*. It does not modify the following vowel like the sonants. Nor does *b* or any of the other letters. The *c* and *j* are pronounced *č*, that is, between our *ch* (English "church") and our *ts* (English "its"). The final *-t*, when it represents a final *-k* of the written language, sounds to my ear like a checked (or half-) consonant, there being no audible off-glide. Both final *-h* and the visārga (*-ḥ*) have the sound of a strong *-h*, almost the Arabic *ح* (but not *خ*). I can hear no difference between them as consonants, but they have different effects on the preceding vowel. When giving the modern pronunciation I shall write both *-h*. Guttural finals, it will be noticed, also modify the preceding vowel.

As a consequence of all this the modern vowel-system of Talaing is a most complex affair. I have done my best to draw up a scheme for it which, it is to be hoped, will suffice for the present purpose at any rate.¹ There being many different shades of vowels which it is necessary to distinguish by diacritical marks, I put a : after a vowel which is decidedly long, leave ordinary short vowels without this :, and retain the ' for the abruptly ending vowels. The vowels appear to me to be as follows (I give the long forms preferably, as they are easier to distinguish, and I believe the short ones correspond with them pretty exactly):—

ɑ:, as *α* in English "father" (but perhaps more open).

æ:, nearly as *α* in French "cage".

ɛ:, as *è* in French "père" (almost as *ai* in English "fairy", but not quite so open I think).

¹ I must point out that, as my opportunities for recording these sounds have been very limited, this scheme must be regarded as tentative. I have, however, done my best to make it a correct representation of the Talaing sounds as pronounced by my friend Mr. Halliday.

e:, as *eh* in German "zehn" (almost as *ey* in English "obey", but a closer and purer *e*).

i:, as *i* in English "machine".

æ:, nearly as *ur* in English "cur", but further back, I think. (There is, of course, no *r* sound in it.)

ö:, closer than the last, but not so close as *ö* in German "König"; rather like *ö* in German "Öffnen" would be if lengthened.

ā:, something like *aw* in English "law", or *a* in English "fall", but less definite and more mixed (lying somewhat nearer to *æ:* and *æ:* than the English sound does).

ò:, an open *o*, closer than the *aw* of English "law"; practically identical with the *o* of French "pot" if the latter were lengthened.

o:, a very close *o*, as in some Scotch words, rather closer, I think, than the *oh* in German "Sohn" (as compared with the *o* in English "bone" it is decidedly closer and a rounder and purer *o*).

u:, as *oo* in English "moon".

The two following are very short always:—

a as the last *a* in English "Africa".

e as the *e* in English "belong".

Some of these vowels combine to form diphthongs,¹ in which the first element seems to be always the principal one.

It is not necessary to mark the stress-accent of words, as this appears to fall normally on the last syllable always. When, however, the preceding syllable contains a long vowel it seems to receive a secondary stress, thus almost cutting the word into two monosyllables, e.g. *kāla* is pronounced *kā: lá*. The same thing is done with polysyllables, secondary accents being distributed pretty evenly

¹ When two vowels come together in my phonetic spelling of Talaing they are meant to be read as a diphthong, forming one (very long) syllable. In other cases I insert a hyphen between them.

among the various syllables, except the decidedly short ones, of any long word.

After this tedious but necessary digression I return to the inscription.

Line 1. The first four words, of course, are not Talaing. The use of the Sankrit form *śrī*, the initial letter of which no longer occurs in the normal Talaing alphabet, is paralleled by several other words in this inscription (including some of the proper names) in which Sanskrit, or mixed, forms are used instead of Pali ones. At the period when the inscription was written a Sanskrit-using form of Buddhism had recently been superseded by a Pali-using form. Many words of Sanskrit form are still current in modern Talaing and Burmese. *Sās* = "religion" (Sanskrit *śās*, *śāsa*, "command"), no longer found in modern Talaing, survives in Cambojan (*sas*, written *sās*). *Kyek* = ကျေ,¹ *kyāk* = *kyā:it*,² "an object of worship," and specifically, in our inscription, "Buddha" and a statue of the Buddha. It is frequently used for "pagoda" in other texts. *Buddha* = ဗုဒ္ဓ, *Buddha* = *Putthè*, "Buddha," here of course Gotama. *Tiley* I take to be an irregular spelling of *tila ey* (*tiñla ey*) = တိလေယ, *tila ai* = *twila*³ တဲလ, "my lord." The stone is somewhat damaged here, but the *i*, *e*, *l*, and *y* are clear in the rubbing, and I think there is reasonable certainty as to the *~* and the *virāma*. The interpretation, is, however, subject to some doubt.

Line 2. *Kuli* = ကုလိ, *kali* = *keli*, "to elapse," "to pass." *Ār* = အာ, *ā* = *a:*, "to go." The two words must

¹ Abbreviation of ကျာဝ်.

² Pegu pronunciation *kyā:it*, Martaban-Maulmain *kyā:ik*, according to Haswell (ed. Stevens); but I suspect the final *i*, a mere checked or half-consonant. I have so heard it myself pronounced by a Talaing. In all these cases I put the forms in the order: (1) inscription, (2) modern spelling, (3) literal transliteration of modern spelling, (4) modern pronunciation.

³ Almost *tāūa* (by rule one would expect *tā:ūa*).

be taken together to mean lapse of time;¹ cf. the Burmese equivalent ငဝ်းဝိတ်. The words are quite clear on the rubbing, though they do not show up very distinctly on the plate. *Moy* = မွ, *mwai* (the *w* is merely a conventional device for writing *u* (or *ū* or *o*) and the *ai* replaced the old *y* not many generations ago) = *muai*, "one." *Lnim* = လှီ, *lnim* = *lñim* (the *i* sounds to me between long and short), "thousand." *Turov* = တရ, *tarau* = *teraxo*, "six." *Klam* = ကံ, *klam* = *klām*, "hundred." *Bār* = ဇာ, *bā* = *ba:*, "two." *Cwas* = ငဝ်းဝိတ်, *coh* = *co:h*, "ten" (in combination here to make "twenty"; "ten" alone is written စံ, *cah* = *cāh*). *Dīhām* = ဒဝ်, *dacām* = *leca:m*, "eight." *Cuām* = သွဝ်, *suām* = *senam*, "year." Cambodian has *chhnām* (written *chnām*).

Line 3. *Tuy* = တွ, *tuai* = *trui*,² a word denoting the past tense (= Burmese ဖြဲ ခ ကာ). *Dey* I take to = ညံ, *pāi* = *peḍò:*, "in." A preposition with this sense is required here (cf. Burmese မှီဝဲ ဆာ), but I am not prepared to say whether *dey* represents the original root of the word or is simply a colloquial abbreviation; it is often colloquially abbreviated *dò:* in modern speech. *Duñ* = ဝုဠ, *duñ* = *ḍuñ*, "city" (also used for "country, kingdom", cf. Burmese ဝုဠ်). Both here and in the preceding word the stone is damaged, but the context makes the reading certain. As to the spelling of the next word, *Arimaddanapur* (= Pagan), the same remarks apply as on the Burmese spelling, which is identical. (The first *ḍ*

¹ One would naturally suppose that it was the years that elapsed, but if *cuām* be taken as the subject, *mā* is left out of the construction of the sentence. Possibly the order has been influenced by the Burmese original. But I think the clause can be understood to read "after the religion of our lord Buddha had been going on for 1628 years". Anyhow the meaning is not affected by these details of construction.

² Haswell (ed. Stevens, 1901), my authority for the spelling in the native character, gives the pronunciation *to:* (dialect not stated; either Pegu or Martaban-Maulmain, I suppose), but Mr. Halliday distinctly gave me *trui* as the Pegu sound.

in this word, and also the corresponding one in *Buddhāya* and *Buddha*, are turned off to the right instead of to the left (like a reversed 3), apparently because there is a subscript letter under them.) The virāma is clear. *Tr'* = 𑄢𑄣, *ten* (the anusvāra here is a mere device of writing, and a very objectionable and confusing one, for 𑄢 = ') = *te'*, "that;" the word is constantly used with no more force than our definite article "the". I must point out here that there is another demonstrative used in our text, viz. *wo'* = 𑄢, *wwan* (really *wo'* or *wu'*, for the subscript *w* is again merely a conventional way of representing *o* or *u*, and the anusvāra again stands for 𑄢) = *wu'*, "this." These two demonstratives, as spelt in our text, are extremely difficult to distinguish from one another; spelt in modern characters in the ancient way they are 𑄢𑄢𑄢 and 𑄢𑄢𑄢. In l. 16 the true reading is certainly *wo'*, and I think also in ll. 14 and 32, though these two are perhaps nearer in appearance to *te'* than they are to the unmistakable *wo'* of l. 16. I am half inclined to read *wo'* in ll. 24, 25, 29 (and possibly even in l. 3 and the middle of l. 28), but I leave *te'* there in my transcript as it would require a minute inspection of the stone itself to decide the point, and the words look on the whole more like *te'*. *Smin* = 𑄢𑄢 (usually abbreviated 𑄢), *smiñ* = *hmo:in* (the *h* aspirates or just precedes the *m*, but does not add a syllable; the final is pronounced as an English dental *n*, "dropping the *g*," as the common phrase puts it), "king" (also used for princes, governors, and minor officials nowadays).

Line 4. The virāma at the end of the king's long name is clear. *Das* = 𑄢𑄢 (usually written 𑄢), *dah* = *tòh*, "to be."¹ *Gnakyek* (evidently a compound of some


¹ I do not think this means that "there was" a king, which (in modern Talaing at any rate) would require the word 𑄢, but that the king at the time was S.T. or that S.T. was king at the time. Perhaps *smiñ* should be understood after *das*; cf. the Burmese 𑄢𑄢. Mr. Halliday says it is good Talaing as it stands, and translates it "King S.T. was king".

obsolete word meaning "woman" or "wife" (cf. Sakai *kěna*, Sémang *kěně*, etc.) with *kyek* = ဝဏ္ဏ, *gnakyāk* = *kənəkya:it*, "queen." *Gohh* = ဝဝ (written ḡ), *gah* = *kòh*, "that" (used like *te'* with little more force than our definite article). The spelling, with both *h* and *h*, is remarkable (but cf. *ṇahh*, l. 26) and is not consistently adhered to; our inscription more frequently spells the word *goh*. The *ḡ* at the end of the line is merely an unintelligent anticipation of the *lo* that begins the next one; cf. the similar case at the end of l. 25.

Line 5. *Imo'* = ဝဇ, *ymu* = *yemu*, "name." In our text the word appears to be used as if it were a verb "was named". *Kon* = ငဝဝဒ, *kon* = *kon*, "child," "son" (in this case).

Line 6. The *virāma* at the end of Rajakumār's name is clear throughout the inscription. *Kil* = ခဋ, *kuiv*¹ = *kve:*, "to give"; here "gave" (we should in English have written "had given", as the event clearly happened some time before the circumstances which led up to the making of the inscription, but the Talaing is simpler and less precise). *Dik* = ခဋ, *dik* = *dait* (Martaban-Maulmain *dāik*, Pegu *dik* according to Haswell Stevens), "slave." *Pi* = 8, *pi* = *pāi* (Pegu *pi*), "three." *Twān* = ဝဒဒ, *twān*; ဝဒဒ, *kwān* = *kwān* (Haswell-Stevens *kwān*), "village." I take this word to be here used as a sort of numeral coefficient with "slaves", literally "slaves three villages" (or "villagefuls"), i.e. in English "three villages (or village-communities) of slaves", not "the slaves of three villages". Evidently these were villages held by their inhabitants on a servile form of tenure.

Line 7. *Ku* = ခ, *ku* = *kāu*, "to." *Kāl* (Sanskrit *kalā*, "time"), "when" (here and ll. 11, 24), "time" (l. 17).

¹ I transliterate thus merely because the symbol  looks like *ui*, though it was certainly never sounded thus, and may have had a quite different origin. I believe its former sound was something like *ū*.

Modern Talaing, which admits no final *-l*, uses ကာလ, *kāla* = *ka:la*, Cambojan has *kal* (written *kāl*), in the same senses. *Cuti* = နှလံ့, *cuti* = *cavutāi*, “to die” (Pali *cuti*, “disappearance, death”).

Line 8. *Ār* (v. l. 2) goes with the preceding word (*ut supra*), the compound expression meaning “died”. *A-ut* (so transliterated to show that it is no diphthong, the subscript letter being the initial form of *u*) = အိဝ်, *uit* = *āt* (almost *æt*; Pegu *ait*, nearly), “all” (the word is used variously as the particle of the superlative degree, and to mean “wholly expended”). *Kīyā* I take to be the same word as modern ကြိယာ, *kriyyā* = *krāiya*, “any article of furniture or dress” (better “appurtenances”, generally; the word is given in the Burmese dictionary as ကရိယာ or ကြိယာ with the meaning i.e. of “appendages”, “utensils”, and I take it to mean here “chattels”, as opposed to the slaves and villages).¹ How it is to be connected in sense with Sanskrit *kriyā*, “action,” “means,” or Pali *kiriya*, *kriyā*, “action,” “work,” I do not quite see. The meaning in our text is illustrated by the Burmese (l. 10) equivalent ဝန်ဆောင်, “ornament,” “utensil,” “appendage,” etc. I suppose it refers mainly to the queen’s jewels; the translator of the Burmese confines it to this meaning, but I do not see why it should not include all her personalty. Curiously enough, the Pali version makes no reference whatever to these “appurtenances”. *Ku* (v. l. 7) here means “together with” (Burmese နှံ့). *Dik* has no *virāma* in the original here.

Line 9. *Tun* = တုန့်, *tun* = *teun*, an assertive affix (said by Haswell-Stevens to be now archaic or obsolete). *Ma* is used throughout this inscription as a true relative. It does not occur as such in the modern language, though

¹ Cambojan has *krāia* (written *kraiyā*), “substance; aliments; enjeu, gage.”

the prefix *o*, *ma*, which is used before verbs to give them a participial force, is probably derived from it; e.g. နှိတ် ဝေဝိဋ် ထိ, "the men remaining" (Haswell-Stevens, p. 23), means "the men who remain (*or* remained)". Apparently, in modern Talaing, it must immediately precede (and coalesce with) the verb, but this is not the case in our text; see especially ll. 12, 15, 32. According to rule, *ma* would be pronounced *mè* in the Ye dialect.

Line 10. *Kmin* = ကိမ္မိ, *kmin* (not in Haswell-Stevens) = *kemèn*, "to rule, to reign."

Line 11. After *goh* in this line occurs the first real crux of our text. The stone is damaged and the letters are not clear. Up to the punctuation mark || just before *kēn* are several words, which taken together have got to mean "was mortally sick", or something of that kind. The Pali has *māraṇ' antikaṇḍassa vasaṃ patte naraḍhipe*, according to Mr. Taw Sein Ko's transcript. The Burmese (l. 14) apparently reads ထိတ် ဝ ဖူ နာ သု ရှေ့ဝ် နှိတ် ထေတ်. The Talaing reading suggested in my transcript is *ajey ñan scuti*. There are, however, the following difficulties in connexion with it. In the first place, it looks as if a letter (which, however, could only be a small one, such as *r* or *n*) had perished just after the virāma of *goh*; but there is no room for the usual form of *h*, so unless it was a shorter form the supposed lost letter is unaccounted for. The reading *ajey* assumes that the much battered upper letter was an *a*, which is not certain though it looks more like it than anything else I can think of, and that the subscript letter is *j*. This would be an unusual way of writing, though I see that Haswell-Stevens give the word အှံ, *āṇap*, with a subscript *ñ* under an initial *a*, so the thing is not impossible. But our supposed *j* is not quite identical in form with the subscript *j* in the Burmese (l. 16) ထွေ့, though it is pretty near it. It might conceivably be *ñ*. Again, there is no warrant for making the word

a dissyllable. The modern supposed equivalent is ဝိ , *yai* = *yò:a*, "to be ill," "disease," and the only excuse for assuming that the *y* represents an older *j* is that the word recurs with a *j* in numerous cognate languages (Bahnar, Sédang, etc.). *Ñan* is supposed to be ဧညာန , *ñon* = *ño:n*, "near." But it must be admitted that the word looks more like *ñah*; only then we should have no use for the virāma, which is certainly there (placed a little to the right of its normal position on account of the subscript -*m*- of the word *kmin*; cf. the virāma of the -*n* of that word, l. 10). So I think the word must be *ñan* after all. *Scuti* would be a not unusual way of writing, though strictly one would expect *sacuti*. I do not know whether this is a possible Pali formation from *cuti* (as to which word see l. 7), but there is an obsolescent Talaing prefix *sa-* (of doubtful force) which might account for the form. The suggested meaning of the proposed reading would be "was sick (or fell sick) well-nigh unto death" (lit. "near dying").

Line 12. After *goh* in this line occurs the next difficulty. The following letter-group is certainly *mi*, but after that there is some doubt till we get to *gun*. The letter that follows *mi* is much battered. It might stand for *w* or *c* or two *n*'s side by side (which would be most unlikely), for *m*, or for various other things. My own view is that it is none of these, however. The next letter-group I took at first for two *r*'s, but a careful inspection of the back of the rubbing has convinced me that it is an *s*. It has a well-defined virāma over it. I think this gives the clue to this puzzle, over which I have spent many hours. The true reading requires a word ending in a final -*s*. Therefore the mark over the preceding letter cannot be another virāma (as I had been inclined to think), but must be either an anusvāra or a merely accidental chipping of the stone. As I see no use for an anusvāra in a closed syllable ending with -*s*, I am disposed to think the mark

is accidental, though it is rather a deep one. I take the letter under it to be a much disfigured *b*, and read the whole word *mibas*, but I concede freely that it might be *miwas*¹ (or, if the anusvāra is insisted on, *mibanis* or *miwanis*; if so, the only effect of the anusvāra would be to modify the vowel, for Talaing does not admit of a combination of consonants at the end of a word, and pretty certainly never did). I take this suggested *mibas* to represent မဝိတ်, *mabāh* = *mepòh*, with the sense of 'remembering'. We want that sense here; the Pali has *saranto dhammarājassa mahantaguna sañcayam*, the Burmese has မြတ်မိုး ရ ကာ (= modern အောင်မိုး). Accordingly I have little doubt that *mibas* bears this meaning. I take the first syllable to be identical with the modern participial prefix *ma* (and perhaps with the relative *ma* used in this inscription, though that is not certain, of course); for the difference in spelling cf. *kinmam* (l. 13) with *kannam* (l. 24). The word မဝိတ် in modern Talaing means "to read", no doubt originally "to remember (*or* recognize) what has been written" (cf. the Greek equivalent). But its compounds မဝိတ် သွာ and မဝိတ် ဗျတ် still mean "to remember", so I think that must have been the original sense of the simple မဝိတ်. *Gun* = ရန်, *gun* = *kun*, "grace," "favour," "kindness" (Pali *guna*). The Burmese has another word (စွတ္တ = modern ကျေးဇူး), and this is one of the cases that lead me to infer that the Talaing translator, though he followed in the main the Burmese draft, took a few hints from the Pali version also. *Ijhim* (the reading is clear) I take to mean "to feed", "to nourish"; cf. Cambojan *chānhchēm* (so spelt by Aymonier, i.e. *cañcēm*, written *cañcim*),

¹ Conceivably there may be yet another explanation; for aught I know the mysterious letter might be an old form of ဗ (the secondary form of *b*), of which I do not know the eleventh century shape. But one would expect it to be a modified *m*, like the modern form.

“nourrir, élever,” Bahnar *sem, siem* (written, in Annamese fashion, *xem, xiem*), “donner à manger, nourrir.” For the correspondence of *jh* and *c* cf. *dijhām* (l. 2). I find the word in modern Talaing only in its derivative နှီ,¹ *phyuim* = *phyā:m* (very open *ā*, verging towards *æ* and *a*), “to feed” (in a particular way, in which mothers feed their very young children, viz. by chewing up the food themselves and then putting it into the child’s mouth). That the word in our text bears the general sense of “to nourish”, “to foster”, derived from the meaning of actual “feeding”, is confirmed to my mind by the Burmese equivalent phrase (l. 15) မိမိ နေ့စဉ် မုတ် သော ဝဋ် ဖြီ, where မုတ် = modern ငွေ, “to feed,” “nourish,” “cherish,” “bring up.”

Line 13. *Jiku* (*jīnku*) = ခဏ, *jaku* = *cəkæu*, “self,” “himself.” I take this with what precedes to mean “Rajakumār, remembering the favours wherewith the king had nourished (*or* fostered) him (*jiku*)”. The Burmese (I am told by Mr. Halliday) means “remembering the favours of the king who had nourished him”, which would require the order of *ma* and *smiñ* in l. 12 of the Talaing text to be interchanged if this precise meaning is to be got out of the Talaing words. But that is hardly necessary. *Jiku* = Burmese မိမိ (= modern မိမိ). *Kinnam* = ကံ, *kanham* (the *h* is a mere device of writing to show that the *n* in this case is not to have the modifying effect of a sonant on the following vowel) = *kenām*, “to make” (especially used in connexion with the building of sacred edifices). The tail of the subscript *n*, both here and in l. 24, is rather long and one might perhaps read *kinnuñ*, but I believe *kinnam*² to be what is written. *Kyēk* (v. l. 1) here = “statue of Buddha”.

¹ Abbreviation for နှီ.

² Unless the subscript letter can be read as a variant form of subscript *h*, for which I have no authority in support.

Thar = ∞δ, *thaw* = *thò:*, "gold," here "golden". *Ār* = "went" (v. l. 2). *Tubok* is clear, so far as the reading goes, but its interpretation depends on what we make of the word *munas* at the end of this line and the beginning of the next. If *munas* can be taken as a verb meaning "spoke", "saying", or something of that kind (= Burmese နှုတ်), then *tubok* may represent the modern ထာပုဂံ, *thabah* = *thebāh*, "to show," and the sentence would mean "went and showed it to the king and spoke thus". On the other hand, *tubok* may be a variant of the word which in modern Talaing is ဝဇ္ဇဝဇ္ဇာ, *labok* = *lebok*, "to worship," with the meaning "to address reverentially". The Pali verse describing the whole transaction reads *gahetrā taṃ mahantēna sukkareṇa samānuso, upasaṅkamma rājānaṃ āha cinitam'attano*, and see ll. 17, 18 of the Burmese text. In that case *munas* might (though one would expect *manus*) = နှုတ်, *mnih* = *menih*, "man," and the expression *smiṇ munas* would = "king of men", the sentence meaning "and went and reverentially addressed the king of men thus". Conceivably *munas* might be the old form of မှီ, *mnah* = *menèh*, pronoun of the 2nd person; but I cannot think it likely that the king would be spoken of as "your king" in this context. I can give no evidence in support of the use of *munas* or *smiṇ munas*, and the whole thing is a pure conjecture. I offer the alternatives for what they may be worth.

Line 14. *Row* = ၵ, *rau* = *rè:æ*, "fashion," "manner," "like" (not in Haswell-Stevens), used in combination with *te'* (v. l. 3) to mean "thus", cf. l. 28 (= Burmese ဣသ် ဝိသ်). As to *wo'*, see remarks on *te'* (l. 3). *Ey*, "I" (v. l. 1), in combination with *dik* (v. l. 6), is the submissive or respectful form of the pronoun of the 1st person singular. *Par* = ဝ, *pa* = *pa*, "to do," "to make," here = "have made".

Line 15. *Pā'* (for which I can find no exact modern equivalent) must be a preposition meaning "for", "on

behalf of". The Pali has *bhāgam katvān'idam satthu-bimbam sovāṇṇayam subham, akāsi vo varam puññam sāmī tumhe 'numodatha*. I find in Haswell-Stevens a preposition ဝ, *phā*, "with," and a noun ဝ, *phā*, "side," as well as a verb ဝ, *pā*, "to be in company with others." Perhaps the Burmese equivalent အဝေဒ် may be compared with *pā*; but I doubt it.

Line 16. *Anumodanā* = အနုမဝဒ်, *anumodanā* = *anumotènè* : "approval" (Pali), "an expression of approbation to one performing a religious service." There is nothing corresponding to this in the Burmese text, but in the Pali the prince twice solicits the king's approval, using the verbal form of the same word, another case of special agreement between the Pali and Talaing versions. *Da*' I conjecture to be ဒ, *daḥ* = *tèh*, "to be right." The word has got to have some sort of optative or precatory force here. I do not think it can be the same word as *das* (l. 4).

Line 17. *Sdik* = ၼ်, *sdvik* = *sedæk* (the *e* is not distinctly short, rather between short and long), "to be pleased with." It is noticeable that the subscript *d* is in the full initial form, not in the subscript form found in *paṇḍit* (l. 19). The next few words constitute the greatest crux of the whole inscription. The Burmese version (ll. 21, 22) is evidently closely parallel to the Talaing and should be referred to. The Pali *more suo* adds graphic details, viz., that the king, who was on his death-bed, clapped his hands for joy. The passage runs : *evam rutte mahīpālo rogen'āturamānaso, "sādhu, sādhu" ti vatvāna tutthahattho pamodito*. The real trouble in the Talaing is the word that follows *sdik*. The first letter of it is certainly ဝ *ga*, but the rest is doubtful. Some of my friends insist that it must be ျ *pyu*. But the subscript part of the letter-group does not commence on the right side of the upper part, as a subscript *y* should, but on the left, and I can make nothing of *gapyu*

anyhow, nor does it look like a normal Talaing word. I conjecture that the whole letter-group is to be taken as the equivalent of the Sanskrit \bar{r} , a letter which is not found in the modern Talaing alphabet, but survives (in a somewhat analogous form) as a sort of traditional relic in the Cambojan, and I write the word (rather arbitrarily, but on the analogy of the Cambojan sound) *garē* and conceive that it means "exclaimed": cf. the modern ကမ္ဘ , *kamrau* = *kamra:o*, "to cry aloud" (evidently formed with the infix *-m-* from an original *karau*, or the like), or possibly the modern ကေခ , *kareui* = *kerè:q*, "to bellow." The next word looks like မာ , *ma'*, but the second letter is much damaged and the word might be *mas*, or one or two other things. What the force of it is I do not profess to know. Possibly it may be some sort of interjection and go with what follows. Alternatively these mysterious words, or one of them, may be an amplification of the sense of *sḍik*; but that makes matters worse, I think, in construing what follows. Mr. Halliday suggests, as a mere possibility, a comparison with ပမာ , *pūmah* = *pe:umòh* (the diphthong is like the English *ow* in "cow"), "happy," "to be happy," which I do not feel satisfied with. *Thic ā* (repeated) is the king's exclamation, corresponding to the Pali *sādhū* (repeated) and the Burmese တောဝ် တောဝ် တောဝ် (repeated). The inscription in the unidentified language also has a repeated phrase here. Somewhat tentatively I take *thic* to be ထွိက , *thuik* = *thæk*, "worthy," though ထွိက also appears in the Burmese dictionary and is (I am told) supposed to be really Burmese in origin, as to which latter point I can express no opinion. အိ I take to be an interjection, possibly = အိဝ , *uiw* = *æ:*, "oh." The letter at the end of the line appears to me to be an *s*. In the rubbing a distinct mark appears over it (but rather lower than the normal position), which I take for an anusvāra, reading *sam̐*, for အသ် , *asam̐* = *asim̐*,

"an order," "an edict," taking it however as a verb, with *smiñ* as the subject, to mean "the king said" (= Burmese ဝဇ္ဇ... ဝဇ္ဇံ ဝဇ္ဇံ). All this is doubtful.

Line 18. *Sādhū kār* would be what the king said in his formal speech (*samī*). The words are Indian (and in the Indian, not the Talaing, order). *Sādhū* (Pali *sādhū*, "good") = ဝဇ္ဇံ, *sādhū* = *sa:thū*, "good" (especially "pious"). *Kār* (Sanskrit *kāra*, "making," etc.) = ဝဇ္ဇံ, *kā* = *ka:*, "service" (any meritorious act). *Poy* = ဝဇ္ဇံ, *puiai* = *po:e*, "we" (here = "our"). *Mhāther* (= *mahāther*, Pali *mahāthero*), "the chief monk." In modern Talaing *ther* (Pali *thero*, "senior monk") is written ဝဇ္ဇံ, *the*, and pronounced *the:*. The *mahāthero* is in the Pali text called *Dayāparo*. Whether *tīla poy* refers exclusively to him (= "our lord the Mahāthero") or includes the others (= "our lords", etc.), I am not sure, but I incline to the former interpretation. The next word may be either a title or a conjunction. If the former, it corresponds with the Burmese ဝဇ္ဇံ (which I see from a note on p. 79 of *Inscriptions of Pagan*, etc., Translation, etc., meant *inter alia* a Buddhist ecclesiastical dignitary). But as the Burmese title precedes *mahāther* as well as the other names, whereas our *titar* does not, I incline to the view that it is a conjunction (though Talaing usage does not necessarily require one). I suggest a comparison with the Cambojan *dadél* (= *dadél*, written *ṭatèl*), "même," "de même" (a derivative from *dél* = *dél*, written *ṭèl*, "aussi," "également"), but this is a mere conjecture. I am not even prepared to guarantee that the true reading is *titar*, and not *ticār* or *tiwār*.

Lines 19, 20. The proper names in these lines appear in the Pali under the forms *Muggaliputtako*, *Sumedhatta-Sumedho*, *Brahmapālo*, *Brahmadevo*,⁵ and *Sono*. In our text the virāmas of the last three are quite clear. I write *t-her* (for *ther*, v. l. 18) because the original, instead of spelling the word with a *∞*, *th*, has *∞*, *t*, with a subscript

letter (blurred) which I take to be an *h*, though it might be a *th* (as in the Burmese it certainly is), in which case the word should be written *thher*. In pronunciation it would be joined to the preceding name. *Pandit* (Pali *paṇḍito*), "learned," "scholar," would be pronounced *pāṇḍit* in modern Talaing.

Line 21. *Warapandit* (Pali *varapaṇḍito*), "eminent scholar," would be pronounced *warapāṇḍit*. The position of all these names in the Talaing text is another case, I think, of a somewhat mechanical following of the Burmese draft. In the latter they are in the natural order, as Burmese uses postpositions (here ဘဝေဝဝ, l. 26). But Talaing uses prepositions, and so all these names are (strictly speaking) out of construction altogether until we get to *tīla* at the end of the line, which sums them up and to which they may be said to be in a sort of irregular apposition.¹ *Kinta* = ဝဝ, *gata* = *ketā*, "before" (here = "in the presence of"). The word is evidently formed with the infix *-in-*. I am not prepared to say whether *kinta* is the direct ancestor of ဝဝ, *gata*, or whether the latter has been formed from the same root by the help of a slightly different prefix. If the first alternative is accepted, then the *o* is a mere device of writing and does not represent an original *g*.

Line 22. *Ta* (it looks on the plate like the modern ဝ, but is not like the first form used in the Burmese inscription, and an inspection of the rubbing makes it practically certain that ဝ is the right reading) = ဝဝ, *taṁ* (a mere device of writing, for *ta'*) = *tā'* (almost = *tō'*), the affix denoting the plural. Its use in Talaing is optional. *Cut* = ခဝ, *cut* = *cut*, "to put" (here = "to

¹ The order, too, of *ther*, *paṇḍit*, and *warapaṇḍit* (after the proper names to which they apply) is an imitation of the Indian and Burmese order, and really foreign to Talaing (cf. "Hotel Cecil", which is not proper English). But I find it in the Pegu Rājāwān, B xiii 2, pp. 96-7 (Schmidt): *Uttara the*.

pour", the usual word for which in this connexion is ဝရိဝ်. *Dek* = ဝဒ် (for ဝဝ်ဝ်), *dāk* = *da:it* (Pegu *da:t*, Martaban-Maulmain *da:ik*, according to Haswell-Stevens; I have heard it pronounced with a checked final, almost = *da:i*), "water." *Han* I take to be a preposition meaning "on", but this is a mere conjecture based on the context and the existence of an obsolescent ဝှိ, *huin* = *hân*, a particle which is sometimes used in translations from the Pali to indicate that the word that follows is to be understood to be in the objective case. Alternatively *han* might be a verb meaning "to invoke", "to call to witness" (the ceremony of pouring water on the ground means that the earth is being called to witness a good deed); but I can bring forward no modern equivalent in support of such a meaning. The Burmese text (l. 26) simply says "poured water" (ဝရိဝ် ဝဝ်ဝ် ဝဒ်); the Pali, as usual, is more elaborate, and describes the whole transaction in these lines:—

etesañ pana bhikkūnañ sañmukhā so sumānaso
jalāñ pātesi katvāna sakkhintu vasudhā-talam.

Ti = ဝိ, *ti* = *tāi*, "earth." *Bluḥ* = ဝှိ, *bluḥ* = *plèh*, "to escape" (in combination also "to release"), must here be taken together with *goh* (v. l. 4) as an expression meaning "after this was done" (cf. Malay *lēpas itu*, literally "that being loosened"). The meaning is determined by the Burmese equivalent (l. 27), ဝိဝ် ဝှိ ဝဒ်; and cf. the Pali passage commencing *tato so tam*, etc., given on p. 1022 *supra*.

Line 23. *Ket* = ဝဝ်ဝ်, *ket* = *ket*, "to take."

Line 24. *Thāpanā* = ဝဝ်ဝ်ဝ်, *thāpaṇā* = *tha:pana:*, "to enshrine" (Pali *thāpanā*, "to place"): in Talaing, the cerebrals (except *ḍ*) are identified with the dentals (which are, I believe, only dentals in the ordinary English, not the exact Indian, sense); the reason for the use of *ṇ* instead of *n* is merely to indicate that the final vowel is *a*: and not

è. *Kannam* is a variant spelling of *kinnam* (v. l. 13). *Guoh* (spelt in our inscription in a peculiar and hardly orthodox way, viz. ငုဝှဲ) = ဂုဝှဲ, *guh* = *guh*, "an arched place for images, open on one side; a niche; a grotto" (Haswell-Stevens; the Burmese dictionary renders the Burmese equivalent ငု by "the room of a hollow pagoda": I suppose it means the same thing), Sanskrit *guha*, Pali *guhā*, "a cave." *Cloñ* (so written for *caloñ*) = ငုဝှဲ, *calamñ* (the anusvāra merely modifies the vowel, making it *ā* instead of *a*) = *celāñ*, "summit" (not in Haswell-Stevens; here = the pagoda-spire or tapering superstructure of the niche; cf. Burmese ဘုရားတော် (l. 28) and Pali (*kañcana*)*thūpikam*). *Būsac* I can find no modern equivalent for (and I am not sure that it may not be *būsaw*). It must mean "to consecrate", "to dedicate"; cf. the Pali *katvāna maṅgalam* and Burmese ငုဝှဲ (l. 29). If *būsac* is of Talaing origin and not a loanword, it must (I imagine) be a compound word.

Line 25. *Ket* (v. l. 23) here means, I think, "brought" (the slaves who were to be dedicated to the pagoda) to the spot; the Burmese equivalent (l. 32) is ငု (? = modern ငု).

Line 26. The name of the first village in the Burmese text is certainly ငုဝှဲဒုးငုဝှဲ, *Sakmunalon*, but the engraver of our Talaing inscription by a slip appears to have made it *Sakmunalor*; the *r* is quite clear. The Pali does not condescend to such matter of fact details as the names of these villages. The unidentified text apparently reads *Samunalorñ* (the *lo* has a mark over it which I take to represent the anusvāra, but what its precise force may be in this text I do not profess to know: perhaps it merely modifies the vowel). The language of this text objects to final *-n* and *-r*, impartially; but I assume that the Burmese form is the original and right one. *Rapāy* in our text looks like *Rahay*, but the Burmese ငုဝှဲ leaves no doubt whatever that *Rapāy* is

right. The unidentified text has *Rapai* (spelt in its own peculiar way, viz. *Rabai*). The name of the third village in our text is rather a puzzle. I read the Burmese equivalent as ငဝ်းဒိဝ်, which I transliterate, letter for letter, *Henbuiw*. I am quite prepared to believe that in modern Burmese it might have to be pronounced *Shinbō*, or something of that kind, and I observe that the Burmese translator of the Burmese text (*Inscriptions of Pagan*, etc., Translation, p. 97) styles it *Shanbo*. Mr. Taw Sein Ko, in reply to a query of mine, says that the reading of the Burmese text is ငဝ်းဒိဝ်, *Maundho* (= *Mondhuiw* in my transliteration). After a careful inspection of the rubbing I am satisfied that my reading, ငဝ်းဒိဝ်, *Henbuiw*, is right, and I find that it is confirmed by the unidentified text, which is unfortunately somewhat damaged just at this point. However, it certainly has *bō*, *bu*, or *bū* (written in its peculiar way *vū*)¹ for the second syllable, and an *i* for the vowel of the first: that much is beyond all doubt, and it is enough to establish the reading *Henbuiw*, pronounce it how you may, as against *Mondhuiw*. Our Talaing text, however, has none of these things, and instead of them gives us an irritating little problem, which I read, more or less tentatively, *ñahh gin up*. What this really means I can only conjecture, but it evidently amounts to some sort of description of the third village. *Ñahh* probably = ငဝ်း, *ñah* = *ñeh*, pronoun of the 3rd person (here = "the men of", "those of"). *Gin up* is a doubtful reading anyhow. At this point I have to depend entirely on the photograph: after it was taken

¹ To justify this statement as to the force of *vū* in this text I cite the following specimens of its queer method of spelling:—*Vrahma* = *Brahmapāl* (Pali *Brahmapālo*), *Sūmedha* = *Sume lha*, *Sū* = *Son* (Pali *Sono*). For the *i* instead of *ε* in the first syllable of *Henbuiw* cf. this text's rendering of the name *Samghasena*, which is *Sagasi*. I think the word is probably spelt *Hivū*, the *n* being omitted as in *Sū*. (The *ū* of *Hivū* is followed by a visarga, which I have left unrepresented as it is probably a tonal mark, as in Burmese.)

the stone appears to have suffered serious damage in this portion of it, so that the ends of ll. 26-30 and the *i* at the end of l. 31 are not represented in the rubbing at all; it looks as if a big flake (about $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) had come off the surface of the stone.¹ At a pinch *gin* might be read *gir*, but I think the former is the true reading. Perhaps it represents the modern ဝ ဒုဂ်, *ga up* = *kè up*, which (I am told by Mr. Halliday) means a "chief" of some kind. In the Burmese dictionary I find an expression ဒုဂ်ဒုဂ်, given as meaning "bishop" (presumably some high member of the Buddhist hierarchy is meant). So the three words perhaps mean "the chief's (or bishop's) men", which, however, could only be an indication that this village-community had formerly belonged to some such dignitary and that the name had stuck to it; for we know that it had been held as an appanage in recent years by the deceased queen and her son after her, under the royal grant. However, that is the best I can make of it,² and I leave it to Burmese scholars to correlate it, if possible, with the Burmese ဝဇ္ဇဒုဂ်: might that not also be some sort of titular dignity? I think the enumeration of the three villages, preceding as it does the phrase *a-ut dik pi twāñ goh* (which contains the true object of *ket*), is another case of following the Burmese draft too closely.

Line 27. After the end of the word *up* there is a stroke which I was at first disposed to take for an *r*, but careful inspection of the rubbing convinces me that it is not. It has no head and it slopes from left to right, and is of uniform thickness throughout its length. It is no letter at all. On the other hand, no punctuation mark is admissible here (and, besides, all the punctuation marks

¹ The last letters visible on the rubbing in these lines are—l. 26, ဝ, *h*; l. 27, င, *de*; l. 28, င, *-e*; l. 29, ည, *ñ* (the first half of it only); l. 30, င, the first part of *o*; l. 31, င, *cl*.

² There is also a Talaing word ဒုဂ်, "thicket," but then I can give no explanation of *gin* (or *gir*).

in this inscription are double, not single, strokes). But the spacing shows that the superfluous stroke was made, not by some external agency after the inscription had been completed, but by the engraver himself before he made the *c* which comes next after it. What happened (I conjecture) was that he started making the *m* of *moy*, and when he had made the first stroke he noticed that he had omitted the *c* which ought to have preceded it. So he just left the stroke and started afresh to make the *c*. We have already (in ll. 4, 25, and 26) had evidence of his want of foresight and care. He probably did not understand a word of Talaing, and simply imitated a handwritten sketch. *Ku* (l. 7) here = "for", "to", "in honour of". The pouring out of water in this case is a symbolical ceremonial attesting the consecration of the statue and pagoda and the dedication of the slaves to the service thereof.

Line 28. Here, I think, we have another instance of carelessness, for what I have transcribed *thāpanā* looks in the original more like *māpanā*, which makes no sense.¹ But, as Mr. Halliday has pointed out to me, the *o* (or what looks like one) is not formed like the other *m*'s in the inscription: the cross-stroke is horizontal, whereas the others have it more or less diagonal ("bend dexter" fashion), and it is plain that this is merely an incomplete *th* (of the type used in this inscription), the top stroke having been omitted by inadvertence. This may have been due to an error in the manuscript sketch, for the letter is not as angular at the bottom corners as the *th* usually is in this inscription. *Hin* probably = *ꩈꩈꩈ*, *ahin* = *ahin*, "when," must be taken with *goh te'* to mean "while

¹ I find in the Sanskrit dictionary (Monier-Williams) a word *māpanā* = "measuring or meting out (especially the place for a sacrifice); the act of measuring or forming or shaping"; but to speak of the statue (at this stage) as "which he had shaped" seems senseless, and there is no evidence that the word is used at all in Talaing.

(doing) this"; cf. *blaḥ goḥ* (l. 22). *Rādhanā* = ရာဇနာ, *rādanā* = *rè:tenè:* (or *rè:thenè:*), "to pray" (Sanskrit *rādhana*, "propitiating," "conciliating;" *rādhanā*, "speech"). The prayer and imprecation that follow are of a type normal in Burmese inscriptions recording grants to pious uses.

Line 29. The word I read *sinrañ* may conceivably be *pinrañ*. Either way I can give no modern equivalent. It must, I think, mean something like "deed"; cf. the Burmese ရာ အဓမ္မာဒိ (l. 34) and the Pali passage beginning *karentena*. It is probably formed (like *kintu*, l. 21) by means of the old infix *-in-* from some word *sarañ* (*srañ*) or *parañ* (*prañ*). I was at first inclined to derive it from ဖွင့်, *prañ*, "to send a message," thus identifying it with the modern ဝရင့်, *parañ*, "anything sent," in the specialized sense (*pro hac vice*) of "offering". But I am told by Mr. Halliday that the word cannot convey such a meaning as this, and subsequent careful inspection of the rubbing convinces me that the initial is *s-*, not *p-*, so I must leave it unexplained. There is a word ဖွင့်, *sruñ* = *seraen*, "to build," but I doubt if it can come from that. Unless *c'* is a wrongly spelt *ey* (= "my", v. l. 1), it must be taken with *te'* to form the longer form of the latter, viz. ဣတေ, *item* (really *ite'*) = *ite'*; v. l. 3. The true reading may, however, conceivably be *wo'*, in which case the word would be *ivo'*, the lengthened form of *wo'* (v. remarks on *te'*, l. 3). Or, which occurs also in l. 33, must be an interjection or particle giving an optative force to the verb. It is probably the modern ဝ, *o*, which I am told is pronounced something like *ò:* (though one would expect it to be *au*, according to general rule). *Het* = ဖိတေ, *huit* = *hā:t*, "cause" (Burmese အကြောင်း, l. 35). *Gwo'* = ဂွာ, *gwañ* (another very arbitrary piece of spelling for *gwa'* or more probably *go'* or *gu'*) = *kæ'*, "to obtain." *Saruwaññutaññāṇ* shows a Sanskritized form as compared with the *sabbaññutaññāṇam* of the Pali version. The latter

(curtailed of its termination *-am*) is used in modern Talaing and Burmese. As in the Burmese text, so in the Talaing also, the *r* is superscript and the second *w* subscript, the whole forming one letter-group.

Line 30. *Lah* here appears to mean "either . . . or", in which case it would correspond rather with the modern ငဝ, *le* = *le:*, "also," than with the modern ငဝ, *lah* = *lèh*, "at all;" cf. the Burmese equivalent ငဝငဝ and the Pali *vā*. *Cow* = ငဝ, *can* = *ca:o*, "grandchild." *Kulo* = ငဝငဝ, *kulo* = *kəla:u* (the diphthong *a:u* is an *a:* merging into and ending in an *uu*, to my ear; it is very long, almost two syllables), "a relative." Whether this is the Sanskrit *kula*, "family," I am not at all sure. There is a word *kēlō* or *klō* in Sakai meaning "brother", and Cambojan has a word *kelō* (written *klō*, the *ō* being a combination of *e* and *i*), "ami, camarade," which do not look as if they were of Indian origin.

Line 31. *Ñah* is what I take the *ñahh* of l. 26 to be. *U-en* (so transcribed to make it clear that it stands really for *ca-en*, the word being of two syllables and the second syllable beginning with an initial vowel) = ငဝငဝ, *s-ān* (for *sa-ān*) = *sa-a:n* (the final is not pronounced as *n*, cf. *smīn*, l. 3), "another" (Burmese ငဝ ငဝ ငဝ, l. 37). *Yal* = ငဝ, *yaw* = *yā:*, "if." The next word is rather damaged, but I read it *par* (v. l. 14), as the sense and the Burmese equivalent ငဝ require. *Upadrow* = ငဝငဝ, *upaddrau* (sic) = *upatrè:æ* (Sanskrit *upadrava*), "a calamity" (here evidently = "mischief", "wrong", "violence"; cf. the Burmese ငဝငဝ ငဝငဝ, l. 38). The Pali with its *upadduram* again shows special agreement with our text.

Line 32. *Yan* I take to be the obsolescent word which is sometimes used in modern Talaing to introduce the subject case in rendering Pali passages = ငဝ, *yan* = *yè:an*. *Ñir* is probably ငဝ, *ñi* = *ñi*, "a little" (a word of the

same form is also used as a precatory affix, but apparently its proper position (in modern Talaing at least) is at the end of the sentence; however, it may be that the usage was formerly otherwise). *Nāc* = ညာဝ်, *nāt* = *nat*, "to see."

Line 33. *Trey* = တြေ, *trai* = *trò:a* (usually pronounced *krò:a*), "excellent," "exalted," the stereotyped epithet for Buddhas. *Mettey* = မေတ္တေယျ, *Mettayya*, also spelt မေတ်ထေယျ, *Mettaiyya* = *Mettò:a*, the next Buddha that is to come. *Lah* (v. l. 30) here seems to have the meaning of "at all". It is so used in modern Talaing in negative sentences, usually repeated *lah lah*, e.g. ဝ ဒာ ဝဒ်ဝဒ် = "go not at all" (Haswell-Stevens, p. 298). The trouble here is that though it is quite certain that the sense of the sentence is negative (cf. the last line of the Pali version), it is not quite clear which word expresses the negative.¹ If *ñir* and *lah* between them cannot be made to convey it, I hazard the conjecture that it may lie in the word *deh*. I had at first taken this for ငဝ် (*den*, really *de'*) = *de'*, "he," a pronoun of the 3rd person. I am disposed to think it may be an obsolete negative, possibly cognate to the Cambodian *te* (written *de*), "no," but I feel very doubtful as to this conjecture. I had at first taken *go'* to be ဝ, *gaḥ* = *kèh*, "said," taking it with *deh* as a sort of "quoth he" at the end of the prince's prayer. But I now think (with Mr. Halliday) that it is merely another spelling of *gwo'* (l. 29), and corresponds to the Burmese ခ ဝိဝ်, meaning "(may he not) be able (to see)".

Subject to the foregoing remarks the translation of our inscription will be something of this sort :—

¹ I am told that there is a similar difficulty in the Burmese text. It is not within my scope to discuss this text, but I may point out that in these imprecations the common form in Burmese is ဝ ဖု ခ ဝိဝ် သတေ or the like (ဝ being the negative). On p. ၁၀၃ of *Inscriptions of Pagan*, etc., I have found အဖု ခ ဝိဝ် သတေ, however, and I assume it to be a correct transcription.

"Prosperity! Honour to Buddha! Prosperity! After the religion of my lord the Buddha had been going on for one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight years past,¹ Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhammarāj was king in the city of Arimaddanapur; a queen² of that king was named Trilokawatamsakādewī; that queen's son³ was called Rājakumār. The king gave three villages of slaves to the queen. When the queen died, the king gave all the queen's goods, together with the three villages of slaves, to the queen's son, who was named Rājakumār. After the king had reigned for twenty-eight years, when the king was sick well-nigh unto death, the queen's son who was named Rājakumār, remembering the favours where-with the king had nourished him, made a golden Buddha and went and presented it to the king, and spake thus: 'This golden Buddha have I, a slave, made for my lord. The three villages of slaves that my lord gave to me, I, a slave, am giving to this Buddha. My lord, approval (would be) fitting!' Then the king, being pleased, exclaimed, 'Oh! worthy! Oh! worthy!' The king said, 'A pious act!' Then our lord the Chief Monk and the senior monk Muggaliputtatissa, the learned Sumedha, Brahmapāl, Brahminadiw, Son, and the very learned Saṃghasena (being present), in the presence of those lords the king poured out water on the ground. After this (had been done) the queen's son, who was named Rājakumār, took the golden Buddha and enshrined it⁴ and made this cave-pagoda⁵ with the golden spire. When dedicating the Buddha and cave-pagoda,⁵ the queen's son

¹ A reference to the chronological tables at the end of Phayre's *History of Burma* shows that this is the date of the king's death. His Burmese name was Kyanzit.

² It appears from the Pali version that she was his chief queen; *tass' āsekā piyā devī sā Trilokavatamsikā* (sic), *hitesī kusalā sabbakiccesu pana rājino* is the phrase by which she is described.

³ He must, I assume, have been the queen's son by a former marriage (for else I imagine he would have been styled "the king's son").

⁴ Or "to enshrine it".

⁵ Or "niche-pagoda".

brought up (the men of) Sakmunalon, one village, Rapāy, one village, and the men of (the) Gin Up, one village, all those three village-communities of slaves, and poured out water for the golden Buddha, that he (had) enshrined; and while (doing) so he prayed thus: 'May this act be a cause (for me) to obtain omniscience! Be it my child, be it my grandchild, be it my kinsman, be it any other, if he do violence to the slaves that I am giving to this Buddha, may he in no wise be able to behold the exalted Buddha Mettey!''

I need not insist here upon the linguistic importance of this inscription: the thing speaks for itself, for this is, so far as I know, the first attempt that has ever been made to decipher and translate a really ancient inscription in Talaing. Nothing whatever, I believe, has yet been published regarding the older forms of the language, and even its modern form is known to very few Europeans. I should think one might count them on the fingers of two hands, and (so far as I know) there is not a single British official in Burma who is properly acquainted with the Talaing tongue. Yet it is a most important language from the point of view of local epigraphy and antiquities, and by no means deserves the neglect which has fallen to its lot. Had the Talaings been some turbulent hill-tribe, we should have had half a dozen energetic frontier officers vying with one another in studying the language, and they would (very properly) have received substantial encouragement from the Government in their efforts to study it. As the Talaings are only the peaceable and loyal descendants of the earliest civilized race in Burma, their language is being quietly ignored. I venture once more to appeal to the powers that be to take a more active interest in this matter. There may be no political importance in it; but from the scientific point of view Talaing is the greatest remaining field of research in Burma, or for that matter in the

whole of Further India, and it urgently calls for immediate investigation.

Both for the discursiveness of this paper and for its shortcomings I claim the indulgence accorded to all first attempts. In starting a new line of inquiry one cannot help going into many matters of detail; and in spite of the inestimable advantage of parallel versions to work with, many doubtful points remain in my interpretation of this text. The fact is that circumstances have compelled me to follow a radically wrong method: I have had to jump from modern Talaing, with the written form of which I have some little acquaintance (inadequate, though it be), straight to eleventh century Talaing, of which no man living knows anything at all. If I had had before me a dozen inscriptions illustrating the intervening centuries, many of the outstanding difficulties would probably have disappeared. It is to be hoped and expected that the future will make good this deficiency. I must also apologize for any errors that may be found in the Burmese, Pali, and Sanskrit words cited in this article. These have not been introduced in order to make a parade of learning (for I do not profess to know any of these languages), but merely in order to elucidate the Talaing. The circumstance that I have had to make my references hurriedly and then write this article in a remote spot out of reach of bulky dictionaries must serve as my excuse for any minor errors that may have crept in.

POSTSCRIPT. A recent letter from Mr. Taw Sein Ko states that the pillar from which our Talaing inscription is copied is now in the Pagan Museum, and that the other pillar is the one set up on the platform of the Myazedi Pagoda. The latter has its Talaing face covered over with plaster, and as the stone is broken it was not thought advisable to dismantle it. So there is a Talaing replica after all, but we shall never see it.

NOTES ON ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION IN INDIA, 1908-9

By J. H. MARSHALL

Inscriptions from a pillar at Besnagar

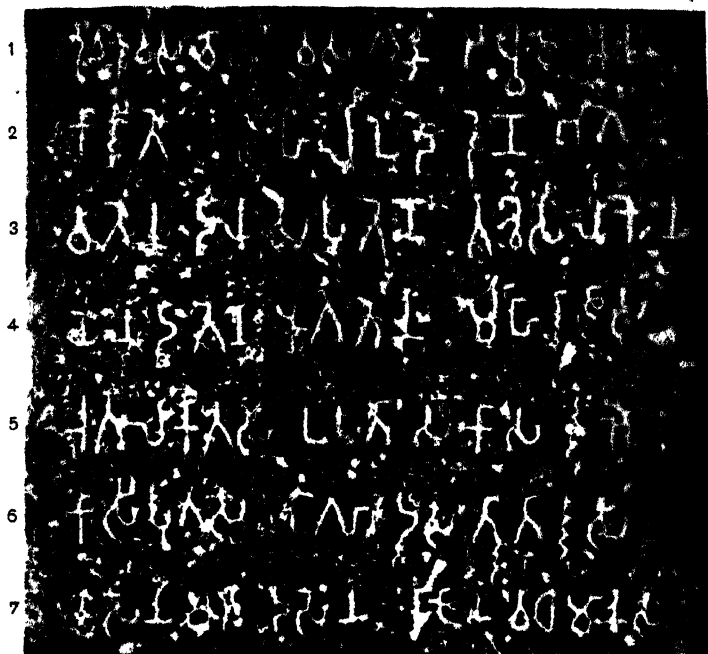
IN reviewing the discoveries that have been made by the Archæological Department in India during the year 1908-9, I propose to start with one of unique historical interest—the only lithic record that has yet been found in which reference is made to the Indo-Greek rulers of the Panjab.

The story of the finding of this inscription may be briefly told. When examining the ancient site of Besnagar,¹ near Bhilsa, in the extreme south of the Gwalior State, my attention was drawn to a stone column standing near a large mound, a little to the north-east of the main site, and separated from it by a branch of the Betwa river. This column had been noticed by Sir A. Cunningham as far back as 1877, and a description of it (though not a wholly accurate one) appeared in his Report for that year. The shaft of the column is a monolith, octagonal at the base, sixteen-sided in the middle, and thirty-two-sided above, with a garland dividing the upper and middle portions; the capital is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type, with a massive abacus surmounting it; and the whole is crowned with a palm-leaf ornament of strangely unfamiliar design, which I strongly suspect did not originally belong to it.² In 1877 this column was thickly encrusted from top to bottom, as it still is, with

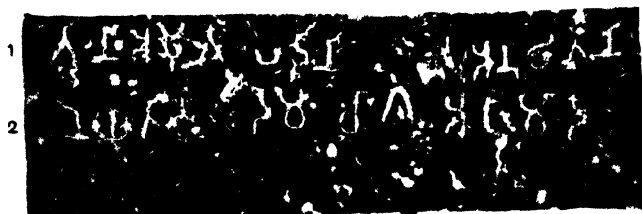
¹ The site, apparently, of the ancient Vidisā.

² This point can be more definitely settled when the column has been cleaned and can be re-examined. A crowning ornament of a very similar design is among the Mathurā sculptures in the Lucknow Museum.

vermilion paint smeared on it by pilgrims, who generation after generation have come to worship at the spot. Judging, however, from the proportions of the capital and the form of the shaft, Cunningham came to the conclusion that the monument belonged to the period of the Imperial Guptas, and there is no doubt that the similitude of other monuments of that epoch justified him in forming this opinion. He surmised, too, that beneath the coats of vermilion an inscription might very likely be hidden, which would explain the history of the column; but he found great difficulty when he tried to clean off the paint, and, being assured by the local Pujāris that no such record existed, he reluctantly gave up the attempt to find it. Cunningham's surmise, it now turns out, was perfectly correct, though he was misled as to the date of the column and could little have dreamt of the value of the record which he just missed discovering. Possibly, since his day, some of the old paint has peeled off, and the fresh coats that have been added are thinner than they used to be. However this may be, on the occasion of my visit to Besnagar last January, the State Engineer, Mr. Lake, discerned what he believed to be lettering on the lower part of the column, and the removal of a little paint quickly proved him to be right. A glance at the few letters exposed was all that was needed to show that the column was many centuries earlier than the Gupta era. This was, indeed, a surprise to me, but a far greater one was in store when the opening lines of the inscription came to be read. The memorial, they state, was a Garuḍadhvaja, set up in honour of Vāsudēva by Heliodoros, the son of Dion, a Bhāgavata, who came from Taxila in the reign of the great king Antialcidas. There are other facts of interest contained in the inscription and some valuable deductions are to be drawn from it; but the interpretation of the whole cannot yet be regarded as certain, and I must content myself here with giving



a.



b.

Inscriptions from pillar at Besnagar.

the following transcript and tentative translation prepared by Dr. Theo. Bloch, to whom I first sent an estampage. At the same time I would refer the reader to the treatments of the record by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Barnett which are published in this number of the Journal, pp. 1087, 1093. I ought to observe that the inscription (Plate I, *a* and *b*) is divided into two parts, there being seven lines on one side of the column and two on the other. Whether both or either parts are quite complete I am unable to say from personal examination of the stone, as I had to leave an assistant at Bhilsa to finish the cleaning of the letters. It is quite possible that further records may yet be found on the column, when the whole of it comes to be cleaned, as I understand it is to be, under the orders of H.H. the Maharaja Scindia, during the present summer.

A.¹

- 1 Dēvadēvasa Vā[sudē]vasa garuḍadhvaj[ō] ayañ
- 2 kārītō Hēliudōrēṇa bhāga-
- 3 vatēna Diyasa putrēna Takhasilākēna
- 4 yēna dāmtēna āgatēna mahārājasa
- 5 Antalikitasa upatāsakāsa rañō
- 6 K[ō]siputasa Bhāgabhadrasa trātārasa
- 7 vasēna Cha[rñ]dadasēna rājēna vadhamānasa

¹ A, line 1. *Garuḍadhvaj[ō]*. For another *garuḍadhva* of the same period see Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, plate xii.

Line 2. The title of Heliodoros was probably given in the lacuna before his name.

Line 5. *Antalikitasa*. Clearly identical with the Græco-Bactrian king Antialkidas (c. B.C. 140). The name is generally spelt *Antialikida* in the Kharoṣṭhī legends of the coins of Antialkidas.

Line 5. *Upatāsakāsa*, "vassal;" from Sanskrit *upatyē āsakah*, "one who sits close to, but a little below, another." Cf. the Buddhist term *upāsaka*.

Line 6. *K[ō]siputasa*. That is, in Sanskrit, *Kautsiputrasya*, with which compare the well-known epithets, such as *Vāsihiputra*, *Gītami-putra*, etc., held by the kings of Western India in the last centuries before and first centuries after Christ.

Line 6. *Trātārasa* = *Σωτήρ* of Græco-Bactrian coins.

B.¹

- 1 timnām amuta-padānām . . . anuthitānā[m]
 2 nēyati va dam[ō] chāga apramāda

Translation

"This Garuḍadhvaja of the god of gods, Vāsudēva, has been made at the instance of Heliodoros, a Bhāgavata, the son of Dion, from Taxila, who, having constrained his senses (*and*) arrived (*here*) in the company of Chamḍadāsa, the king, of the family (*varṇśya*) of Bhāgabhadra, the saviour, the son of a lady belonging to the Kautsa-gōtra, of (*ever*) increasing (*glory*), the vassal (?) king of the Mahārāja Antialkidas, pledges himself to the three (*cardinal virtues*?), the observance of which leads to immortality, (*viz.*) self-constraint, liberality, and modesty."

The stūpa of Kanishka and relics of the Buddha

It is strange that, when records of the Greeks in India are so rare, another find, made this year in the Frontier Province, should also bring us into contact with them, though at a considerably later date, be it said, than the Bhilsa record. I referred last year in this Journal to the excavations that had been undertaken by Dr. D. B. Spooner on the site where M. Foucher had located the great *stūpa* of Kanishka, and it will be gratifying, I think, to that scholar to learn that his arguments have now been completely justified by the actual discovery of that celebrated monument. The structure which Dr. Spooner has unearthed measures 285 feet from side to side, which is nearly 100 feet in excess of any other monument of this class existing in India. In plan it is square, with large projections on the four faces, and with massive circular towers at the corners — a feature that is not found in any other *stūpa* that I know of. The walls of the structure are built of massive rough-dressed stones, diapered between

¹ B, line 2. *Nēyati*. I explain this as a 3rd pers. sing. pres. pass. of a denominative verb from *nyāya*, 'rule, order.'

with neat piles of brick instead of the usual slate found in Gandhāra buildings, and are ornamented with reliefs of seated Buddha-figures, alternating with Corinthian pilasters in stucco. At some point higher up the walls, there appears to have been a band of enamelled tiles, with an inscription in Kharōshthī letters boldly incised upon it. Many of the tiles belonging to this band have been found on the western side of the monument, and it is likely that more may turn up in the as yet unexcavated débris. These tiles, which are covered with a pale blue vitreous enamel, are the first of their kind, I may notice, that have yet been discovered in India.

I was fortunate in visiting Dr. Spooner's excavations just when the plan of this great *stūpa* had been made out, and urged him to set to work at once and search for the relics which were said to have been enshrined within it, and which Hiuen Tshang tells us, it will be remembered, were the relics of Gautama-Buddha himself: for I had hopes that they might have been deposited beneath the foundations of the plinth, which was more or less still intact, instead of in the superstructure, as is frequently the case. Accordingly, a shaft was marked out in the centre of the monument, and was laboriously sunk through the massive walls radiating from the middle of the structure, until the original relic-chamber was at length reached, at a depth of some 20 feet below the surface. Within this chamber, still standing upright in the corner where it had been placed some nineteen centuries ago, Dr. Spooner found a metal casket, and within it the relics, enclosed in a reliquary of rock-crystal. The casket itself (Plate II) is similar to a Greek *pyxis* in shape, with a height of some 7 inches and a diameter of nearly 5. The lid, which is slightly curved and incised to represent a full-blown lotus, supports three figures in the round; a seated Buddha in the centre, and a Bōdhisattva on each side. The edge of the lid is further adorned by a frieze, in low relief, of flying geese bearing wreaths in their

beaks; while below, on the body of the vase, is an elaborate design, in high relief, of young Erotes bearing a continuous garland, in the undulations of which are seated Buddha-figures and attendant worshippers leaning towards them out of the background. But the chief and central figure on the casket is that of the Emperor Kanishka himself, standing erect with a winged celestial being bearing a wreath on either side. The figure of the Emperor is easily recognizable from his coins, but the identity is further proved by the inscriptions on the casket. These are in Kharōshthī and are four in number, punctured in dots in the leaves of the lotus on the top and on the background between the geese and other figures on the sides. Dr. Spooner reads them as follows:—

- 1 Acharyanam Sarvastivadinam pratigrahē.

“For the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvāstivādin sect.”

- 2 Illegible, but the name of Kanishka almost certainly occurs.

- 3 Dēyadharmō sarvasattvanam hidasuharṭham bhavatu.

“May this pious gift be for the welfare and happiness of all beings.”

- 4 Dasa Agisāla¹ navakarmi Kanishkasa² viharē Mahasēnasa³ saṅgharamē.

“Agisālaos, the overseer of works at Kanishka's Vihāra, in the Saṅghārāmā of Mahasēna.”

¹ The name of Agisāla is certainly non-Indian, and there is good reason to suppose that it represents a corruption of the Greek name Agesilaos, the *i* vowel of *sa* being omitted, as it seems to be in Kanishka's name. Cf. the form Thaidōra, a corruption, apparently, for Theodoros; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxvii (1908), p. 66. The term *dasa* is noteworthy: it will be remembered that, according to the legend of St. Thomas, the Lord *sold* him into the service of Gondophares for twenty pieces of silver. (J. H. M.)

² In the second letter of Kanishka's name the *i* vowel appears to be omitted, but the omission is not quite certain.

³ Apparently Kanishka's *stūpa* was not erected on an altogether new site, but on a spot already hallowed by tradition, and the expression *Mahasēnasa saṅgharamē* appears to give us the name of the earlier establishment.



Casket containing relics of the Buddha from Kanishka's Stūpa, near Peshawar.

In the last line the letters forming Kanishka's name are so arranged that half fall on one side and half on the other of the Emperor's figure.

As to the reliquary inside the metal casket, it is of plain rock-crystal, six-sided and hollowed out at one end to receive the relics, which consist of four fragments of bone packed tightly together. The aperture was originally covered by a clay sealing, bearing the impress of what is doubtless the royal signet with the device of an elephant. This sealing had become detached owing to the infiltration of water, but it was found lying beside the reliquary and has been preserved along with the other articles, including a coin of Kanishka which was found close to the relic-chamber. That Hiuen Tshang is correct when he tells us that these relics were the relics of Gautama-Buddha himself we have no reason to doubt; indeed, his testimony on this point is confirmed by the size and costly magnificence of the monument enshrining them, which we can hardly believe that Kanishka would have erected in honour of any relics but those of the greatest sanctity. Where the relics were deposited before they found their way to this spot we are not told; but it could not have been a difficult matter for Kanishka to obtain well-authenticated relics from one or other of the famous *stūpas* within his dominions, and it was natural enough that he should wish to sanctify and enrich his capital at Purushapura by transporting them to it.

One of the most interesting and valuable features of this discovery is the light which the casket throws on the condition of art under Kanishka. It has been assumed by some writers that Kanishka was mainly responsible for the rise and development of the Gandhāra school of sculpture. This view both Dr. Vogel and myself have combated, as being untenable in face of the evidence of the Mathurā sculptures, and it may now be regarded as definitely disproved by the figures on this casket. For,

although the general design and composition are good, the reliefs are manifestly inferior in point of execution to the majority of the Gandhāra sculptures, and no one, I think, who examines the casket itself, can fail to perceive that this is simply the result of decadence, and is in no way connected with the difference of materials in which the artist was working. Moreover, the figures of the Buddha on the casket are of the familiar conventionalized types, and, if we regard the Gandhāra school as responsible for these types, it follows that that school must have evolved them before the time of Kanishka; for it is not possible that the evolution and general acceptance of such types should have taken place within the short space of a single reign. My own view is that the Gandhāra school is the outcome of an uninterrupted tradition of Indo-Hellenistic art that extended back to the time of the Greek kings of the Panjab, and that the successive phases through which that art passed, as it became more and more Indianized, are clearly distinguishable in the antiquities that have come down to us. This is a subject that I must reserve for some other place; but, among fresh links that I have recently found in the long chain of Hellenistic art in India, I may take this opportunity of noticing one of somewhat exceptional interest. A month or two ago, while examining a miscellaneous collection of ceramic wares in the Lahore Museum, I came across three fragments of vases found near Peshawar, which it was easy to recognize as Hellenistic. In fabric and decoration they resemble most closely, if they are not actually identical with, the well-known Megarian ware produced in the Aegean area during the third and second centuries B.C. On one of them is a chubby Eros, moulded in very low relief. On another is a little boy reaching up for a bunch of grapes held by his mother. But the third piece is the most interesting of all (Pl. III, a).¹

¹ The surface of the fragment is curved, and consequently it has not been possible to obtain a good photograph of the three figures.

On it are depicted three figures : in the middle is a powerfully built and bearded man ; to his right a young girl, whom he is clutching by her garment, while she strives to release herself from his grasp ; to his left a youth, round whose shoulders the man's left arm is thrown and who is supplicating him with hands uplifted to his breast. I am not aware if this relief has any close parallels in European museums, but we cannot, I think, be wrong in recognizing in it the familiar scene from the *Antigone*, where Haemon is supplicating his father Kreon for the life of his affianced bride Antigone. Dramatic incidents of the kind from Greek plays were frequently depicted on Megarian vases. Perhaps it was not an uncommon thing for the plays themselves to be reproduced among the Greeks of Northern India.

Sahēth-Mahēth

At Sahēth-Mahēth, I was able with the help of my assistant, Pandit Daya Ram, to go on with the work begun in the previous year by Dr. Vogel. Our operations, this season, were mainly confined to the precinct of the Jētavana, but time was found also to examine a few of the larger *stūpas* in the neighbourhood. In one of these, known as Panahiām Jhār, lying to the north of the Ōrā Jhār and some 90 paces on the further side of the road from Balrāmpur, were found some of the earliest relics that have yet been discovered in this country. The structure is a circular one, of brick, measuring 54 feet in diameter, and still standing to a height of about 5 feet above the level of the surrounding country. The bricks of which it is built are well baked and carefully laid ; they measure $13 \times 9 \times 2$ inches. The relic-receptacle—it can hardly be called a casket—was found at a depth of 4 feet from the existing top. It is nothing more than a rough rectangular slab of stone, with a full-blown lotus roughly incised in the middle of one face.

In the centre of the lotus a cup-like cavity is scooped out, and in this the relics were concealed. They consist of some minute fragments of bone, accompanied by some gold leaf, rock-crystal, circular laminae of silver, and a silver punch-marked coin of rectangular shape and stamped with an animal and the solar symbol on the obverse and two uncertain marks on the reverse. This type of punch-marked coins may be approximately assigned to the third or perhaps fourth century B.C., and there is no reason to assume that the *stūpa* does not belong approximately to the same epoch. Another *stūpa* that must have been of great sanctity in ancient days lies some 100 yards to the north-east of the Panahiām Jhār. In this one no relics were unearthed, but the building itself is of considerable interest from a constructional point of view. As it stands, it consists of three concentric brick walls, the inner one 16 feet from the middle, and the middle 10 feet from the outer.¹ The foundations of the innermost ring descend to a depth of 12 feet below the present surface, and the other rings start from the same level. The spaces between the three walls were filled in with pure clay, and the core of the *stūpa* was made of the same material pounded peculiarly hard. The bricks in all three walls measure $12 \times 10\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It looks as though this *stūpa* marks a transition period between the older earthen mounds, like the Ōrā Jhār, and the later brick structures such as the one described above.

The Ōrā Jhār is the biggest of all the mounds around Sahēth-Mahēth; it rises more than 50 feet high,² and has a circumference at the base of some 1800 feet. Covering its sides are heaps of brick débris, and it was hoped that the whole would prove to be a colossal *stūpa* of brick, such as the Chaukhaṇḍi at Sārṇāth. In this hope,

¹ This is the *stūpa* which Dr. Hoey imagined to be a cockpit.

² General Cunningham over-estimates the height when he says that it was 70 feet (ASR., i, p. 345).

however, we were disappointed, for it was soon found that the body of the mound was composed of clay, and that the bricks, which covered it, had all fallen from the relatively late buildings on its summit. These latter consist of a *stūpa*, still standing to a height of some 8 feet, surrounded by a wall and a row of cells at a somewhat lower level. The *stūpa* belongs approximately to the ninth century A.D.; the cells are earlier. As to the body of the mound, it was impossible, owing to the brick structures at its top, to penetrate to its centre, but there is no question that it was artificially formed like the great mounds at Rāmpurvā and other places, and there is good reason to suppose that it belongs to the same remote prehistoric period.

In the Jētavana itself, the examination of the northern part of the site was more than usually successful. The monastery around shrine No. 1, which Dr. Hoey started to excavate, has now been completely cleared. Like No. 21 (Plate III, c), which has become prominent from the discovery in it of the copperplate record of Gōvinda-chandra, this monastery belongs to the latest building epoch in the Jētavana, and is the largest structure as yet unearthed in it, being 150 feet long by more than 140 feet in width. Buried under the north side of this building and extending beyond it, is a second monastery of a considerably earlier date, of which the west side and south-west corner have been laid bare, while at a still lower level are other remains which go back to the Gupta epoch.

Of the remains laid bare to the west of No. 1 on the outskirts of the site, it need only be said that they represent, in the main, portions of two monasteries of the late Gupta period. A third building would seem to have been a dwelling-house.

In the area to the south-east of No. 1 and in front of the so-called Gandhakuṭi (No. 2 of General Cunningham's map) five interesting structures came to light. They are

all situated on a level about 11 feet below the Gandhakuṭi and are not later than the Gupta period.¹ The most important of these structures is a *stūpa* which has been rebuilt three times. The original fabric proved to be only 20 feet square, but the casings, which seem to have been added in quick succession one after the other, brought up the dimensions to some 60 feet by 40. The latest shell survives only on three sides of the earlier structures, and is built of bricks measuring $17 \times 12 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the largest that have been met with in Sahēth. But, inasmuch as it starts from precisely the same level as the other buildings of this group, I feel no hesitation in assigning it approximately to the same date.

Of the remaining four structures, two are convents of the ordinary type, situated in a line from east to west. They have been almost completely laid bare down to the floor level. In a cell of the eastern monastery was found a mass of copper coins in a *ghuṛā* lying about a foot below the floor. The few of these which have been cleaned belong, curiously enough, to the Kushaṇa king Vāsudēva.

The other two structures are *stūpas*. One of them, measuring about 7 feet square, stands close to the entrance of the western monastery (No. 4), and is adorned with a bold torus at the base and ornamental pilasters above. The other one, which stands some 45 feet south of this, is similarly decorated. Both of these *stūpas* were opened, but revealed no antiquities of any kind.

Among moveable antiquities from this part of the site, by far the most valuable was the lower half of a life-size seated Bōdhisattva statue in the round, which hailed from an insignificant *stūpa* marked 8 in General Cunningham's map and 4 in Dr. Hoey's. Only the crossed legs of the Bōdhisattva remain, but on the base below are incised four lines of writing. The upper three of these

¹ The bricks used in their construction measure $14 \times 10 \times 2$ inches, which are the dimensions of bricks found in the Gupta monuments of Sārnāth.



a. Fragment of Vase from Peshawar,
illustrating scene from the Antigone.



b. Statue of Buddha from Sravasti.



c. View of excavated monastery in the Jetavana at Sravasti, in which the copper-plate
grant was found.

are in the monumental Prakrit and the Kushāṇa character, and record that certain Bōdhisattva statues were put up in the Jētavana of Śrāvastī by some Kshatriya brothers, one of whom was named Śivadhara, and that the statues were manufactured by a sculptor of Mathurā. This inscription is, of course, of special interest in connexion with the identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī. The fourth line on the base contains the Buddhist creed in the Nāgarī characters of the eighth or ninth century A.D., which is the date of the structure in which the statue was found. The statue must originally have belonged to a Kushāṇa temple and been deposited in this late *stūpa* after its upper half had been broken and lost.

A second small statue (Plate III, *b*) comes from *stūpa* No. 9, and belongs to a somewhat later date. The inscription on its base merely gives us the name of the donor.

Most of the middle portion of the site proves to have been occupied in early days by an extensive lake, but several other interesting buildings were discovered on the east and south sides of the Jētavana. They consist of an eighth or ninth century monastery, unearthened to the south-east of the so-called Kōsambakuṭī; an earlier building some distance to the east of No. 5, part of which appears to have done duty at a later date for a goldsmith's shop;¹ and a scattered group of *stūpas* near monastery 21. In this group some thirty *stūpas* have hitherto been laid bare, including a few which Dr. Hoey took to be columns of some sort. The earliest of them go back to the Kushāṇa period, and were found buried under two later structures designated as Nos. 17 and 17' in Dr. Hoey's map. In the latter was found deposited, in a small relic-chamber, an earthen bowl, containing a quantity of pearls in a much decayed condition and some hollow beads of gold, but no

¹ This was evident from the heaps of ashes which covered the floor of this building and a mass of gold which was found mixed with them.

human remains. On the base of the bowl was stamped, in the Kucha script, a short record giving the name of the donor. In the other *stūpa* at about the same depth from the surface was found an earthen pitcher, and in it an ornament of gold and a few crystal beads.

A few words remain to be said about the identity of Sahēth with the Jētavana garden. Last year we believed that the discovery of the inscribed copperplate of Gōvinda-chandra, coupled with the finding, in the Lucknow Museum, of the umbrella-post belonging to General Cunningham's Bōdhisattva statue, had once and for all settled this question. But Mr. Smith has recently returned to the charge in a note in this Journal,¹ in which he maintains that the copperplate may well have been brought from elsewhere, as well as, of course, the statue found by General Cunningham. Once again, therefore, it is necessary to reopen this much-vexed question.

In favour of the identification we have the following facts:—

1. The topography of the site agrees accurately with the descriptions of Śrāvastī given by the Chinese pilgrims and other writers. The most salient features in these descriptions are these—

(a) In the time of Hiuen Tshang the walls of the royal precincts² measured 20 *li* in circuit. The walls of Mahēth are approximately 3½ miles long.

(b) In the Daśakumāracharita³ we read that the city of Śrāvastī was situated on the bank of a river. An old bed of the Rāptī lies close under the northern walls of Mahēth, and the present bed is hardly a mile away.

¹ JRAS., 1908, p. 792, n. 3.

² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. ii, p. 1, n. 2, points out that the Chinese term *kung shing* does not mean "palace", but "royal precincts defended by surrounding walls". He agrees, as I do, with General Cunningham's remarks on this point.

³ *Vide* JRAS., 1898, p. 531.

(c) Both the Chinese pilgrims agree in placing the Jētavana to the south of the city, and Fa-Hian tells us that it lay 1200 yards from the south gate. The ruins known as Sahēṭh lie south of the city of Mahēṭh, and the distance to Sahēṭh from the Bāzār Gate of the city, which was certainly the chief gate on the south side, is just over 1200 yards.

(d) The dimensions of Sahēṭh correspond almost precisely with the 1000 cubits square of the Ceylonese tradition.¹

2. When General Cunningham set to work to excavate the site he found a colossal Bōdhisattva statue of the Kushaṇa-period, which, according to an inscription incised on its pedestal, was put up by a certain monk Bala at the promenade of the Blessed One in the Kōsambakuṭi in Śrāvastī.²

3. The same record is carved on an umbrella-post now in the Lucknow Museum, which there is a good reason to believe was unearthed at Sahēṭh during Dr. Hoey's excavations.

4. An inscribed copperplate was discovered last year by Pandit Daya Ram Sahnī in a monastery marked 21 in Dr. Hoey's map. It records the gift of six villages to the Community of Monks residing at the Jētavana-mahāvihāra.

5. The names of the six villages are: Vihāra in the district of Vādā Chaturaśīti, Paṭṭaṇā, Upalaundā, Vavvahali, Ghōsādī attached to Mēyī, and Payāsī attached to Pōṭhivāra. Of these names, four can be identified with villages in the near vicinity of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh: it is true that one of the names, Paṭṭaṇā, is common enough in India, but the others are not, and even if they were common, it would be more than strange if they could all be found elsewhere within so small an area.

¹ Vide S. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 224.

² Vide JASB., vol. lxvii, pt. i, p. 278.

6. This year's operations have brought to light the lower half of another statue of Kushaṇa date, which also bears the name of the Jētavana at Śrāvastī.

Opposed to this array of positive evidence, we have the statements of the two Chinese pilgrims, who place Śrāvastī at a distance of about 12 *yōjanas* and 500 *li*, respectively, from Kapilavastu, and agree, more or less, in stating that the direction was north-westerly ; whereas Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh is situated at a distance of less than 60 miles in a west-south-westerly direction from Kapilavastu.¹ Mr. Vincent Smith is no doubt right in insisting on the general trustworthiness of the Chinese pilgrims, and in emphasizing the danger of disregarding their statements, unless they can conclusively be shown to be wrong. But errors in both pilgrims are easy to find ; and when, as in this case, every fresh monumental record proves them to be at fault, it is surely going too far to set the evidence of those monuments aside on the assumption that one and all of them have been transported from elsewhere. There are few, I opine, who will not regard the identity of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī as now finally established.

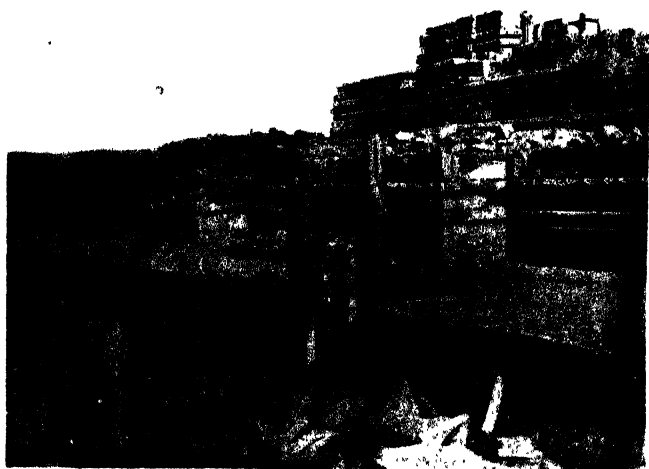
Maṇḍōr

Another site where I was able, with the help of Pandit Daya Ram, to do some interesting excavations, was that of Maṇḍōr, the ancient capital of the Pratihāras. The remains of the majority of buildings inside the old fort cannot lay claim to an earlier date than the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., but in the south-east corner there were two columns, protruding from the base of a mound, which belonged to the early Gupta epoch, and which,

¹ The error of distance, if error it really is, is easy to account for. For there can be no doubt that the pilgrims reckoned their distances according to the time which it took to cover them ; and in this case they may have had a far more difficult country to traverse than the modern traveller has. Possibly, too, the road was more circuitous than it is now. A striking instance of Hiuen Tshang's exaggeration of distance is to be found in his account of Mt. Gṛidhrakūṭa at Rājgīr.



a. A typical piece of carving from the original Temple at Mandor.



b. The excavated Temple at Mandor, from the S.E., showing original sanctum on top and later terraces below.

moreover, were invested with a particular value by reason of the illustrations of Krishna legends sculptured upon them in relief. These two monoliths were described by me in this Journal two years ago,¹ and at that time I was hopeful that whatever remains might be concealed round about, would prove to belong to the same cult and to the same, or possibly an earlier, epoch. This expectation, I may say at once, has not been realized; but our excavations, nevertheless, have been well repaid by a discovery of a different character. This is nothing less than a temple occupying the whole of the lofty mound behind the monoliths and built on a quite unusual plan. It consists of a shrine, 19 feet square, perched on the summit of three high terraces which diminish in size towards the top and are ascended by flights of stairs on the east, north, and south sides. The two monoliths discovered in 1907 form the jambs of a small doorway through which the lowest terrace is approached from the south (see photograph, Plate IV, *b*), but they appear to have been brought from some other building, as no other remains of the same early date have been unearthed on the site. The earliest portion of the temple is the sanctum on the summit, the lower part of which is referable to the seventh or possibly eighth century A.D. To this epoch also belong several loose sculptures found among the débris, one of which is illustrated in Plate IV, *a*. In the tenth century a *mandapa* seems to have been added to the sanctum, for six elaborately carved pillars of that date were lying on the platform in front of it or fallen onto the lower terraces. In the twelfth century, again, the whole of the upper part of the sanctum must have been rebuilt, and at the same time the terraces around and below it were added, together with the wall surrounding the whole precinct of the temple. These three different epochs can easily be distinguished by the character of

¹ JRAS., 1907, p. 1009 f.

the decorative carvings, and the last epoch is also determined by an inscription of Sahajapāla, a chief of the Naḍḍūla branch of the Chāhamāna Rajputs. This record is valuable as supplying the whole genealogy of the Naḍḍūla Chāhamānas, of which three members were not previously known, viz., Sahajapāla himself, his queen Padmalladēvī, and his grandfather Ratnapāla, who was a son of Prithvipāla. It also tells us that at that time the temple was known as the [Nara]bhaṭasvāmī Temple, from which it may be presumed that it was consecrated to Viṣṇu.

Śaṅkaram

I referred last year to the excavations which had just been started by Mr. Rea at the newly discovered Buddhist monastery at Śaṅkaram, in the south of the Vizagapatam District. These have now been carried to completion and have yielded most fruitful results. Mr. Rea writes as follows:—

“The remains extend over two hills which rise adjacent to each other out of a level plain of rice-fields. On the west hill I have now found two rock-cut caves, with a *dagoba* in one of them, as well as hundreds of monolithic *dagobas* of various sizes, like those which were illustrated in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society last year.¹ Many of these *dagobas* were wholly buried beneath the accumulated debris.

“On the east hill the whole of the west slope is covered with similar groups of *dagobas*, most of them monolithic, but some structural, standing on rock-cut terraces which converge upwards to an imposing *stūpa* on the summit, partly cut from the rock, partly built of rock. The dome of this *stūpa* was of brick, and has now almost entirely fallen, but the brick casing of the circular and square platforms still remains. Groups of small *chaityas* and

¹ JRAS., 1908, p. 1110, Pl. VII, 1.

rock-cut and brick *dagobas* surround this central memorial. In two of the latter stone relic-caskets have been discovered.

"In the sides of the eastern hill I have found six chapels excavated in the rock, in some of which are sculptured panels in an archaic style of art, but exhibiting no great variety of conception. Occupying the whole eastern summit of the hill and separated by a passage from the large *stūpa* referred to, is a rectangular platform of hewn rock, about 150 feet long, by half as many feet in breadth, and 12 feet in height. On this platform are the foundations and walls of a chapel surrounded by cells, and with a hall and various buildings in front. On the lower level, and abutting on to the north-east, east, and south sides of the rectangular platform, are long rows of brick and rock-cut cells, with most of the walls existing up to their original height; while other rows of similar cells are found opposite to those on the north and east sides, and separated from them by a passage. Besides these remains I have also unearthed a number of habitations situated on terraces around the upper slopes of this hill. Their sites are marked by great quantities of ashes and burnt refuse, in which numbers of coins, seals, terra-cotta inscribed tokens, potsherds, and other articles of archæological value are found."

The large collection of minor antiquities, found at Śankaram by Mr. Rea, includes, it may be noticed, numbers of seals and clay sealings; gold, copper, and lead coins; iron implements, knives, daggers, etc.; bronze and terra-cotta lamps; stucco images; votive tablets; vases of many shapes and sizes; an ivory dagger; and a black stone celt. Among the seals, a royal one, bearing the legend *Pratidurjjayaśila*, with the crescent over it and a lotus at the bottom, deserves mention. The characters of the legend may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. Of the coins, a somewhat worn gold piece belongs to the Gupta king Samudragupta (about A.D. 335

or 340 to 375), who, it will be remembered, boasts in his inscription on the Allahabad pillar of having conquered the country in which Śaṅkaram must have been situated. Several of the copper coins belong to the first Eastern Chalukya king Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 615-33), while others are to be attributed to the Eastern Ganga king Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga (A.D. 1078-1146).

The peculiar mingling, it may be observed, of rock-cut with structural buildings, which we find at Śaṅkaram, is not wholly unknown at other sites in India. But this newly discovered group of remains affords by far the most striking example of the dual method of construction, and entirely refutes the assertion made by Fergusson that no such combination existed in India.¹

Rāmatīrtham

Another Buddhist site where Mr. Rea has excavated this year with good success is Rāmatīrtham, a small village 7 miles north-east of Vizianagram. "This," says Mr. Rea, "is one of many places sanctified in the eyes of the Hindus by a traditional connexion with Rāma. That Buddhist remains existed here was never suspected until last year, when some brick mounds, that stand high up on one of the hills, were being explored. Excavations that I have since conducted prove these to be the remains of an extensive Buddhist monastery. The particular hill on which they are situated is known as the Gurubakta-koṇḍa, a bare and precipitous rock, about 500 feet high and somewhat rounded on the top. On the north face of this hill, at a height of some 400 feet from the base, is a long, irregular, rocky platform, more than 900 feet in length, and flanked along its whole length by a vertical wall of rock about 100 feet high (Plate V, a). The surface of the platform, when I started operations, was covered with a series of brick mounds overgrown with dense jungle.

¹ *Cave Temples of India*, p. 97.



a. Excavated remains on the terrace at Ramatirtham, looking East.



b. The Black Pagoda at Konarak, showing the excavated Sikhara, from the North.

My digging, so far as it has gone, has resulted in the unearthing of the base of a *stūpa*, 65 feet in diameter; a tank beside it, which was doubtless kept filled from a perennial spring in the rock above; three brick *chaitya*-halls with stone-built *dagobas* in the apses; and a ruined *vihāra*, 77 feet square, with long rows of cells and massive stone piers. The *chaitya*-halls are somewhat irregular in their orientation, from which I infer that they were constructed at different periods. Among smaller antiquities found here the most notable are a stone statue of Buddha with the graceful flowing robes of the Amarāvati period, and some well-carved stones."

Kōṇārak

The long and arduous task of excavating the Black Pagoda at Kōṇārak has at length been brought to completion, and the whole of the fabric now stands clear of débris. An illustration of it, taken from the north-west corner, is given in Plate V, *b*, and another of the throne in the interior of the sanctum in Plate VI, *b*. This throne is certainly one of the most magnificent pieces of carving that have been unearthed at Kōṇārak. It is of green chlorite, and measures 19 feet long by 7 feet wide. It will be observed that on the top of the larger pedestal is a smaller one, also of green chlorite, but relatively rough in form. There are other indications that the temple at Kōṇārak was never finished, and the existence of this smaller pedestal points in the same direction, for it appears from it that the main image, intended for the larger pedestal, was never put up in the sanctum, but that a smaller statue must have done duty for it for some time.

A multitude of other fine carvings in chlorite were also brought to light during the past year; and among them must be noticed the two almost identical reliefs reproduced in Plate VI, *a*, which are of exceptional historical value.

Dr. Bloch is of opinion¹ that they establish the later date of the temple at Kōṇārak, as compared with the famous shrine of Jagannāth at Puri, and, moreover, that they prove that at the time when Kōṇārak was built (A.D. 1240-80) the cult of Jagannāth did not, as at present, belong to the Vaishṇavas but to the Śaivas. "As will be seen," he writes, "from the illustrations accompanying this article, the carvings show on one side a male figure standing and speaking to another smaller male in front of him. The attitude of one of these two male figures suggests that of a suppliant, with folded hands (*prāñjali*); the hands of the second corresponding figure are broken. Behind the second, or smaller, male figure is an altar, with a crudely shaped human figure, standing between a Śivaliṅga and an image of a goddess slaying some demon whom we observe lying prostrate at her feet, in the act of raising his shield as if to protect himself against the weapon of the goddess. This figure evidently represents Durgā slaying a male demon.² Now, in regard to the central figure, there cannot, I believe, remain the slightest doubt that it represents Jagannāth, the famous god of Puri.³

¹ I agree with Dr. Bloch in regarding these reliefs as evidence of the existence of the cult of Jagannāth at Puri at the time when the Black Pagoda at Kōṇārak was being built, though not as evidence of the existence of the present temple of Jagannāth. I agree, also, with what he says about the transfer of the Jagannāth cult from the Śaivas to the Vaishṇavas. But I do not feel convinced of the truth of his identification of the suppliant figure before the shrine as Sūrya, or of the figures below as Rishis and Grahas. It seems to me more natural to explain the suppliant as a human being, perhaps as the monarch himself, who erected the Black Pagoda. (J. H. M.)

² Generally we find Durgā represented in this attitude in the well-known class of images which, in Bengal, now go by the name of Mahiṣamardini, or "Durgā slaying the buffalo-demon". The buffalo is the well-known *vāhana* of Yama, and it appears to me an exceedingly probable suggestion that the group really signifies Durgā as the principle of life destroying death (the buffalo = Yama).

³ I may add here that the temple of Jagannāth at Puri is only 24 miles to the west of the Black Pagoda at Kōṇārak. Both stand in almost immediate proximity of the sea, only one mile, or even less, distant from it.

It strongly reminds us of the modern representation of this god, and, so far as I know, it has been recognized as such by everyone who has seen these two chlorite carvings at Kōṇārak.

"I feel likewise convinced that the supplicant male, on one side of the two relievos, represents Sūrya, the Sun-god. There is, of course, nothing particularly striking in these two figures themselves which enables me to identify them with certainty. But the find-place and the two rows of bearded male figures at the bottom of the images remove any possible doubt about it in my mind: for these small bearded male figures seem to be intended as followers of Sūrya; their attitude likewise is that of supplicants, and I feel inclined to explain them either as Grahas or planets, or as Rishis, whom we find mentioned among the followers of the Sun-god, or perhaps it would be best to speak of the two groups as 'a selected medley of the usual attendants of Sūrya, Rishis, and Grahas or planets'.

"We can thus grasp the idea which the sculptor intended to express: *Sūrya, the god of Kōṇārak, asks for an audience before the throne of Jagannāth at Puri*; this is the label which we may safely give to these two carvings. Hence it becomes evident that the Black Pagoda at Kōṇārak is of later date than the temple of Jagannāth at Puri; or, in other words, the evidence of the inscriptions and later tradition is also supported by the evidence of these two chlorite carvings.¹

"But in some respects the most interesting point connected with these carvings is this, that we gather from them the fact that in the second half of the thirteenth

¹ I may mention here that the building of the Black Pagoda at Kōṇārak is attributed, both by tradition and by inscriptions, to the Eastern Gaṅga king Narasimhadēva I, about A.D. 1240-80, while the temple of Jagannāth at Puri seems to have been constructed by one of his predecessors, Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga, who reigned from A.D. 1078 to 1140; see JASB., 1898, vol. lxvii, pt. i, p. 328 ff.

century A.D., when the Black Pagoda at Kōṇarak was in course of construction,¹ *the cult of Jagannāth at Puri was associated with the religion of the Śaivas, and not, as it is at present, with the religion of the Vaiṣṇavas.* Jagannāth is seen, on the Kōṇarak relievos, standing between Śiva (or, rather, a symbolical representation of Śiva) and Durgā, whose respective places, nowadays, are occupied by Balarāma, alias Lakshmaṇa, and by Subhadrā, alias Sitā.²

"I intend to show in my next article on Kōṇarak, which I am preparing for the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, that Jagannāth originally was the Sun, worshipped near the sea, where people used to observe him rising and setting day after day.³ There is a good deal of this primitive sun-worship still lingering all along the eastern coast of Orissa. Small shrines, with figures of horses lying about, are clearly temples of the Sun-god, whose cult still survives almost everywhere in North-Eastern India, partly among the Hindus and partly among the Muhammadans, who naturally have transformed the Sun into some miraculous Saint or Pir, and who have hidden his divine light under the shade of more or less

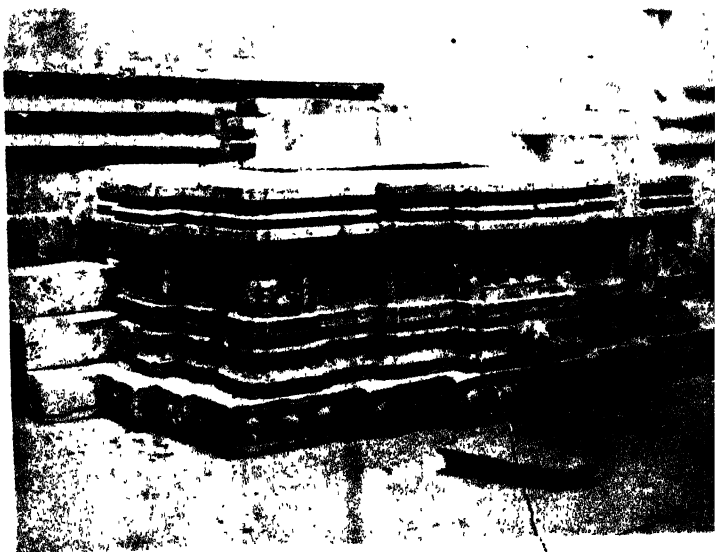
¹ It has never been finished, as I shall be able to prove in my article on Kōṇarak in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey for 1908-9.

² The first name in each group is given to these two attendants of Jagannāth by Bengalis; Hindustanis, as far as I know, generally call them Lakshmaṇa and Sitā, while I have sometimes heard Jagannāth himself spoken of as "Raghunāth" by pilgrims who had come from the north to Puri. Jagannāth's face, as I need scarcely mention, is now universally represented black like the faces of Rāma and Kṛishṇa.

³ I should regard it rather as a coincidence that the temples at Puri and Kōṇarak happen to be near the sea. I understand that Dr. Bloch's chief reason for identifying Jagannāth with the Sun is that the festivals of the god fall at the time of the summer and winter solstices. But this fact, unless supported by other evidence, hardly seems to me to justify his conclusion. Admitting that the cult of Sūrya was strong in Orissa, it seems to me strange that there should not be more definite traces of contamination between the cults of Sūrya and Jagannāth, if the latter was identified with the Sun. (J. H. M.)



a. Two of the newly discovered slabs from the Black Pagoda.



b. Pedestal of image in the sanctum of the Black Pagoda.

fantastical stories invented to suit the taste of converts to Islam.

"Of the many small shrines, sacred to the Sun-god, which thus existed along the Orissan coast, two only have been raised to prominence, viz., the temple of Jagannāth at Puri and the Black Pagoda at Kōṇārak, and I may add here, in passing, that from the evidence which I have been able to collect it seems extremely probable that Kōṇārak owed its sanctity to the belief that the Sun-god at that place was able to cure leprosy. Nay, I think we may even go as far as to assume that king Narasimha, the builder of Kōṇārak, was a leper himself, and that the epithet Lāṅgūliya, which is given to him by tradition, and which, I think, must be taken as a derivative from the Sanskrit word *lāṅgūla*, 'a monkey,' is due to the disease of this unfortunate 'leper-king', to whom we owe the construction of one of the finest temples in India."

Brāhmanābād

In Western India Mr. Cousens has taken up again the excavation of the site of Brāhmanābād in Sind,¹ and has made further investigations, with valuable results, among the group of temples at Aihole in the Bijāpūr District, as well as at the ruined *stūpa* of Mīrpur Khās in Sind. Of his labours at these three places he writes as follows:—

"My main object in returning to Brāhmanābād was to determine whether the site ought to be strictly conserved for further exploration or not. Up to the present the people of the surrounding villages have regularly, year after year, carried away earth for the fertilizing of their fields, just as they still do in Egypt wherever old city sites are found, and in doing this they have knocked down the brick walls upon the surface so that there are few now standing. The site is a vast waste of brickbats, heaped in rolling mounds that extend far and wide in every

¹ Cf. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, 1903-4, p. 132 ff.

direction. My excavation shewed me that there have been at least three periods of building on the site. In the uppermost and latest the walls have been built upon the tops of the mounds, and are composed of broken brickbats from the middle ruins, hardly a whole brick being found in them. In like manner the lowest stratum of ruins had been laid under requisition to supply material for the middle. Consequently there is very little indeed remaining of the earliest city of the Hindu Brāhmanābād, and not much more of the Arab city of Maṣṣūra, which immediately overlaid it. The upper walls are of a later period, and are of little interest. There is no sign anywhere of anything that can be called architecture, the brick buildings having been constructed, as a rule, in the baldést style possible, with very small rooms. In addition to a large collection of coins and beads, which are plentifully found upon the site, we were fortunate in securing the only unbroken glass article yet recovered—a ribbed melon-shaped bowl, which was originally of blue glass, but is now all iridescent from the effect of time.”

Aihole

Mr. Cousens writes :—“ After a lapse of many years, I have again visited the old temples at the Chalukyan capital of Aihole, in the Bijāpūr District. The village, for it is no more than that now, boasting of but one small school and no post office, is off the main lines of communication. But it is a mine of sixth, or even fifth, seventh, and eighth century architectural wealth. Although the village measures little more than 500 yards across, there are, within its ruined walls, over thirty old temples, mostly more or less ruined, desecrated, and converted into dwellings, cow-sheds, and to worse usages; while without and around the village are some forty more. Beside the structural temples, there are a Brahmanical and a Jaina cave and a number of dolmens. Aihole is

within six or seven miles of Paṭṭadakal, another religious centre, also stocked with old temples, and ten or twelve miles from Bādāmi, the earliest Western Chalukya capital, where there is a group of seventh century caves and several temples of like age. Within these three places are found the links between the cave architecture and that of the mediæval temples, the two temples of Durgā and Lād Khān, at Aihole (Plate VII, *b* and *c*), illustrating the first advance from the *chaitya* and *vihāra* caves respectively. And these are not the only examples; for the majority of the older buildings are remarkable for their cave characteristics, alike in their plans, pillars, bracket-capitals, beams, roll mouldings, and sculpture. But what seems most remarkable about these, and most unaccountable, is the fact that they were all plastered, even over the most delicate carving. This, which was carefully finished in stone, was covered with a fairly thick coating of plaster, in which the details of the stone carving were repeated, but much more coarsely. This coating of plaster is found in early brick temples of the same age, such as the decorated ones found in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces. That the plaster-work was coeval with the original stonework, or very little later, can hardly be doubted.¹ The reason for the plaster was probably the desire to add colour to the general scheme. It is much to be feared that these old buildings, when fresh from the builders' hands, with their plaster and paint, must have presented a far less pleasing aspect than they do now in the naked stone, mellowed and softened by the weathering of ages. Half the pleasure with which we now view them is due to the cunning hand of time. In those days of old, as now, there was no general appreciation of the beautiful. The stone-sculptor appreciated it in his particular domain, and produced it

¹ Mr. Cousens' remarks are true, I believe, of all early buildings in India. (J. H. M.)

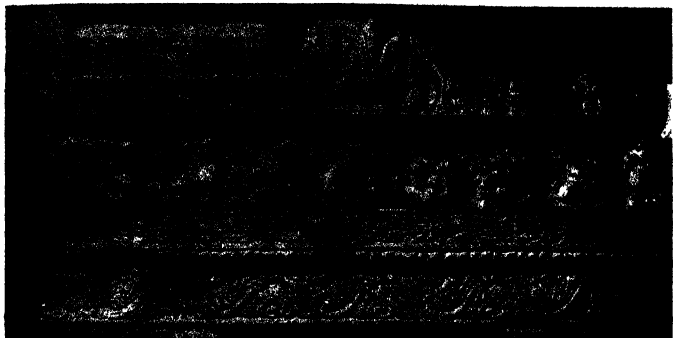
to the best of his ability and was content; the wood-worker did the same in his, and likewise the painter. The monied man paid for it all; he possessed the means to command their services, but no artistic taste; he was not of the sculptor's caste and guild. So, why should he interest himself in the technicalities or beauties of a sculptor's work? He wanted the best and most for his money, and the best with him meant the most he could crowd together; and there appears to have been no one master-mind of sufficient artistic taste to correlate the whole, and produce harmony and congruity in the combination of different classes of work. The stone-masons, left to themselves and their own ideas, were generally guided aright by their inherent instinct, and so it was separately with each of the other crafts; but it was the monied Goth who introduced the vulgar element by ordering an indiscriminate medley.

"A peculiarity with some of these very early massive temples, such as Lād Khān's, is that the shrine is not a separate part of the plan, but is built in, as if it were an afterthought, against the back wall of the *mandapa* or great hall. That this arrangement is original there is no doubt, since the constructive parts of the pillars and beams before the shrine have been so modified, when first built, as to admit of the shrine standing in this position."

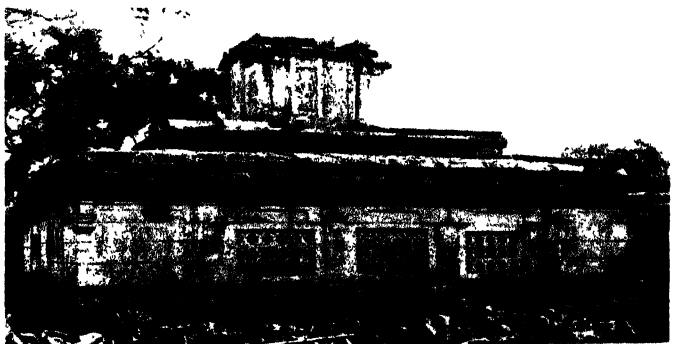
Mīrpur Khās

Mr. Cousens writes:—"In March I paid a visit also to Mīrpur Khās, forty-two miles east of Hyderabad (Sind), and examined the old mounds there with a view to starting excavation work upon them next season. The visible remains consist of the stump of a fair-sized *stūpa*, and the foundations of groups of brick temples or monastic establishments which surrounded it. The whole is in a sad state of dissolution, the ornamental brick casing of the *stūpa* and the brickwork of the buildings having

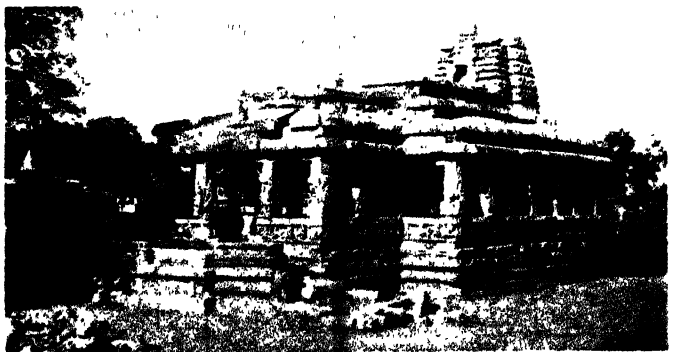
AIHOLE.



a. Frieze in Temple to the S.W. of village.



b. Lad Khan's Temple.



c. The Durga Temple.

been almost entirely stripped off and removed. The perfection, however, to which the art of decorated brick-work was carried, and the lavishness with which the *stūpa* and some of the other buildings had been ornamented, is apparent from the numbers of the carved bricks and terra-cottas lying about. During an hour or so quite a cartload of these was collected from the débris. Half, too, of a *dagoba ti* was found, shewing the hole for the staff of the umbrella. There is no doubt that with careful excavation these mounds will yield most interesting results."

Agra

In the Agra Fort, an interesting discovery has resulted from the further excavation of the Palace of Akbar which I referred to in this Journal last year. It appears that some time subsequent to the completion of the Jahāngiri Maḥal, a replica of its façade was erected across the western end of Akbar's Zanāna, which seems either to have been in a state of decay at that time or to have been intentionally demolished to make room for the new façade. This façade appears to have been almost an exact reproduction of the façade of the Jahāngiri Maḥal, onto the southern *burj* of which it was attached, so that, when completed, the façades of the two *zanānas* presented an imposing frontage of 430 feet in length, with two high gateways and three towers. Unhappily, only the plinth of the greater part of it now remains, deep below the present ground-level, but a short length immediately adjacent to the Red Palace has been preserved, which is still some 15 feet high. On the west side of this wall, but bearing no relation to it, the remains of two courts, 90 feet by 40, and surrounded by a number of small chambers, have also been brought to light.

Other Epigraphical Finds

In conclusion, it remains for me to add the following account of the more important epigraphical finds, apart

from those already referred to, that have been made during the year. I am indebted for it to Mr. Venkayya, the Epigraphist to the Government of India.

Besides a mutilated Brāhmī record and an image with an inscription in the Gupta alphabet, two panels bearing an epigraph of king Āsaṭadēva of Chambā deserve to be mentioned among the discoveries in the Northern Circle. The copperplate grant of Paramārdidēva, found at Pachar in the Jhansi District, is also an important find. It is dated in Sāṃvat 1233, and will be published by Professor Venis. The inscription of Śrī-Vīra-Siṃhadēva, dated in Sāṃvat 1486, found at Dihuli in the Manipuri District, is of some historical interest.

In the Western Circle Mr. Bhandarkar examined two copperplate grants, one of which is unusual as it sets forth rules and regulations regarding fiscal, civil, and criminal procedure, issued by a certain Viṣṇuśhēṇa from Lohātāvāsaka at the request of the *bania* class. The date is 659, which, if referred to the Vikrama era, would correspond to A.D. 602. The document is endorsed by Sāmāntāvantī, who was apparently the overlord of Viṣṇuśhēṇa. The date of Sāmāntāvantī is 357, which, in the Kalachuri era, would be equivalent to A.D. 606. It is not often that we find an overlord using one era and his feudatory another.

In 1891 Mr. H. H. Dhruva published in the Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. v, p. 300, a note on a copperplate grant of the Chaulukya king Mūlarāja, dated Vikrama-Sāṃvat 1051. The inscription belonged to the "Baroda Collections", but could not be traced subsequently. It turned up last year, and was received from the Jodhpur Darbar. The inscription registers the gift of the village of Vārṇaka in the Satyapuramaṇḍala to Śrī-Dirghāchārya, son of Śrī-Durlabhāchārya, who was conversant with all the sciences. The donee was an emigrant from Kānya-kubja (Kanauj). It was found in the Trichinopoly cave.

Tirukkaḷukkunṛam is a very ancient place mentioned in early Tamil literature.¹ The monolithic cave cut into the eastern side of the hillock in the village bears a large number of Dutch names cut into it. Among these have been found the names of three governors of the Coromandel coast, of two chiefs of Sadras, and of many other members of their families. There is also a damaged ancient Tamil inscription in the cave, which refers to a gift made to the temple at Tirukkaḷukkunṛam during the reign of Vātāpikoṇḍa-Naraśingappōttaraiyar, i.e. the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (seventh century A.D.). This may be taken to show that the cave was excavated either during the reign of Narasimhavarman I or prior to it. It is worthy of note here that Vātāpikoṇḍa-Naraśingappōttaraiyar is mentioned in an inscription of the Chōla king Rājakesarivarman (i.e. Āditya I) among the "former kings" who continued the grants made to the temple at Tirukkaḷukkunṛam.

At Vāyalūr (near Sadras) and Tiruppōrūr in the Chingleput District, two inscribed pillars belonging to the Pallava period have been discovered. The former is, unfortunately, damaged, but seems to give a long list of Pallava kings in order of succession, ending with Rājasimha. The Tiruppōrūr pillar contains a list of *virudas* of the Pallava king Rājasimha. It is not unlikely that the two pillars were removed from some Pallava structure near Vāyalūr and Tiruppōrūr, built by the Pallava king Rājasimha.

Several interesting copperplate grants have also been brought to light in the Southern Circle. Two of them belong to the time of Kōkulivarman-Mahārāja, who bore the title Anivārita and had his capital at Elamañchili (in the Vizagapatam District). He was the son of Vīṇayāditya and grandson of Maṅgivarman-Mahārāja. One

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x, p. 198 f.

of the remaining copperplate grants belongs to the reign of Kokkili, surnamed Vikramāditya - Bhaṭṭāraka-varman, and another to that of his son Maṅgi-Yuvarāja II. The seals of both of these grants bear the legend Vijayasiddhi, which, as we know from other records, was a surname of the Eastern Chalukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarāja (A.D. 672-96).¹

The Vishṇukuṇḍins are known to us from the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarman II, discovered in the Godavari District.² They were worshippers of the lord of Śrīparvata, i.e. the temple at Śrīsailam in the Kurnool District, and the name Vishṇukuṇḍin survives, according to the late Professor Kielhorn, in Vinukonda, a hill-fort and town in the Guntur District.³ One of the copperplates found by Mr. Krishna Sastri is dated during the reign of Indravarman, father of Vikramēndravarman II who issued the Chikkulla plates. The three remaining copperplates brought to light during the year belong to the Eastern Chālukyas; one to Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-88), another to Chālukya-Bhīma I (A.D. 888-918), and the third to Tāḍa II, a grandson of the usurper Tāḍa I (A.D. 925). The last bears a seal with the legend *Tribhuvanasiḥa* instead of the usual *Tribhuvanāṁkuṣa*, and registers the grant of a village in Velanāṇḍu to a person who claims to belong to the family of Pallavamalla, i.e., apparently, of the Pallava king Nandivarman-Pallavamalla. Here we seem to have direct evidence of a branch of the Pallavas settling down in the Telugu country after their decline in Conjeeveram.

Among the fifty inscriptions copied in Burma, three are important. One of them is dated in the year 398 of the Burmese era (= A.D. 1036) during the reign of Kyanzittha, the successor of Anawrata of Pagan. Another belongs to

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 237; see also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 98.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iv, p. 195.

³ *Loc. cit.*, preceding note.

the thirteenth century A.D., and settles the identity of the celebrated Buddhist divine Mahāthēra Paunglaungshin Katthapa with the Mahāthēra Panthagu of Pagan. The third is dated B.E. 830 (= A.D. 1468), and records the existence at Kyauksauk, in the Myingyan District, of the historical sect of Aris suppressed at Pagan in the eleventh century A.D. by Anawrata.

XXVII

AN INSCRIPTION FROM BESNAGAR

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

THE circumstances in which this inscription has been discovered are stated by Mr. Marshall on p. 1053 f. above; and a reproduction of it is given in Plate I, a, with a reading and translation by Dr. Bloch. I edit the record, as an accompaniment to Mr. Marshall's remarks, from a photograph and an ink-impression received from him: owing, however, to the manner in which the record had been covered with paint, the ink-impression does not help much beyond the photograph. The writing covers an area about 1 ft. 10 in. wide by 1 ft. 8½ in. high. The size of the letters, that is, of those which are formed between the top and bottom lines of writing without any projections above or below, ranges from about 1½ to 1¾ inches.

Bēsnaḡar, or Beshnagar as the name is given in the Imperial Gazetteer, vol. 8, p. 106, is a village in the Bhēlsā (*vulgo* Bhīlsa) District of Sindhia's Dominions, in Central India. Bhēlsā, the head-quarters town of the district, is shown as 'Bhelsa' in the Indian Atlas sheet 53, N.E. (1896), in lat. 23° 31', long. 77° 51', about thirty miles north-east-by-east from Bhōpāl: it stands near the right or east bank of the river Bētṡā. Bēsnaḡar is placed by Sir A. Cunningham¹ in the fork between the rivers Bētṡā and Bēs (the Besh of the Gazetteer), which join each other about a mile on the north of Bhēlsā: it appears to be the 'Beis' of the map, on the south bank of the 'Hallali or Bes' river, a little more than a mile on the north-west of Bhēlsā.

¹ *Archaeol. Surv. Ind.*, vol. 10, p. 36: and see the map, plate 1.

The neighbourhood of Bhēlsā is best known on account of the Buddhist Stūpas which exist in it. There are, however, other remains. About a mile and a half on the north-west of Bhēlsā and one mile towards the south-west from 'Beis', there are a village and hill named Udayagiri, Udegiri, also on the south bank of the Bēs: and caves on this hill have yielded a Vaishṇava, a Śaiva, and a Jain inscription of the Imperial Gupta period.¹ The present inscription is another Vaishṇava record. It tells us that the pillar on which it was engraved was set up as a Garuḍadhvaja of the god Vāsudēva: that is, it likens the pillar to a flagstaff, surmounted by (instead of a banner) a representation of the man-bird Garuḍa, the vehicle and emblem of Viṣṇu.

The inscription mentions a Mahārāja or great king, whose name it presents as Antalikita. In this we recognize the Greek name Antalkidas. And we identify the person with an Indo-Greek king of the Panjāb and those parts, well known from coins, whose name, in the genitive, is always presented in the Greek legends as *Antialkidou*, and in the Kharōṣṭhī legends as *Antialikidasa*, or perhaps *°tasa*.² For Antialkidas there have been proposed various initial dates ranging from B.C. 175 (Cunningham) to 135 (Wilson). The characters of our inscription are referable to any time during that period.

The inscription mentions also two Hindū kings. The name of one of them is clearly Kāśiputra-Bhāgabhadra; and he is described as "king of Sāmkāśya". The name of the other seems to be Chaṇḍadāsa: he was evidently a local prince. These two rulers are not as yet known

¹ Edited by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 3, pp. 21, 34, 258.

² For clear illustrations, not hand-drawn, see Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, plate 7, figs. 9 to 14; Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. 1, plate 3, figs. 7, 8. I understand that the really correct form of the name is *Antalkidas*.

from any other source. The attribution to Bhāgabhadra of the title *trātri*, answering to the well-known Greek regal title *sōtēr*, 'the saviour,' marks him as a much greater personage than the Rāja Chaṇḍadāsa. And the record seems, in fact, to indicate the existence, at the time when it was framed, of a paramount Hindū power at Sāmkāśya, with vassal princes in outlying subordinate states. There is nothing in the record tending to mark Bhāgabhadra as a vassal of Antalkidas.

Text ¹

- 1 D[ē]vadēvasa Vā[sudē]vasa garuḍadhvajē ayaṁ
- 2 kārītē i[a] Hēliodōrēṇa bhāga-
- 3 vatēna Diyasa putrēṇa Takhasilākēna
- 4 Yōnadātēna āgatēna mahārājasa
- 5 Aṁtalikitasa upa[īn]tā Sa[īn]kāsa-rañō
- 6 Kāsiputasa [Bh]āgabhadrasa trātārasa
- 7 vasēna [Chamḍa]d[ā]sēna rājēna vadhamāna-sa-
- 8

Remarks

Line 1. There can be no doubt that the illegible letters between *vā* and *vasa* are *sudē*.

Line 2. First *kārītō* was written and engraved, and then the *ō* was corrected into *ē* by a small stroke across the right-hand component of it.

In the next word, though the second letter is much damaged and very faint, we distinctly have *ia* = *īha*, 'here'. Professor Bühler found the same form in *ia cha*, = *īha cha*, in the Aśōka rock-edict 6, Shāhbāzgarhī, line 16, and Mansehra, line 31 (*Epi. Ind.*, 2. 455 f.): also in edict 9, in *ia-lōka*, = *īha-lōka*, and either [*h*]*ia* or *ia* = *īha*, in Sh., line 20 (*ibid.*, 458); and again in *ia-lōka*, or, he said, possibly *hia-lōka*, in edict 11, in Sh., line 24 (*ibid.*, 460). And we have even a shorter form in *i-lōka*

¹ Square brackets are used to mark syllables, or parts of them, which in the original are illegible, seriously damaged, or imperfectly formed.

in edict 11, Girnār, line 4, and in *i-lōkika* in edict 13, Girnār, line 12.

At the end of the line, after *bhāga*, there is a cancelled *na*, the explanation of which is as follows. The writer had omitted the *na* of *Takhasilākēna*, which stands out beyond the end of line 3 as measured by the other lines. He supplied it on revision: but he put it in the wrong place, and then, cancelling it there, repeated it where it really belonged. The engraver of course followed what the writer had done.

Line 3. In *putrēna* the subscript *r* is not waved, as it is in the *trā* of *trātārāsa*, line 6. But, with Dr. Bloch, I find that it was intended by the prolongation of the right-hand bottom stroke of the *t*.

Line 4. At the beginning of this line I read, not *yēna dāmtēna* (for which, indeed, it would be very difficult to find a suitable construction and meaning), but *Yōnadātēna*. An apparent analogy presents itself in the well-known name of Ushavadāta, Usabhadāta, the son-in-law of the Pahlava king Nahapāna, which is customarily taken as meaning Rishabhadatta. The *dāta* here, however, cannot well be explained in that manner. Dr. Barnett suggests that it is an Old-Persian form answering to the Sanskrit *jāta*, and that *Yōnadāta* is a title marking the bearer of it as a Persianized Greek, a Greek or Syrian who had adopted Persian culture.

Line 5. After *Antalikitasa* I read *upa[m̐]tā*, = *upāntāt*, 'from'; literally 'from the proximity of'. In the second syllable the top of the *p* is damaged: the Anusvāra would be placed, as in the *am̐* of the preceding word, about half-way between the top and bottom lines of the writing, and may be found in the mark which we have in *thāt* position, and which is just too far to the right to be the end of the *pa*.

After that we have distinctly *Sa[m̐]kāsa - rañō*, = *Sāmkāśya - rājasya*. In Prākṛit, *rājan* at the end of

AN INSCRIPTION FROM BESNAGAR

a compound may be declined either as a base in *a*, just as in Sanskrit, or as a base in *an*. The latter seems to be preferred when, as is the case here, the first member of the compound is a place-name.

Line 6. In the penultimate syllable of *Kāsīputasa* we should expect a subscript *r*, but it is not shown either by the photograph or by the ink-impression. The waved subscript *r* is unmistakable in the *dra* of [*Bhā*]*gabhadrasa* and the *trā* of *trātārasa*.

Line 7. The first word here is *vasēna*. Dr. Bloch has taken it as standing for *vaṁśyēna*, the instrumental singular of *vaṁśya*, 'belonging to the family of'. It might be better taken as standing for *vassēna* = *vaśyēna*, the instr. sing. of *vaśya*, 'submissive, obedient, subject to; dependent on'. But neither of those points of view seems satisfactory. The simpler course is to take the word as standing for *vasēna*, the instr. sing. of *vaśa*, 'will, wish, desire; authority, power, control, dominion'. We are familiar with the use of *vasēna* and *vaśāt*, sometimes in composition, sometimes with a separate genitive, in the sense of 'under the influence of' fate, thirst, sickness, the speed of the wind, and so on. They have also the meanings of 'in accordance with' such-and-such a reckoning, and 'for the sake of' such-and-such a person. The last meaning seems appropriate here; with the sense that Chaṇḍadāsa caused the pillar to be made and set up as an act of friendship or respect for Bhāgabhadra.

The first two syllables of the proper name which comes after *vasēna* can only be read with some doubt. I follow Dr. Bloch in taking them as *chunḍa*.

The line ends with *vadhamānasa* or 'sa[*m*]. As the record is not Jain, and so there can be no reference to Vardhamāna, we can only find here the beginning of a date, *vadhamāna-sa* (or *saṁ*) *vachharē*, etc., running on in line 8, which remains to be cleared out. The date would only be a regnal date in the year of the reign of

Chaṇḍadāsa or of Bhāgabhadra: but there certainly is a date, or the remnant of one. The inscription B, which comes from the other side of the pillar, is at any rate not the direct continuation of line 7 of the inscription A, and is probably an independent record.

The construction of the text is:—"This Garuḍadhvaja was caused by Chaṇḍadāsa to be made by Hēliodōros." It would be awkward to follow it in a translation, in view of the subordinate clauses which have to be worked in. I therefore take a different course:—

Translation

In the augmenting year
for the sake of Kāśiputra-Bhāgabhadra, the saviour, king of Sāmkāśya, king Chaṇḍadāsa caused this Garuḍadhvaja of Vāsudēva, the god of gods, to be made here by Hēliodōros, a votary of Bhagavat, a son of Diya (Diōn), a man of Takhasilā, a Yōnadāta, who came from the great king Antalkidas.

THE BESNAGAR INSCRIPTION B

I READ the two lines of this inscription, illustrated in the plate at p. 1054 above, thus :—

Trini(trimṇi ?) amutapadāni [kā]le (?) anuṭhitāni •
neyā ti v[uttam ?] damam cāga apramādo.

Neyā is probably the Sanskrit *jñeyāt*. *Amutapadāni* and *cāga* stand for the Sanskrit *amṛitapadāni* and *tyāga*. *Anuthitāni* (i.e. *anuttḥ*^o) is the Sanskrit *anuṣṭhitāni*. The lines seem to be metrical, to be scanned thus:—

— — — — —

— — — — —

The inscription may be translated :—"It has been said that one should know that there are three things which, practised at the proper time, are steps to immortality, viz. self-restraint, self-surrender, and diligence." With this should be compared Dhammapadam, ii, verse 1 :—

Appamādo amatapadam, pamādo maccuno padam,
appamettā na miyanti, ye pamattā yathā matā.

Ibid., verse 3 :—

Te jhāyino sātatikā niccam dalhaparakkamā
phusanti dhīrā nibbānam yogakkhemam anuttaram.

The whole theme is discussed at length in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, *tyāga* especially in ch. xviii.

The inscription A, from the same pillar with this one, is particularly interesting from the point of view of religion. It is a document of the Vāsudevīk cult, of which, as I have endeavoured to show,¹ the chief feature

¹ Transactions of the Third Congress of the History of Religions, vol. ii, p. 48.

was a *bhakti*-worship of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva as the *bhagavān*, "The Lord," together with other "Lords" belonging to the same cycle of legend. A similar document is the Ghasundi inscription.¹ In the Besnagar inscription A, Heliodorus is described as a *bhāgavata* or "votary of The Lord", a title common on later documents.²

The three *amṛitapadāni* appear to have some reference also to the legendary three steps of Viṣṇu, on which see Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p. 38 ff.

¹ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 56, 1887. 78.

² The connexion of the Greeks with Kṛishṇa has been pointed out by Mr. Kennedy in this Journal, 1907, p. 964 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

In his article, pp. 721 seq. of this Journal, Professor Jacobi expresses the belief that the documents discovered by Professor Winckler at Boghazkiöi, Asia Minor, "give an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization." May I be allowed to state the reasons why I cannot accept this view?

As is well known, in treaties of about 1400 B.C. between the kings of the Hittites and of Mitani, among the Mitani gods invoked the following are named: *mi-it-ra*, *u-ru-w-na* (variant *a-ru-na*), *in-dar* (*in-da-ra*), *na-ša-a[t-ti-ia]* (*na-š[a]-at-ti-ia*). "These five gods," Professor Jacobi says,¹ "not only occur in the Rgveda, but they are grouped together here precisely as we find them grouped in the Veda. In my opinion this fact establishes the Vedic character and origin of these Mitani gods beyond reasonable doubt." Thus Professor Jacobi finds in this mention of Vedic gods an argument in favour of his own theory,² based on astronomical calculations, according to which the Vedic period goes back to a more remote antiquity than is usually assigned to it.

May I observe in the first place that in my opinion the way in which those gods are grouped together is not quite as significant as Professor Jacobi believes. To the pair of *mi-it-ra* and *u-ru-w-na* of course the Vedic pair of Mitra-Varuṇa corresponds. But it is of very little consequence that once, in the *Rgveda*, viii, 26, 8, of which passage Professor Jacobi probably thinks, the names of Indra and the Aśvins form the Dvandva compound

¹ For obvious reasons he counts *na-ša-at-ti-ia* as two.

² See *Festgruss an Rud. von Roth*, 1893, pp. 68 seq., and elsewhere.

indrānāsatyā ; for in the same way Indra is combined with nearly all the more important Vedic deities : *indra-vāyū*, *indrāgni*, *indrāpūṣṇā*, *indrabrhaspātī* and *indrābrahmaṇaspatī*, *indrāmarutaḥ*, *indrāvdrunā*, *indrāviṣṇu*, *indrāsomā*. Anything like an intimate mythological connexion between the Vedic Indra and the Vedic Nāsatyas cannot be inferred from such a Dvandva.

It is certain, at all events,¹ that the gods mentioned in those inscriptions are identical with the most prominent deities of the Veda, with the exception only of Agni. But does it follow therefrom that it is the sphere of *Vedic* civilization from which these gods have found their way so far to the west ?

It is a characteristic fact that Professor Eduard Meyer in his elaborate article on Winckler's discoveries² has not thought it worth while to say one word even of the possibility that these gods might be Vedic ; without discussing this view of the matter he finds the importance of the text of Boghazkiöi in that "it places lively before our eyes the complete agreement, as it had been inferred by investigation, of the ancestors of Indians and Iranians in language and religion, and shows that such was the state of things still in the fourteenth century". Meyer thus does not find here Vedic gods, but Iranian gods, identical with those of the Veda in consequence of the kinship of Indians and Iranians.

To me this view seems most probable.

The comparative study of Veda and of Avesta tends to show with increasing certainty that the religious system of Zarathustrianism has been developed, by a reform or a series of reforms, out of a more ancient creed very closely related to Vedic religion. In several passages of

¹ The remarks of M. Halévy, *Revue sémitique*, 1908, vol. xvi, pp. 247 seq., do not convince me of the contrary.

² "Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte" : *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1908, pp. 14 seq.

the Avesta the divine pair Ahura - Mithra or Mithra-Ahura is mentioned; evidently this Dvandva compound, which stands in contradiction to the unique, all-commanding position assigned to Ahura by Zarathustra, is a relic of the pre-Zarathustrian age, and has been correctly identified with the Vedic Dvandva Mitra-Varuṇa. The Vedic Varuṇa is indeed the great Asura (= Iran. *ahura*); the agreement of his mythological features with those of Ahura goes so far that we may safely assert his identity with the prehistoric Iranian god whom Zarathustra has raised to the highest rank.¹ As regards Indra, then, it is well known that in the Avesta both the occurrence of that very name and of the God of Victory, Verethrajan, point to the existence in the Indo-Iranian age even as in Vedic India of the belief in the Vṛtra-slaying god. Finally, to the Vedic pair of the two Nāsatyas corresponds in the Avesta the evil spirit Nāonhaithya. If we ask which of the two literatures is more likely to represent the original Indo-Iranian feature of this god or of these two gods, we may, even if we refrain from comparing the Dioskouroi and the two Lettic God's sons, reasonably give preference to the Veda, with its most lively representation of the two Nāsatyas, and the large number of myths it relates regarding them, over the Avesta with its short mention of that shadowy figure of Nāonhaithya, who has been degraded by the Zarathustrians from divine essence to the position of an evil demon.

For these and similar reasons, long before the discoveries at Boghazkiöi were made, I never doubted that Zarathustrianism was preceded by a more ancient Iranian religious system in which occurred a divine pair, Mitra-Varuṇa, a god Indra, a pair of two Ásvins or Nāsatyas. We must try to read the Avesta like a palimpsest; under the writing of the Zarathustrians we discover the clear traces of a more ancient text which very closely resembles

¹ See Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 44 seq., 62 seq.

the Veda. If I am right in this, the question whether those gods that belong to pre-Avestan Iran as well as to Vedic India are more likely to have come to Mitani from India—or perhaps, to represent more accurately Professor Jacobi's opinion (p. 726), from such seats in the east of Iran where the culture of Vedic India prevailed—or from Iran proper, will, at least with some probability, be decided in favour of Iran, if we only look at the map.¹ Should one object, then, that Nasatia, instead of Nahatia or the like, is not Iranian, we ought not to forget that our knowledge of what is Iranian and what is not is based on materials later by many centuries than the documents in question. An Iranian *nāhatia* must have been preceded by a proto-Iranian *nāsatia*,² and nothing prevents us from referring the gods of the Boghazkiöi inscriptions to a period preceding that phonetic change.³ It may also be thought possible, as Professor Bloomfield⁴ observed with regard to the Iranoid names of the Tell-el-Amarna letters, that we should have to recognize here traces of a dialect

¹ By deriving these gods from Iran rather than from India we may possibly account for the absence of Agni. It seems probable that the prominence of Agni in the Veda is of Indian, not of Indo-Iranian, growth.

² See Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte*, loc. cit., p. 18, n. 2; cf. also Bloomfield, *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xxv, p. 11.

³ Cf. also Suwardata (not Huvardata), the name of a Palestinian dynast occurring in the Amarna letters (Meyer, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. xlii, p. 26). Whatever may be our opinion on the theory of Professor Andreas that the ancient Iranian language has preserved the Indo-European triad of vowels *a*, *e*, *o* (*Verhandlungen des 13. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses*, p. 103), in no case do I think that the vocalism of the names in question furnishes a more valid argument for their Indian origin than the consonants. Else we should have to derive from India most of the Aryan names preserved in Babylonian, etc., inscriptions (see on these names especially Professor Meyer's article, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. xlii, pp. 16 seq.) and also 'Αραξένης, Βαγανάρης, etc. (see Bartholomae, *Anzeiger für indog. Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, vol. xviii, p. 83), while 'Αραμίτης would be Indian by the two *a*'s and Iranian by the *π*. Or should this *a* belong exclusively to a certain (the western?) branch of Iranian dialects? There would be no difficulty in deriving the names *mi-it-ra*, etc., from a dialect of that very branch.

⁴ *American Journal of Philology*, loc. cit.

closely allied to Iranian, but yet not exactly Iranian: on which question future discoveries will perhaps decide. But whatsoever hypothesis we may prefer, it is evident that in none of these cases the Boghazkiöi inscriptions furnish any result for the chronology of Vedic India.

Let us now suppose that Professor Meyer and I are wrong and that after all these gods are indeed Indian: what would be the chronological consequences? In order to account for Indian influence—let us say, for the presence of Indian military adventurers—in the Mitani reign about 1400 or 1500 B.C., it would be more than sufficient to place the beginnings of Indo-Aryan history, the conquest of the Punjab by Aryans, in 1600 or 1700 B.C.¹ This would by no means exclude that even the most ancient hymns of the *Rgveda* might have been composed several centuries later. If this is the only lesson which Indianists have here to learn, where then is the “entirely new aspect” which the excavations of Boghazkiöi are stated to have given “to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilization”? Is there not a perceptible difference between the dates just stated and those of Professor Jacobi, who in his last article (p. 721) speaks of the age “between 3000 and 2000 B.C.”,² and who originally

¹ I do not pretend, of course, that this is the true date; I only say that such a date would be quite compatible with the god-names of Boghazkiöi, if these are Indian. Professor Meyer places the Aryan immigration into India in the first centuries of the second millennium, and the beginnings of Vedic poetry “not later than 1500 B.C.” I am surprised that Professor Jacobi (p. 725) ascribes to that eminent scholar the opinion “that in the fifteenth century B.C. the Aryan branch of the Indo-Germanic family was as yet undivided”, of which the consequence of course would be that “the Indians cannot have been settled in the Punjab in the fifteenth century B.C. as an independent people”. This theory Professor Jacobi refutes at length, but Meyer’s real opinion is very different from what Jacobi states it to be; see *Sitzungsberichte*, loc. cit., pp. 17–18; *Geschichte des Altertums*, 1909, 2nd ed., vol. i, pt. ii, pp. 807, 837.

² On p. 723 of the same paper he contents himself indeed with concluding from the texts of Boghazkiöi that Vedic civilization was already in its full perfection about the sixteenth century. This estimate may be correct, though I do not think it is proved by those documents.

placed the most ancient Indian culture in the period of about 4500–2500 B.C., the composition of the Vedic hymns in the second half of that period, and the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period about 2500 B.C. ?¹

Professor Jacobi begins his article with some remarks about the *dhruva* or polar star, the Phālguna month and the winter solstice, the Kṛttikās (Pleiades) and their relation to the spring equinox. I do not think that the questions he touches upon are quite as simple as they might appear to readers of pp. 721 seq. But on these topics I content myself by referring to my articles in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xlviii, pp. 629 seq.; vol. xlix, pp. 470 seq.; vol. l, pp. 450 seq.

HERMANN OLDENBERG.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF VEDIC CULTURE

The importance of the subject of the age of the Vedic culture is sufficient excuse for my replying briefly to Professor Jacobi's note on this question in the last number of the Journal,² especially as that note was, it seems, suggested by a remark in my short review of Professor de la Vallée Poussin's book, *Le Védisme*.

Professor Jacobi is of opinion that if we knew for certain by direct evidence that Vedic culture was already in existence by 3000–2000 B.C. no one would doubt (1) that the star *dhruva* denoted the Pole Star of those years, α Draconis; (2) that the beginning of the year whose first month was Phālguna was marked by the winter solstice; (3) that Kṛttikās was counted the first Nakṣatra because it then coincided with the spring equinox. He therefore adduces external evidence for the existence of Vedic culture in the period indicated.

¹ *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 72; *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1894, p. 110; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xlix, p. 218.

² JRAS., 1909, pp. 721–6.

But we must here at once join issue with Professor Jacobi. It would be a complete mistake to assume that the objections felt to his chronological arguments rest upon an unwillingness to accept an early age for the Vedic culture. Even assuming that it could be proved by any tolerable evidence that the Vedic culture lies within the limits 3000–2000 B.C., still I for one—and I do not doubt that Whitney, Oldenberg, and Thibaut¹ would also have held the view—would strongly dispute each of the three propositions cited above from Professor Jacobi. I need not lengthen this note by detailing the reasons for this doubt at length, as they are set forth with perfect lucidity and convincing force by the eminent scholars whose names have just been mentioned.² Briefly they are as follows:—

(1) The star called *dhrura* is admittedly an intruder into the Vedic marriage ritual, as it is not found in the Saṃhitās, and among Vedic texts appears only in the marriage ritual of the Grhya Sūtras and in the late Upanisadic literature. In the latter the motion of the *dhrura*³ is mentioned, so that the star's immobility was then admitted not to be absolute without any exception being taken to the name. The Grhya Sūtras are late works; the earliest is probably not older than 400 B.C., and this may be too early a date. We are, however, asked to believe that the star chosen as a symbol of fixity must have been α Draconis because that star was more nearly a Pole Star than any other star in the period for some hundreds of years on either side of 2780 B.C.,⁴ and the idea of a star which could be called *dhrura*, "the immovable," could only be conceived during that period.

¹ Cf. IA., xxiv, 100. •

² Whitney, PAOS., March, 1894; Oldenberg, ZDMG., xlviii 1; Thibaut, IA., xxiv, 85 seq.

³ See SBE., xv, 289; Weber, *Indische Studien*, ii, 396; Buhler, IA., xxiii, 245, n. 21; Jacobi, ZDMG., xlx, 228, n. 2

⁴ Jacobi, IA., xxiii, 157. •

It appears to me that such an argument has no possible cogency. It postulates an accuracy in a matter of popular custom or ritual which is wholly opposed to the nature of popular custom; any star which was reasonably near the Pole might perfectly well be called *dhruva*, which means no more than "fixed", and which has not the force of that which does not move at all. To say that "nobody could be ignorant of the fact that it was altering its place very perceptibly with reference to the horizon" is to assume that Hindu villagers were close and accurate observers, whereas all evidence¹ shows that Hindu professional astronomers fell far short of accuracy of observation. If we must identify *dhruva*—I see personally no need to do so— κ Draconis will do very well.² It was at a distance of $4^{\circ} 44'$ from the North Pole² in 1290 B.C., and as it was of considerable magnitude, 3.3, the same size as α Draconis, and β Ursæ Minoris, which is its next rival for the post of honour (in 1060 B.C. it was $6^{\circ} 28'$ from the Pole) is only 2.0 in magnitude, it might long be reckoned the Pole Star after it had really ceased to be so.

(2) That the beginning of the year whose first month was Phālguna was marked by the winter solstice is extremely improbable. As Thibaut³ and Oldenberg⁴ point out, the year which begins with Phālguna is a year beginning with the first of one of the periods of four months into which the ritual year was divided, and Phālguna is the first of the months of the hot season, commencing at the beginning of February. This view admirably suits the one clear datum of the ancient texts, the identification in the Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa⁵ of the winter solstice and the new moon preceding full moon in Maghās, an identification which agrees with the view

¹ See Thibaut's convincing refutation of Hindu accuracy, IA., xxiv, 99.

² Jacobi, IA., xxiii, 157. His observations on this point at ZDMG., xlix, 228, do not seem convincing.

³ IA., xxiv, 91.

⁴ ZDMG., xlix, 475 seq.

⁵ xix, 2, 3.

of the Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga,¹ whereas Professor Jacobi is forced to see in the mention of Phālguna as the first month a reference to a remote period. It may be added that the reference found in the *Rgveda*² by Professor Jacobi to a year beginning with Phālguna is certainly wrong; the correct explanation is given by Thibaut as denoting that the wedding ceremony takes place at the beginning of the new year—obviously the auspicious time—while the cows are slain in Māgha at the end of the year, a fine propitious for such a deed.

(3) The argument from the Kṛttikās is also quite unconvincing. The assumption that the Kṛttikās were deemed the first Nakṣatra because the Kṛttikās marked the vernal equinox when the list of the Nakṣatras was formed is one which rests on no solid basis. It is, on the contrary, opposed to the fact that in no other regard does the vernal equinox appear as important in Vedic literature, and it is not supported by a single assertion in Vedic literature, as Thibaut³ points out. We do not know the origin of the Nakṣatras, and until we do it is hardly likely that the origin of the place of Kṛttikās will be found.

Now, apart from the chronological argument of Professor Jacobi, let us consider the new evidence adduced to render the assumption of an early date for the Vedic culture more probable. This question, of course, is still open, and is not affected by the estimate we form of the chronological argument. The first attempt to support that argument from other bases was that of the late Professor Bühler,⁴ to which Professor Jacobi⁵ refers, apparently as still of

¹ It may be noted here that the date given by the Vedāṅga is absolutely uncertain owing to the vagueness of the evidence; see Thibaut, IA., xxiv, 98.

² x, 85, 13. Bühler even doubted this; see IA., xxiii, 244. Cf. Thibaut, IA., xxiv, 95; Max Muller, *Rgveda*, iv, p. lxvii.

³ IA., xxiv, 96. Cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG., xlix, 473.

⁴ IA., xxiii, 246 seq. ⁵ JRAS., 1909, p. 721, n. 1.

importance. But I think that Oldenberg¹ has adequately replied to that attempt, which was, in my opinion, vitiated by the exaggerated antiquity ascribed to such Sūtra writers as Āpastamba,² the undue importance laid on traces of Aryan influence in South India, and the acceptance of the *Jātaka* book as evidence for early India. Professor Jacobi's own evidence is external, and is based on Professor Hugo Winckler's discoveries at Boghazkøi, when it appears that the king of the Mitani invokes among others the gods Mi-it-ra, Uru-w-na or A-ru-na, In-dar or In-da-ra, Na-ša-a[t-ti-ia] or Na-š[a]-at-ti-ia, which are identified with Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyas or Aśvins. Moreover, there is some—not very good³—evidence that Mitra and Varuṇa formed a pair, as each name is preceded by *ilāni*, the plural of the Babylonian word for “god”. Professor Jacobi points out that the “five gods not only occur in the Rgveda, but they are grouped together here precisely as we find them grouped in the Veda”. He therefore deduces that in the fourteenth century and earlier the rulers of Northern Mesopotamia worshipped Vedic gods, presumably brought from Eastern Iran, where the worship must have been adopted about the sixteenth century. The Vedic civilization was then, he deduces, in its full perfection, and this fact makes the late date of the Veda impossible.

I confess I find this reasoning obscure and not very satisfactory. There are, as far as I can see, only four gods—not five—but that is a minor point. That the names are correctly read I must assume, but it is a serious assumption, to judge from the habit of scholars of differing totally from one another in their versions of these texts;

¹ ZDMG., xlix, 478-80.

² On this cf. Eggeling, SBE., xii, p. xl.

³ The argument would be much better if *ilāni* had appeared once before Mitra-Varuṇa as a compound. It should be noted that the words for these gods are followed by words of unknown meaning and language. The variant Uru-w-na tells against Aruṇa as the name of the god referred to, and a Vedic Aruṇa is not proved.

but if the names stood alone one would be sorely tempted to remind Professor Jacobi that Oldenberg¹ has seen foreign gods in Mitra and Varuṇa, that Indra and Nāsatya are of doubtful etymology and origin, and to suggest that we found here no Indian gods, but gods whom India has borrowed.

The matter, however, is complicated by the fact that the dynasty of Mitani apparently numbered among its rulers men with Iranian names, Artatama and Sutarna, while the later kings of Commagene bear names, Kundaspi and Kustaspi, which seem clearly Iranian. Professor Eduard Meyer sees in this fact an actual proof of the reality of the Aryan period when Hindu and Iranian were not yet separated, for Mitra is Iranian, Varuṇa is similar to Ahuramazdā, and as a demon Indra is Iranian, while Nāonhaithya is Nāsatya, and the last form is pre-Iranian in its phonology. To this theory Professor Jacobi objects that if the Aryans were undivided in 1400 B.C. the differentiation of the two peoples, the conquest of Western India, the development of Vedic culture and of Vedic poetry demand so much time that the *Rgveda* would have to be placed considerably after 1000 B.C., a result impossible in view of the religious, social, and historical changes² which took place between the *Rgveda* and the rise of Buddhism. He accordingly suggests that the Vedic gods were borrowed by an Iranian tribe in East Iran from the Vedic Indians, whose neighbour the Iranian tribe once was.

This is a guess, as Professor Jacobi points out, and hardly a probable one, but even if correct it would merely show that there were tribes who worshipped four of the gods later celebrated in the *Rgveda*. It would not show that the civilization of the *Rgveda* existed in anything like the

¹ ZDMG., xlix, 178.

² These can easily be exaggerated. The later Vedic life is really no more than a fulfilment of the earlier, as all recent research more and more strongly shows.

form in which it appears in that collection, much less that it was in "full perfection". It is just as probable that the Aryans at the time in question (1400 B.C.) held not merely Northern Mesopotamia in part (the race was not by any means purely Aryan as the names of the other princes show—Sa-uš-ša-tar, Matti-vaza, etc.) but also Northern India, and that the development of Indian and Iranian proceeded contemporaneously in the diverse parts of the considerable area settled or occupied by the Aryan tribes. And in favour of this view tells one fact, which Professor Jacobi ignores, the similarity of Avestan and Vedic Sanskrit. It is practically incredible that these two languages can have parted at any very remote date, and any attempt to set the *Rgveda* back beyond 1200 B.C. must reckon very seriously with this problem, which becomes very difficult as evidence accumulates for the late date of Zarathustra.¹

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

THE NAMES OF VEDIC DEITIES ON A HITTITE TABLET

In his article on "The Antiquity of Vedic Culture" in the last number of this Journal, Dr. Jacobi refers to Professor Winckler's discovery of the names of four Vedic deities on a Hittite cuneiform tablet from Boghaz Keui. A good deal of misconception, however, seems to prevail in regard to the discovery. The names occur in the Mitannian, and not in the Hittite, part of the treaty between the Mitannian and Hittite kings, and the terminations *-assel* and *-anna* are Mitannian, not Hittite. The name of Mitra, moreover, has long been known to Assyriologists, since it is given in a list of the gods (W.A.I., iii, 69, 63) as a name for the Sun-god when represented by ideographs which signify "the dawn-completer".

¹ It is hardly necessary to discuss the significance of the Sun-god Šurīaš, of the Kašši, referred to by Professor Jacobi (JRAS., 1909, p. 726, n. 1). No stress can be laid on so isolated a name.

That the names of the Mitannian kings are either Indo-European or Iranian is very unlikely, though the suggestion was made by Rost and Hommel long before Professor Winckler's discovery. *Sutarna* is good Mitannian, and that the word *arta* is also Mitannian is shown by the word *attārt-ippi*, "forefather," compared with *atta-ippi*, "father." *Saussa-tar*, again, can hardly be separated from Saus-kas, the Mitannian Istar, while in *Matti-waza* we have a suffix which also appears in Hittite. The name read Kharri by Professor Winckler I should read Murri, and identify with Amurru, Murru, "the Amorite," that is, the Aramæan population of Northern Syria. In the Mitannian letter of Dusratta the name is written Murwukhe.

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July, 1909.

THE PREHISTORIC ARYANS AND THE KINGS OF MITANI

Winckler's discovery of the names of Vedic gods at the Hittite capital Boghaz Kyoi in Cappadocia has enlarged our knowledge of the early Aryans by 700 years; and in a notable essay Meyer has shown that the kings of Mitani, the worshippers of these deities, represent a stage prior to the separation of the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians. The only modification in Meyer's argument which I would suggest is this: the Mitani chiefs were separated from the parent stem; they were a survival, and represent the civilization of the parent stock at the time of the separation, which may well have been some time before 1500 B.C. Professor Jacobi has also dealt with Winckler's discovery, but Professor Jacobi is hampered by other considerations, and his suggestion that these Mitani kings represent an East Iranian tribe which had come in contact with the Indo-Aryans will hardly find general acceptance. The

only argument in its favour is that most (not all) of these kings bear Iranian rather than Sanskrit names, but that is a fact which tallies equally, if not better, with Meyer's theory.¹ Since, then, we have chiefs in Northern Mesopotamia in the fifteenth century B.C. bearing Aryan names and worshipping Vedic deities, I propose to show, *first*, that traces of a white race, which we must now presume to be Aryan, are to be found among the invaders of the Tigris-Euphrates lowlands between 2000-1700 B.C.; and, *second*, that the interruption of the jade trade between Khotan and Western Asia some time in the twenty-second or twenty-first century B.C. was probably due to the settlement of the Aryans in Bactria, which thus admits of being roughly dated.

But first a word both of Winckler's discovery and of the kings of Mitani. Mattiuaza, king of Mitani, concluding a treaty with the Hittite king Subbiluliuma, invokes the gods Mitra, the gods Varuna, the god Indra, and the gods Nāsātya, or the Áśvins, as witnesses of his good faith: *ilāni Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il ilāni U-ru-w-na-aš-ši-el ilu In-dar* (variant *In-da-ra*) *ilāni Na-ša-at-ti-an-na. Ilu* (plural *ilāni*) is the conventional Babylonian ideogram for god; *aššil* and *anna* are probably Hittite suffixes; it has been suggested that they represent the Hittite plural and dual.² Mattiuaza's date is not quite certain, but he comes after Dushratta, that is, after 1380 B.C.; while he cannot have been much later, as the Assyrians conquered Mitani 80 or 100 years afterwards.³ Our knowledge of Mitani is

¹ E. Meyer, "Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte": *Sitzungsberichte d. königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1908, p. 14 ff. H. G. Jacoby, "On the Antiquity of Vedic Culture": *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 721 ff. H. Winckler, "Vorläufige Nachrichten über die Aufgrabungen in Boghaz Koi im Sommer 1907," in the *Mitteilungen d. Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, Nro. 35. I have to thank Dr. Hoernle for first drawing my attention to Winckler's discovery.

² H. R. Hall, "Myrsil and Myrtilos": *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1909, vol. xxix, pt. i, p. 21.

³ Under Salmanassar I, c. 1270, according to Winckler.

derived almost entirely from the letters of King Dushratta to his brother-in-law Amenhotep III (1414–1379 B.C.) and his son-in-law Amenhotep IV Akhenaten (1383–1365 B.C.), preserved in the Tell el Amarna tablets. Dushratta tells us that his grandfather Artatama was a contemporary of Tahutmes IV (1423–1414 B.C.)¹ and his father Sutarna of Amenhotep III. The family had given daughters to the Pharaohs for three generations, although at first apparently with reluctance; Dushratta's sister Gilukhipa was wife to Amenhotep III, and his daughter Tadukhipa (better known under her Egyptian name of Nefertiti) was queen consort of Akhenaten. Dushratta's brother Artashshumara had tried to usurp the kingdom with the help of the Hittites, and had been slain. Before Winckler's discovery Hommel and Meyer had pointed out that these names, as well as the names of the other Mitani chiefs, are Aryan. The nobles were Aryan also; a certain Artatama was Dushratta's envoy. On the other hand, these Aryans were exogamous, and Dushratta asks for the hand of an Egyptian princess. Dushratta's wife is named Yunu, and may have belonged to an Aryan family of another sept, but his sister Gilukhipa and his daughter Tadukhipa bear the name of a Syrian goddess.² Moreover, these barbarian chiefs, like their neighbours and sometime allies, the Kassites of Babylon, adopted the Syrian civilization, and called their deities in their communications to outsiders by Babylonian names. Dushratta says that he overcame his brother by the help of Ramman (who might easily be equated with Indra), and he sends the statue of Ishtar of Nineveh on a visit to Egypt, as his father had done. These

¹ The dates of the Pharaohs are Petrie's, who has given a useful summary of the Tell el Amarna tablets in his *History of Egypt*, afterwards revised and enlarged in his *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el Amarna Letters*.

² According to the *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1908, p. 183, Gilukhipa is an Egyptian name = Kirkipa. We find a female slave Khipa at Babylon in 710 B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Aryans, therefore, were becoming gradually Semitized ; they intermarried with strangers and adopted Babylonian ways, but they preserved their ancestral names as well as their deities, whom they syncretized with the indigenous gods of the country. On the other hand, the people of Mitani were not Aryans. Their language has been preserved in a long letter of Dushratta's, and it turns out to belong to the Ural-Altaic group, and is akin to Vannic. Probably, therefore, they were an indigenous folk among whom a small band of Aryan adventurers set up a comparatively short-lived kingdom. At what period we cannot say. Dushratta's grandfather carries us back some way in the fifteenth century, and he can scarcely have been the founder of the kingdom. Tahutmes III (1503-1449 B.C.), who conquered Naharina, does not mention Mitani, but he took Nineveh, which afterwards fell into the hands of Sutarna and Dushratta. If the Mitani chiefs were in Mesopotamia prior to Tahutmes III, they must have been of small account.¹ Or they may have descended from Azerbaijan and founded a kingdom among the petty states Tahutmes III had overthrown. All this is mere conjecture. On the other hand, they cannot have been in Mesopotamia when the Hittites swept over the country in the eighteenth century, and the purity with which they appear to have preserved their language and religion would tend to show that their separation from the parent stock was comparatively recent.

¹ "The defenders of Janua, a city which Mr. Tomkins has identified with Einya on the Euphrates," have features of "a remarkably high and refined character. The nose is mesorrhine and straight, the lips thin and well-formed, the cheek bones are high, the eyebrows prominent, the forehead high. There is but little hair on the face beyond a moustache. The hair itself appears to be straight. Are we to see in the face the features of the subjects of the Mitannian king?" (Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*, p. 124.) If so, the Mitani Aryans had entered Mesopotamia before Tahutmes III. The features of the celebrated Queen Teie, wife of Amenhotep III, are very striking, and irresistibly suggest an admixture of the Aryan type.

At the period of separation, whenever that may have been, the original stock would appear to have been in a pre-Vedic stage. I infer this from the mention of the plural *Mitras* and *Varunas*.¹ The most obvious explanation is that these *Mitras* and *Varunas* still formed a class of deities who, like the *Rudras* (and the Egyptian *Horus*), afterwards became concrete in a single individual. In the *Rig Veda* this unification has already taken place. The Mitani Aryans must be somewhat earlier. Akhenaten's sun-worship both illustrates and is explained by this view. Akhenaten worshipped not so much the solar disk as the vivifying influences which radiate from the sun. A well-known stele represents him as upheld by the sun's rays, each of which terminates in a hand. These solar rays, I take it, are the *Mitras* which his Aryan consort *Nefertiti* had worshipped in her Syrian home; she and her country-woman, the Queen-Mother *Teie*, were the chief promoters of the novel cult; and in the worship of the *Aten* I think we can discern, not only Babylonian and Syrian, but also Mithraic elements.

Seeing that there were Aryans in Mesopotamia in the fifteenth century B.C., what earlier traces of Aryans can we find? Meyer mentions two—the mention of *Šurias* in a list of Kassite deities, and the introduction of the horse from Media. I add a third—the presence of a novel white race in the Zagros range.

Let us look first a little more closely at the history of the times. The supremacy of Babylon over all its neighbours was first established by *Hammurabi*, the seventh of his line, who subdued both Babylonia and Elam in a reign of forty-three years. *Hammurabi*'s date is put by King² about 1950 B.C. The dynasty of *Hammurabi* was overthrown after 1800 B.C. by the Hittites, and in the

¹ "Apparently the combination *Mitra-Varuna* is not indicated, the two being quite separate," as Hall rightly says, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

² *Studies in Eastern History*, by L. W. King, p. 136.

confusion which followed the Kassites established themselves in Babylon and reigned there for 576 years, "that is," says Winckler, "from about 1700 B.C. to the eleventh century." These Kassites came from the north-east; one of their deities was Su-ma-li-ia, "the lady of the shining [snow-clad] mountain;"¹ their special home was in the Zagros range south of the Bakhtiyari Hills, and they had conquered Elam before they conquered Babylon; indeed, they entered Babylonia from Elam. Their occupation of Elam must have been subsequent to its conquest by Hammurabi, i.e. say after 1900 B.C.

The Kassites were only the foremost tribe in a great movement of the Media peoples which took place about this time. "The people," says Winckler, "which invaded Babylonia from this side" (Elam and Media) "calls itself Kashshu (Kassites). Even in later times under Sennacherib traces of them are to be found in the Zagros. We shall be compelled to account for their appearance by a great stream of nations which poured itself from the East and North-east over the civilised countries, just as the Turks and Mongols did many thousand years later. The migration of these barbarians assumed in any case great dimensions."² Now the Aryans must have been in Bactria at this time, and if they were new-comers, or were extending their borders, they would supply precisely the kind of pressure required to set all these Media tribes in motion.

It is among the companions of the Kassites that we find traces of Aryan bands similar to that which took possession of Mitani.

First. In the reign of Am-mi-za-du-ga, the last king but one of the Hammurabi dynasty, we find white captives from Gutium and Šubarti sold at Babylon. "Daneben

¹ Hinke, *New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I*, p. 230.

² Winckler in *The World's History*, ed. by H. F. Helmolt, Eng. ed., vol. iii, p. 14.

nehmen natürlich die gefangenen Feinde die Stellung von Sklaven ein," says Meissner¹; "besonders weisse Sklaven aus Gutium und Šubarti scheinen damals sehr geliebt gewesen zu sein." Here, then, we have white tribes in the Zagros range north-east of Babylonia and warring with Babylon about 1800 B.C.

Second. In the Kassite glossary Šurias is explained to be a sun-god. In Šurias Meyer and others² have recognized the Vedic Sūrya, the *S* being preserved here as in the case of the Mitani Aryans in preference to the later Iranian *h*. Meyer recognizes the same word under the form *Sūra* in two names preserved in the Tell el Amarna tablets—Arta Suwara, king of Mitani, and the Palestinian chief Suwardata. Either the Kassites must have adopted the deity from their fair Aryan neighbours, or there must have been a considerable infusion of these among the Kassites.

Third. Two separate traditions have preserved the memory of an early Aryan invasion of Babylonia and Armenia from the side of Media. We have a statement which goes back to Berosus that after the reign of eighty-six mythical kings "the Medes collected their forces and by a sudden onfall captured Babylon, establishing a tyranny which lasted for 8 reigns and 224 (or 190) years in all", and Syncellus calls the first of these kings Zoroaster.³ Berosus cannot be referring to the first Babylonian dynasty established by the ancestors of Hammurabi; we must understand him to refer to the Kassites. The

¹ B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 6; cf. pp. 18, 19.

² Meyer, *Das erste Auftreten*, etc., p. 18, n. 2.

³ JRAS., 1898, p. 262, "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India," where I have discussed the matter at some length. I then suggested that Berosus might for Medes have said the Manda, the generic name for the barbarians dwelling on the mountains north of Elam. At that time one was obliged to suspend judgment, but the presence of Aryans in Mesopotamia has given verisimilitude to old traditions, which here, as elsewhere, prove truer than we thought.

Kassites came from the direction of Media; the first Kassite dynasty lasted for about 200 years, and we know the names of seven of its kings. The Kassites were not Aryans, although, coming from Media, they might be confounded with the Medes; probably they were as mixed a multitude as that which followed the great Cyrus from the same quarter of Anzan. Again, Moses of Chorene says that according to popular songs and the Berosian Sybil, "whose prophecies were truer than history," Zerovan, the father of the gods, as Zoroaster called him, had settled in South-Eastern Armenia after the flood and established his son in Bactria. An Armenian canton was called Zarovant by the Orientals down to Moses' time.¹ And Brunnhofer has interpreted an otherwise unintelligible passage of the *Rig Veda* as a song of triumph over the downfall of Babylon.²

Fourth. So far the direct evidence. The history of the horse furnishes indirect proof.³ The wild ass ranged down to comparatively recent times over the whole country between Mesopotamia and the Western Punjab; it was from immemorial times the Babylonian beast of burden; kings yoked it in their chariots; and its ideogram denoted the "domesticated" animal. The horse was a late importation. Its ideogram signifies "the ass of the mountain in the East", and its name *susu* is supposed by some to be connected with Susa. Meyer has drawn attention to the fact that its introduction is contemporary with the Kassites.⁴ Now the horse appears to have been first tamed by the Neolithic tribes of Northern Europe. It furnished a large portion of their food, and when they broke it in they broke it in not for riding but for

¹ *Moïse de Khorène*, ed. avec traduction Française par P. E. de Vaillant de Florival, bk. i, c. 6, pp. 31-7.

² H. Brunnhofer, *Iran und Turan*, p. 221.

³ What I have said about the horse is mainly taken from a note with which Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen has kindly furnished me.

⁴ *Das erste Auftreten*, etc., p. 15.

draught. It was at this stage that it reached Babylonia through Media, and the presumption is that the Aryans brought it with them. The first mention of it occurs in a letter which was found with tablets dating from the reign of Hammurabi's son Samsuiluna, dating therefore from say about 1930 B.C.¹ Under the Kassites the horse first became common, and horses and mares formed a large part of the tribute paid to the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty by Syrian and Mesopotamian chiefs. The land of Namar was the chief breeding-ground of the horse, and furnished horses and mares as tribute to Assurnazirpal. The Chaldean king Nebuchednezar I warred against Elam and the land of Namar about 1120 B.C. Rittu-Marduk, governor of Bit-Karzi-Yabsu, which bordered on Namar, turned the battle in the Babylonian's favour, and in the fullness of his heart Nebuchednezar granted him many privileges. "The king of Namar was not to enter into Ritti-Marduk's country (without permission); no tax was to be levied by him on stallions, mares, etc."² "On the stele in the British Museum the various gods are numbered and their emblems shown. A horse god is the emblem of

¹ I give Mr. Boscawen's transliteration and translation—

"Ana-Akhu-ni

2. Qi-be-ma
3. Um ma Ba-la-nu-uni-ma
4. Samas u Marduk U-ba-.al-li-tu-ka
5. Isten gur seim ana ukulli sisi
6. Khu-bu-ut-ma
7. Sisu U-ku-lu La-i-bi-ru-u

Translation.

To Akhuni speaks thus Balanuunima :

May Samas and Marduk grant thee life !

One gur (8 bushels) of corn for the horse's nourishment
(Provide) that the horse may eat and not suffer hunger.

The date of this tablet is during the latter part of the First Dynasty of Babylon, about B.C. 1950, and Ungnad says it was with other tablets of the reign of Samsi-iluna the son of Khammurabi."

² *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1908, p. 94, where there is an engraving of the stele and a full account of it.

the god of Namar, and on the stele is the head of a horse on an altar."¹ Namar lay between Gutium and the country of the Kassites; the Bakhtiyaris now occupy these hills and preserve the ancient name.² Taking Gutium, Namar, and the Kashshu together, we find the sun and the horse the chief gods of a people among whom a white element was prominent. For over two millenniums the sun and the horse continued to be the chief deities of the Scythic tribes north of the Paropamisus, and they are still displayed on the banners of Udepur.

We find, then, that a general movement and displacement of the older Media populations began to make itself felt about the time of Hammurabi or soon after. Aryan invaders, now making their appearance for the first time, took part in this movement. It is therefore natural to conclude that the settlement of a great body of Aryans in Bactria and Eastern Iran was the cause of the disturbance. Their presence there is certain, and if they were new-comers or had begun to expand greatly, they would have sufficed to create a general ferment, like the Goths and Huns in after days. Is it possible to go further, and to indicate a period when the Aryans were not in Bactria? I think the prehistoric trade in jade furnishes an answer. Whatever disputes there may be about the provenance of the rare finds of jade in Western Europe, no local jade has ever been found in Western Asia, and eminent authorities admit that the jade found in Troy must have come from Khotan; they also admit that this prehistoric trade came to a sudden end.³ In the first four prehistoric cities of Troy Schliemann found thirteen jade celts, and a white jade celt in the fifth; after that the finds ceased

¹ Mr. Boscauwen's note. See the engraving of the stele in the official guide, p. 94.

² Namar (formerly read Zimri) is shown in Winckler's map in *The World's History*, ed. Helmott, vol. iii, p. 8, between Gutium and the Kashshu.

³ See the discussion in Schliemann's *Ilios*, pp. 275 ff. and 446 ff.

entirely. White jade is found only in Khotan and China. Professor Story-Maskelyne suggests that the sudden cessation of the supply was due to some geological change, perhaps to a diversion of the Oxus. But the Oxus continued to debouch through one branch into the Caspian even in classical times. Moreover, it is probable that a trade in such small and valuable articles as jade, which passed from hand to hand, would go by land rather than by water. We must therefore postulate a political rather than a geological change, and a change which affected only the regions west of the Bolor range, since the intercourse with China seems never to have been interrupted.¹ Now we have articles of jade, chiefly cylinder seals, from Assyria and Babylonia. These we must suppose to have come from Khotan, and they have this advantage over the Trojan examples, that they admit of being roughly dated. The official *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum* says that the cylinder seals were made of "marble, jasper, rock-crystal, emerald, . . . and occasionally jade";² and in the Assyrian Room, Table-case D, twenty-five specimens, apparently of jade (or nephrite), are exhibited. Two of these are inscribed. No. 24 bears the name of Khashkhamer and an address to Ur-Engur, king of Ur. "The scene represents Ur-Engur or Khashkhamer being led into the presence of Sin, the moon-god." No. 69 bears the name of Adda the scribe, and is "a particularly interesting example of early lapidary work". The compiler puts it about 2500 B.C.³ Of the

¹ T. de la Couperie in *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. iii, p. 101, has given a history of the Chinese notices of jade in remote antiquity.

² *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, p. 157. The specimens are merely labelled green schist. I understand from Dr. Budge that they are nephrite, a green variety of jade supposed to be efficacious in kidney disease.

³ Engravings of Nos. 24 and 69 are given in the Guide-book, pp. 158 and 160.

remaining twenty-three ten represent Gilgamesh and Eabani. No. 30 pictures Šit-napishtim in his ark, while No. 29 was supposed by George Smith to represent the Fall. None of these are inscribed, but all appear to be of early, and some of very early, lapidary work.¹ In the Vatican Museum there is said to be "a jade axe of great age with a very archaic inscription on it". At Nippur Peters found "a beautiful highly polished jade axe or adze, the only object of the sort found anywhere in the mounds".² It was found under the *ziggurat* (or temple tower) and 2 metres below plain-level. An inscribed tablet of great antiquity was found close by.³ Mr. Boscawen says that "there was an extensive use of jade during the period of the *ziggurat* builders. I saw a jade mace-head with an inscription of Dungi on it in a dealer's collection, but have been unable to find its present resting place".

So jade was not uncommon down to the days of Ur-Engur and his son Dungi; this is the latest date of which we are assured. Ur-Engur and Dungi used to be put about 2500 B.C., but King has shown that all these early dates must be reduced by two or three centuries, and he now puts the commencement of the dynasty of Ur at 2330 or 2320 B.C.⁴ Some of the cylinders have not

¹ In Table-case H there are four small jade celts brought, as I understand, by Layard from the palace of Esarhaddin. Among the prehistoric antiquities are exhibited three small objects, "apparently of jade," from the vicinity of Mosul.

² J. P. Peters, *Nippur*, vol. ii, p. 240; cf. p. 243 n.

³ Articles of lapis lazuli were common in every stage of Babylonian history. Mr. Peters says that the lapis lazuli was brought from Bactria, "where the ancient mines, still worked, are 1500 feet above the bed of the river Kakchu, a tributary of the Oxus" (*Nippur*, vol. ii, p. 134). If the trade in lapis lazuli went on while the trade in jade was interrupted, it would go far to prove the presence of the Aryans in Bactria and their extension westwards, while the Bolor range cut them off from the east. But De Morgan says that according to old traditions lapis lazuli was worked round Kailan and between Yezd and Ispahan (*Délégation en Perse. Mémoires VII. Recherches Archéologiques*, 1905, ii, p. 128, n. 3).

⁴ King, *Studies*, etc., p. 168, n. 1.

so archaic a look and appear to be later, but all belong to an early and apparently pre-Hammurabi period. With that we must be content.

My general conclusions, then, are these—

1. The Aryans must have come in great numbers, and may have brought with them Ural-Altaic tribes whom they had swept along with them. They would appear to have settled in Bactria and Eastern Iran some time after the date of Dungi, king of Ur, and before that of Hammurabi, that is, between 2300 B.C. and 2000 B.C. As the first signs of the Indic migrations are found in the time of Hammurabi's son, we may infer that the Aryans had in his time not been long settled in Bactria.

2. Iran presented the fewest obstacles to their further expansion. Before they took possession of the grazing-grounds of the Western Punjab they must needs have driven out or subjugated the mountaineers of Afghanistan, for the route via Seistan and the Helmund, advocated by Sir H. Risley, is for various reasons in my opinion very unlikely. Our earliest historical traces of these Aryans are therefore to be found, not among the Indo-Aryans, but among the invaders of Babylonia in the eighteenth century B.C.

3. The Mitani chiefs preserved traces of a stage somewhat, but not much, earlier than that of the *Rig Veda*. The Aryans of Eastern Iran and Bactria were in this stage when the Mitani band parted from them some time between 1800 and 1500 B.C., and probably some considerable time after the earlier date.

4. The Aryan conquest of the Punjab can scarcely have taken place before 1700 B.C. It may well have been a century or two later.

J. KENNEDY.

A SANSKRIT SIMILE

In part iii of my *Laukikanyāyāñjali* (published in 1904) I inserted a simile found in the commentary on Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, i, 4, namely—

“महार्णवयुगच्छिद्रकूर्मघीवार्पणोपमा.”

In a footnote the editor (Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin) tells us that Kern and Burnouf found much difficulty in explaining it, the rendering proposed by the former being “As the entering of the tortoise's neck into the hole of the yoke formed by the great ocean”, and that of the latter, “It is as unlikely to happen as if a tortoise should put its neck into a hole opening every yuga in the world's ocean.”

A note, however, contributed to the Journal of the Pali Text Society for 1906-7, by Mr. Harināth De, M.A., threw considerable light on the subject. He gave extracts from three Pali works in which the simile is more or less directly referred to, and one of them, namely, that from the Majjhima Nikāya, is said by him to be “the original passage in which the comparison first occurs”. Mr. De did not translate it, but I take the following to be the sense of it: “If a man were to throw into the sea a one-holed yoke, and it were tossed about to and fro between the north and the south, the east and the west, and if, after a hundred years, a tortoise, blind of one eye, were to rise once to the surface, would its neck be likely to enter that yoke?” This, or something like it, must have been the meaning which Prajñākaramati attached to the simile employed by him, and small comfort did he give, therefore, to the aspirant to *kṣaṇasampatti*!

As in so many other cases, so here also, orthodox writers have adopted the Buddhist's illustration (though in a slightly different form), and have considerably changed its meaning. I came upon it the other day, as a quotation from “Vāsiṣṭha” (doubtless the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*), in the

Bodhasāra, a modern Vedantic treatise in verse by Śrī-Narahari, and published, with a commentary, by the author's pupil, Pandit Dīvākar, in the Benares Sanskrit Series in 1906. The verse and the comment on it are found on p. 223 as follows :—

“ तथा वासिष्ठे ॥

चत्वार्यवयुगच्छिद्रं कूर्मयोवाप्रवेशवत् ।

अनेकजन्मानामने विवेकी जायते पुमान् ॥

चलेति । चली चञ्चली यावर्णवी . . . तावर्णवी तरङ्गी . . . तयोर्युगं युगं तस्य च्छिद्रं मध्यवर्त्याकाशं तच्च स्थितो यः कूर्मः कमठस्तस्य कच्छपस्योभयपार्श्वे बभूवकालं निरन्तरं तरङ्गकृतताडनेन विद्रुल्लत्वे योवाप्रवेशो योवा कण्ठस्तदुपलक्षिततदावङ्गप्रवेशो यथा जायते तद्वत्पुमान्पुरुषार्थनेकजन्मानामनन्तजन्ममरणोपलक्षितसुखदुःखानां स्पर्शेन खिन्नस्तदन्तः करणबाह्यकरणानि स्वस्वविषयेभ्यो व्यावर्त्तयित्वेक्यात्मानात्मविवेकवाञ्छायते भवति ॥ ”

According to this interpreter, then, we have a tortoise floating in the space between two boisterous oceans (or waves, according to him), and becoming so distressed by the buffeting which it receives that it thrusts its neck (which is said to stand for the whole body) into something or other which is not stated ! And this is intended to illustrate the distress caused to a man by the ills of endless existences, and his eventual enlightenment followed by the withdrawal of his organs of sense from the external objects to which they were severally attracted !

I have not yet found the verse in the *Yogavāsistha* itself, so cannot say how the commentator explains it there. *A propos* of the borrowing referred to above, it is possible that even the great grammarian Patanjali obtained his “*Āmrān priṣṭaḥ koridārān ācaṣṭe*” from a Buddhist source, for we find one of exactly the same kind in Childers’ Pāli Dictionary under the word *Seyyathā*.

G. A. JACOB.

August 28, 1909.

VASUDEVA OF PANINI IV, iii, 98

On pp. 502 ff. of JRAS. for 1908 the late Professor Kielhorn maintained that the reading *saṁjñaiṣā tatra bhagavataḥ* of Patañjali, referring to the Vāsudēva of the above-mentioned *sūtra*, is a false reading for *saṁjñaiṣā tatrabhavataḥ*, and that Patañjali therefore implies that here the word "Vāsudēva" is merely an ordinary proper name, and is not the name of a god.

The point is of considerable importance for the religious history of India, as, if the *sūtra* does not refer to Vāsudēva as a god, we lose one of the few certain pieces of evidence that we possess as to the age of the worship of the god Vāsudēva and as to the antiquity of the Bhāgavata religion.

In spite of any hesitation aroused by the reading of Patañjali, all doubts are put to rest by the *Kāśikā*. In its commentary on the *sūtra* this work raises the question as to why Vāsudēva is mentioned at all, when, Vāsudēva being a Kṣatriya, he is provided for by the next *sūtra* (IV, iii, 99), which lays down that the syllable *ka* should be added to the names of famous Kṣatriyas when it is intended to imply that they are an object of veneration. The author replies that this is not the case in IV, iii, 98. Here "Vāsudēva" is not the name of a famous Kṣatriya, but is the name of a certain god (*saṁjñaiṣā dēvatā-viśeṣasya na kṣattriyākhyā*). He goes on to point out that by the ordinary rule "Arjuna", as the shorter word, should have preceded "Vāsudēva" in the *sūtra*. But here the rule is not followed, because the putting "Vāsudēva" first indicates that he is an object of reverence (*abhyarhita*).

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July 20, 1909.

SOUTHERN KURDISH FOLKSONG IN KERMANSHAHI
DIALECT

Mr. E. B. Soane's assertion (JRAS., January, 1909, p. 35) that within the last four decades Russian scholars had bestowed some attention upon the Northern Kurdish dialects, notably the Kurmanji and that of Bayazid, while the southern dialects had been neglected, is somewhat misleading, and I would like to state that I bestowed much attention upon the southern dialects, viz., those of the Gūrānis, Kelhurs, and Zengenehs, three tribes residing near and partly south of Kermanshah, during the years 1877-81. The dialect of these tribes is identical with that which Mr. Soane calls the Kermanshahi. I also occupied myself with other Kurdish dialects and collected altogether many thousands of words, but after seeing the *Dictionnaire Kurde-Français, par Auguste Jaba, publié par F. Justi, St. Pétersbourg, 1875*, I reduced my collection by cutting out all the words that appeared in that Dictionary and published the 1600-1700 that remained in my "Beiträge zum kurdischen Wortschatze", ZDMG., 1884. In the same *Zeitschrift* for 1888 I published an additional vocabulary composed of words from the dialect spoken in Senendij.¹ Professor Dr. Oscar Mann, of the Berlin University, travelled in Persia in 1902 and 1903, and the results of his studies of the Luri dialects (Mamaseni, Kūhgelū, Bakhtiāri, and Faili) spoken in the districts which extend from Southern Fars to near Kermanshah, and of the Kurdish dialects from Kermanshah to Bayazid, are gradually being published.

Many of Mr. Soane's explanatory notes to the folksong seem unnecessary. Anyone with only a little knowledge of Persian would know without explanation what *parkanda*, *mirdin*, *wārān*, *dūs*, etc., stood for. I myself have not found a single new or, to me, unknown word in

¹ Senendij, *vulgo* Sinna, the capital of Persian Kurdistan, is situated about 60 miles north of Kermanshah.

the thirty-one couplets, and several Persian words which Mr. Soane marks as "obsolescent" and "little used", for instance, *andām* (11, 4), *dunbāl* (14, 3), *chāl* (18, 4), and as "obsolete", for instance, *vīrān* (31, 3)—pronounced *vairān*—are still in constant use throughout Persia.

It is true, as Mr. Soane says, that the Kurdish has not been subject to that admixture of Arabic words which has become so great a part of Persian, yet the admixture of Arabic is still very great, and about 33 per cent. of the nouns and adjectives in the thirty-one couplets are Arabic, excluding *wīr* (2, 6), which is not Arabic, as Mr. Soane has it, but good Persian, and appears as such in *Ferdūsī*.

A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER.

TEHERAN.

June 29, 1909.

OMAR KHAYYAM

It is an interesting circumstance that the story about Omar Khayyām's grave being covered with flowers (JRAS: for 1899, p. 806) is told in the *Nigāristān* of Qāzī Aḥmad Ghaffārī (see Bombay lithographs of 1829 and 1858, pp. 53 and 68). It is given there as an extract from the *Majmu'a Nawādir* of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Arūzī and not as from his *Chahār Maqāla*. The *Majmu'a Nawādir* is a different work (see Rieu, *Supplement to Persian Catalogue*, p. 244b), and is mentioned by Qāzī Aḥmad as one of his sources. The story as it appears in the *Nigāristān* is told in simpler and shorter fashion than in the *Chahār Maqāla*. Nothing is said about pear-trees or peach-trees, and Omar speaks of only one time of flowering, that in the spring of the year. It was, apparently, the physical impossibility of the twice flowering which aroused Nizāmu-d-dīn's incredulity, and it does not appear how the one visit that he speaks of could have removed his doubts. Probably the account

in the *Majmu'a Nawādir* is Nizāmu-d-din's original version of the story, for the *Chahār Maqāla* was the work of his old age and written about half a century after his interview with Omar.

The story about Ya'qūb Alkindi and the cloak (JRAS., p. 796) is also told in the *Nigāristān*, as from the *Majmu'a Nawādir*, and with an improved reading. As here told, Alkindi did not cut up the cloak, but took it and said, in contempt of the lawyer, that he would make footgear (*pātāba*) of it. Evidently the B.M. MS. of the *Chahār Maqāla* is not a good one.

H. BEVERIDGE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ESSAI SUR GUṆĀḌHYA ET LA BRĪHATKATHĀ suivi du texte inédit des chapitres xxvii à xxx du Nepāla-Māhātmya. Par FÉLIX LACÔTE. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1908.

It has been for some time well known to Sanskrit scholars that M. Félix Lacôte is engaged in bringing out an edition of the twenty-eight *sargas* of the *Brīhatkathāśloka-saṃgraha* extant in manuscript form, the first fasciculus of which, containing nine *sargas*, has already appeared. In the course of his studies he has been led to form a new theory with regard to the original *Brīhatkathā*, the existence of which at one time is now generally admitted. He finds it necessary to suppose that the poems of Kṣemendra and Somadeva, called respectively the *Brīhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (more properly, as M. Lacôte conclusively shows, the *Brīhatkathāsaritsāgara-sāraśloka-saṃgraha*), are based upon a Kāśmīrī redaction widely different from the original *Brīhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. It appears to him that in no other way can the discrepancy between the two poems mentioned above, on the one hand, and the *Brīhatkathāśloka-saṃgraha*, on the other, be accounted for.

This recently discovered poem, which is attributed to a certain Budhasvāmin, and may be called the Nepalese version of the *Brīhatkathā*, as the MSS. of it came from Nepal, deals, like the two Kāśmīrī works, with the history of Naravāhanadatta, son of Udayana, king of the Vatsas and emperor of the Vidyādhara, but it is compiled in a different form and characterized by a different spirit. It is not a collection of various tales strung loosely on a frame-story, which they render difficult to follow, but

a simple narrative in which the stories, that are occasionally introduced, arise naturally out of the occasion, and are strictly subordinated to the main action of the poem.

The tone of it is more *bourgeois* than that of the two Kāśmīrī poems. It contains a vivid description of the life of the people, and its colour is eminently local. The neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī seems familiar to the author, and though he takes his hero to other parts of India, his journeys are of the nature of a series of excursions arranged from the land of the Vatsas as a centre. In this respect it forms a striking contrast to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. It has, I confess, always seemed to me extraordinary that Somadeva, considering that he had undertaken to write the life of Naravāhanadatta, king of the Vatsa, should have shown himself so much at home in the geography of Kāśmīr, and taken such a faint interest in the country lying round Kauśāmbī.

In order to establish his thesis, M. Lacôte analyses at great length the three principal versions of the *Bṛīhat-kathā*, and briefly notices the Persian and Tamil versions. This, the second section of his essay, is far the longest, and seems to me the most important, as constituting the foundation on which his main theory rests. But, before proceeding to this elaborate examination, he considers it necessary to prove the existence of Guṇādhyā and the reality of the work attributed to him. In this demonstration he shows himself a most severe critic, and rigorously excludes every doubtful element. As before remarked, the existence at one time of the Pāisāci work of Guṇādhyā is no longer doubted by Sanskritists. M. Speyer appears to take it for granted. In accordance with the completeness which characterizes all his work, M. Lacôte goes once more thoroughly into the question. In addition to the references brought forward by Hall, Bühler, and others, he has found some of special interest mentioning the name of Naravāhanadatta, which does not often occur

in general Sanskrit literature. One adduced from Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* runs as follows :—" Virāṣekhara, son of Mānasavega, grandson of King Vegavat, had for an hereditary enemy the actual emperor of the Genii, the vigorous offspring of the king of the Vatsas, Naravāhanadatta." Subandhu in his *Vāsavadatta* mentions Naravāhanadatta in the course of a comparison. The *Duśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya defines the permanent sentiment (*sthāyī bhāva*) as that which is not supplanted in the course of the action by analogous or opposing sentiments, and Dhanika's commentary on that work, called *Avaloka*, gives as an instance the love of Naravāhanadatta for Madanamañjūsā, the Madanamañcukā of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and of the *Bṛīhatkathāmañjarī*, and the Madanamañjūkā of the *Bṛīhatkathāślokaṣaṇḍya*. All these writers, of course, preceded Somadeva and Ksemendra.

M. Lacôte sums up the state of the question before the discovery of the *Bṛīhatkathāślokaṣaṇḍya* in the following words :—" At the point which criticism had now reached, we had the right to assume in the first place the existence of the *Bṛīhatkathā* of Guṇādhyā at an ancient epoch, and in the second place the existence of a compilation imitated by Somadeva and Ksemendra, but the relation of this compilation to the original *Bṛīhatkathā* still remained to be defined."

It is here that the *Bṛīhatkathāślokaṣaṇḍya* comes in and suggests the true solution of the enigma. It renders more tangible the reality of the *Bṛīhatkathā*, and at the same time shows the utter untrustworthiness of the Kāśmīrī version as a reproduction of it. Although its relationship to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Mañjarī* is obvious, it differs from them so profoundly that we cannot assign to it the same original. At the same time its title indicates that it is based on a preceding work, and that follows also from internal evidence. Though it only mentions Guṇādhyā once, and that incidentally, it supposes

the main story of the *Bṛihat-kathā* to be known to every one. For instance, when, near the beginning of the story, a celestial messenger announces to the hermits assembled on the Black Mountain, that the emperor of the Vidyā-dharas is coming next day to visit his uncle, how would one know that the personage in question is Pālaka, the brother of Vāsavadattā, without being familiar with Guṇāḍhya's poem? Nothing proves more clearly the long popularity of the *Bṛihat-kathā*.

In order to give an idea of the minute examination to which M. Lacôte subjects the two Kaśmīrī compilations, I desire to call attention to a new translation which he gives of the vexed passage in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* i, 10-12. After reviewing all the translations that have been given he brings forward one of his own. He considers that the words *kāvyaṃśasya yojanā* refer to a re-arrangement by Somadeva of books 14-15 (*Pañca* and *Mahābhīṣeka*), which bear to a certain extent the character of a *kāvya*, and that this is the effort (*ayam udyamah*) referred to in verse 12. This accounts for the fact that Somadeva's arrangement of the books differs slightly from that of Kṣemendra. M. Lacôte holds the view that Kṣemendra, 'being, as a literary workman, inferior in all respects to Somadeva, did not presume to modify the order of the Kaśmīrī *Bṛihat-kathā*. He retained it with all its defects. Some defects are common to both compilations. In both there is an utter want of systematic arrangement in the main narrative. A minor defect is the continual repetition of stories. For instance, the story of Unmādinī is repeated three times by Somadeva and twice by Kṣemendra.

M. Lacôte supposes that the Kaśmīrī *Bṛihat-kathā* was thus constituted. It must be supposed, that an abridgment of the original *Bṛihat-kathā* was in circulation in Kaśmīr. This abridgment received a modification by the insertion of the story of Kalingasenā, or by a great extension of its length.

The next step was to incorporate in the abridgment other famous stories which were supposed to be extracts from the *Bṛihatkathā*. They were inserted without any attempt to harmonize them with their surroundings. The next was to introduce all famous tales, whatever may have been their origin, making use of such simple formulæ as "Hear what Gomukha related", or "Hear what was told to Naravāhanadatta".

When the *Bṛihatkathā* of Kāśmīr has been constituted with approximate certainty by a comparative analysis of the *Kathāsuritsāgara* and the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, and when it has been shown that the *Ślokaṣaṇḍgraha* of Budhasvāmin differs considerably from it, the question naturally arises which of the two redactions is most faithful to the original *Bṛihatkathā*? M. Lacôte elects for the Nepalese version, as against that of Kāśmīr. It explains many of the inconsistencies of the other two poems, and it is in itself a coherent and intelligible narrative. For instance, its realistic treatment of the story of Kalingasenā, whose name suggests her real position in life, is evidently in accordance with the original plan. Somadeva's version of this lady's adventures is confused and inexplicable without the hints given by the *Ślokaṣaṇḍgraha*. We are driven to the conclusion that the Kāśmīrī version has not only amplified by the insertion of inapposite tales, but also, so to speak, ennobled the original substratum. Its social atmosphere has been elevated. Merchants have been turned into princes, and for the middle-class god Kuvera (or Naravāhana) the more aristocratic god Śiva has been substituted. The theory of M. Lacôte is most ingenious and fascinating, but some may be found to regret that there is no clue to the date of Budhasvāmin's poem, and to long that further light may be thrown on the subject by the discovery of the remaining *sargas*. At any rate, no one can read the nine *sargas* already published without agreeing with M. Lacôte

in his opinion that the actual life of the people is therein vividly portrayed, and that their author shows a veritable enthusiasm for *Realien*. In this respect it compares favourably with the artificial poems which we are taught by Indian paṇḍits to admire.

But though the tales loosely attached to the main narrative of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* may diminish its value as a work of art, they must possess an abiding interest for the student of comparative folk-lore.

Moreover, we have the testimony of educated Indians to the fact that they do in some instances illustrate the everyday life of their countrymen. M. Speyer has drawn attention to the poetical merits of Somadeva's work, and if we object to the confused arrangement and inconsistencies of his narrative, can we claim that our own poet Spenser is in this respect immaculate?

Whatever may be thought of M. Lacôte's main thesis—and it must, I think, be admitted to be very probable—there can be no doubt that his essay is characterized by a variety of illustration and a profound erudition which must render it most instructive to every student of Sanskrit literature.

Before taking leave of his subject M. Lacôte proceeds to consider the sources of the *Bṛihat-kathā*. He comes to the conclusion that Udayana is a local hero. He shows from Buddhist sources that there were local legends connected with him, as well as with Pradyota, Bimbisāra, and Prasenajit. These legends the Buddhists utilized, after their manner, for the purpose of edification. He conjectures that the *Bṛihat-kathā* was composed in order to be recited before the crowds, that the festival of *udakadānaka* attracted to Ujjayini, and the *yātrā* of Nāgavana drew to Kausāmbī. It is not, of course, suggested that Guṇādhya examined the Buddhist legends in the written form in which they have come down to us, but he picked them up in the localities where the Buddhists found them.

M. Lacôte goes so far as to suppose that Guṇāḍhya may have been influenced by the writings of Greek novelists who were really Asiatics writing in the Greek language. It does not appear to me to be certain that in this case the Indians were the borrowers. The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, though written in Latin, closely resemble Indian tales. Perhaps the influence of India extended even to Africa. M. Lacôte's suggestion is, at any rate, interesting and opens out wide prospects. To show that the influence of Guṇāḍhya is traceable in subsequent Indian literature M. Lacôte points especially to the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Mṛicchakaṭikā*. Though the *Daśakumāracarita* has been influenced by the rhetorical schools, it represents an India more active, more varied, and more full of the joy of life, than we find in the *Vāsavadattā* or the *Kāḍumbarī*. The *Mṛicchakaṭikā* is admittedly the most living work of the Indian theatre, and it is full of the spirit of the *Bṛiḥatkathā*. It is a pity, remarks M. Lacôte, that Indian comedy was not continued on these lines.

By way of conclusion to his work, M. Lacôte prints in the original Sanskrit the legend of Guṇāḍhya as found in the *Nepālamāhātmya*. It does not differ materially from that found at the beginning of the *Kāthāsaritsāgara*.

C. H. T.

HINDU TALES. An English translation of Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen im Mahārāshṭri*, by JOHN JACOB MEYER. London: Luzac & Co., 1909.

Dr. Meyer tells us that he undertook the translation of the Tales edited by Geheimrat Professor Jacobi at the suggestion of Professor Lanman. Professor Jacobi intended his edition of these stories to be an introduction to the study of Prākṛit, but Dr. Meyer has apparently a double object, to aid the beginner in Prākṛit and to

meet the wants of the general reader, who, without desiring to study Sanskrit and the languages derived from it, may happen to take an interest in Oriental religions or folklore. Though the tales are called "Hindu Tales", the translator in his preface draws our attention to the fact that the religion inculcated in them is that of the Indian sect of the Jains. Perhaps it would have been better if they had been called "Jain Tales" at the outset, as the word "Hindu" is ambiguous. They are, in their present form at any rate, intended primarily for the edification of the followers of the Jain religion, but, like other collections of Indian stories, they contain incidents which will have a familiar sound to European readers.

It is now generally admitted that Christian hagiology is indebted to India. A notable instance is that of the popularity in Europe during the Middle Ages of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, which is founded on the life of Buddha. In the present collection of tales I have discovered an incident which has, apparently, been utilized for the purpose of edification by an Anglican divine. On p. 78 of Dr. Meyer's translation we read that King Vikkamajasa grieved excessively for the death of his queen Vinhusiri. He would not allow the body to be burnt. "Then the ministers, taking counsel together, tricked the king, and took the body to the forest and cast it away. The king, not seeing it any more, remained three days without food or drink. The ministers thought, 'If he does not see it, he will die,' and led him into the forest." The condition of the body is then described in a style which Jain and Buddhist writers seem to consider highly instructive. "And seeing this body, the king at that very moment was overpowered by fear, and he began to blame himself: 'How! in that body for whose sake, O miserable soul, thou hast given up family, good character, noble birth, fame and shame, such a condition has set in!' Thereupon the king, entering the path of

indifference to the world, gave up kingship, realm, city, harem, and the company of his relatives, etc., like a straw, and renounced the world in the presence of his teacher Suvvaya." Now in Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying*, ch. ii, sect. 1, will be found a story, of which the leading idea is, at any rate, the same. It runs as follows: "I have heard of a young Hermit who, being passionately in love with a young Lady, could not by all the arts of Religion and mortification suppress the trouble of that fancy, till at last, being told that she was dead and had been buried about fourteen days, he went secretly to her Vault, and with the skirt of his mantle wiped the moisture from the Carcass, and still at the return of his temptation laid it before him, saying, *Behold, this is the beauty of the woman thou didst so much desire*; and so the man found his cure." The above incident is also found in the *Kathā Kośa*, which contains two of Dr. Meyer's stories in a slightly different form.

An interesting incident occurs on p. 99 of Dr. Meyer's book, which is found in the *Kathā Sarit Saṃgraha*, Taraṅga xvi, and on p. 29 of the translation of the *Kathā Kośa*, as also in Homer's *Odyssey*, xii, 432, and in Lane's *Arabian Nights*, vol. iii, p. 7. The hero of the tale, named Kumāranandi, wishes to go to Pañcasela. He accordingly had a drum beaten through the city to attract attention, and the following proclamation made: "He who takes Kumāranandi to Pañcasela, to him he gives a crore of money." The drum was stopped by an old man. "A ship was prepared, and loaded with provisions for the voyage. The old man gave that money to his sons, and put to sea on board the vessel together with Kumāranandi. When they had sailed a great distance on the ocean, the old man said: 'Do you see anything?' He answered: 'I see something black.' The old man said: 'That is a fig-tree growing on the coast of the sea at the foot of a mountain. Below that the ship will sail along; then do you be on the alert,

and cling to the fig-tree. Then the Bhāruṇḍa birds from Pañcasela will come. A pair of them has three legs. Thereupon, when they have fallen asleep, do you cling to the leg in the middle, yourself being bound to it by your garment. Then they will take you to Pañcasela. But if you do not cling to the fig-tree, the ship will enter the submarine fire, so you will perish there.' Thus he clung to the tree, and was taken to Pañcasela by the birds." In the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* we are told that the heroic pilot lost his life, but in the story translated by Dr. Meyer we are left to infer it.

To the student of Indian antiquities this book will, perhaps, appeal as strongly as to the folklorist. In the tales which Dr. Meyer selects for special commendation, we meet with an incident similar to that found in the fourteenth story of the *Vetāla Pañcaviṃśati*, in the form in which it occurs in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. In three forms of the story a king captures or kills a thief himself, in the fourth he is captured by a volunteer. The way in which the thief tries to revenge himself in the story of Agadadatta is particularly interesting. It is important also to note that in two of the Jain versions of the tale the thief is disguised as an ascetic carrying three staves tied together, among which he manages to conceal a "sword of frightful aspect". Apparently the ascetics that carry three staves are not in favour with Jain story-tellers. This is to be accounted for by the fact that, as Dr. Meyer points out, they belong to the Brahmanic faith. The thieves cut a hole in the wall of the dwelling that they mean to plunder in the form of a *śrīvatsa*. This reminds one of the third act of the *Mricchakatikā* or *Little Clay Cart*, in which the thief deliberates solemnly, not without "reference to the treatises", in what form he is to make the burglarious aperture by which he proposes to enter the rich man's house.

Dr. Meyer tells us that, as regards the style of his

translation, he has had in view faithfulness to the original rather than elegance of diction. This will make the book more useful to the student of Prākṛit, though the style does not strike one as inelegant. The references which Dr. Meyer gives to the Prākṛit grammar of the lamented Professor Pischel, "that most magnificent monument of German scholarship," will also be very helpful.

The translation is enriched with valuable critical notes in which readings and renderings are discussed. On p. 52, n. 1, I should like to follow the *dīpikā*, putting a full stop after *khambhatthānaṃ* and taking *nīo* to agree with *karī*. On p. 76, l. 21, I prefer Professor Jacobi's translation of *vasaṇāvadiyaṃ* to Dr. Meyer's. On the other hand, on p. 83, l. 17, I prefer Dr. Meyer's translation of *payai* to Professor Jacobi's. On p. 86, n. 1, Dr. Meyer has: "Read *samappiya* (gerund) with the MSS." Of course, Professor Jacobi's reading will make good sense if a full stop be placed after *attham*. On p. 106, l. 6, I should like to substitute "When I" for "You" and "you" for "and". On p. 107, l. 11, Dr. Meyer translates *āraṃbha* by "undertakings". Perhaps it has the meaning assigned to it in Jacobi's *Jaina-Dogmatik*, vi, 9. On p. 165, l. 25, "By" seems to be a misprint for "To". On p. 183 Dr. Meyer seems to give in n. 1 good reasons for translating *nijjāmiya* by "piloted" instead of Jacobi's "converted". On p. 229, n. 2, Dr. Meyer conjectures *royamāniṃ* for *royamāṇo*. This conjecture improves the sense very much. Another admirable suggestion is found in n. 2 on p. 241, where Dr. Meyer proposes to take *uaha* as 2nd plural imperative. In n. 2 on p. 242 he shows that a good sense may be got out of *hohī*, the reading of the MSS. On p. 251, n. 3, I prefer the sense favoured by the *dīpikā*, "whose head and beard were shaven and who wore a crown-tuft."

It remains only to call attention to the valuable explanatory and illustrative notes contained in Dr. Meyer's

book. Jain customs and usages and Indian customs generally have all possible light thrown on them by appropriate references and extracts.

C. H. T.

THE HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIAN KADIS as compiled by Abu 'Omar Muḥammad al-Kindi with additions by Ibn Burd, edited from the unique MS. in the British Museum by RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Professor in Columbia University, New York. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1908.

This is an edition of the latter portion of the British Museum MS. of al-Kindi, which is rightly described by Professor Gottheil as unique, but less rightly—in the Introduction, p. xviii—as Add. 1212, for it is Add. 23,324, the Catalogue number being 1212. It comprises the notices of the Kādīs of Egypt, the earlier portion of the MS. dealing with its governors, and Professor Gottheil refers to an edition of that portion by his pupil, Dr. N. A. Koenig, who has in fact edited a fragment of it. An edition of the entire contents of the MS. is, however, being prepared by Mr. A. R. Guest in the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, and is in the press.

An objection may at the outset be made to the arrangement of the notes. These, so far as they consist of emendations of the text, had far better have been placed at the foot of the pages, and, indeed, many of the obvious corrections might properly have been inserted in the text, with the reading of the MS., when necessary, in the note. As it is, the volume has to be kept open in two places. It is within the reviewer's knowledge that the late Professor de Goeje resisted a suggestion that he should thus deal with the notes to his revision of Wright's text of Ibn Jubair, and adhered to his usual method.

The Introduction consists in the main of general considerations on the office of a Kādi, based on a copious

and rather miscellaneous collection of authorities. Much of it is well known, and comes from de Slane's translation of the *Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldūn in the *Notices et Extraits*, vols. xix and xx (referred to as "ed. and transl. de Slane"). On p. vii appears a translation of 'Omar's letter on a Kādi's duties, with an indication of the several texts where it appears, the last in order of publication being the "Uyūn al-Akhbār" of Ibn Kūtaiba, and it appears on p. 87, not 82, of Brockelmann's edition; moreover, the "Maḥāsin wal Masāwi" of Baiḥaqī (not Baiḥāki as printed throughout the notes) gives on p. 532 but eight words of it. In its passage from French (vol. xix, 449) into English the letter has rather deviated from its Arabic original. "If one have not advantage from it" does not adequately render "si cela ne produit aucun effet", nor represent the idea of the Arabic لا نفع له, which implies "ineffective". "Transaction," again, is not "reconciliation", but rather "compromise", التمسح; and in the passage on the Shāhids the words "Mohammedans may serve as assessors and notaries for each other". — an amplification of de Slane's "Adel"—is no doubt a translation of his note on p. 456, where Adel is explained to mean "assesseur du Cadi greffier et notaire". It is not in these capacities, however, that the 'Udūl figure in this text, but as witnesses, in our sense of the term. The whole question of these 'Udūl and their legal status and duties is far from clear, and the Introduction throws but scanty light thereon.

To require a legal qualification to testify from a witness of an act, to which he, and perhaps he alone, can testify, seems an impossible rule in an elaborate system such as Moslem law was. Yet a question of marriage or no marriage was decided on the evidence of ten suborned witnesses, all selected from the 'Udūl class, who were duly punished by Mu'taḍid for their perjury (see *Ibn 'Abdoun*, ed. Dozy, pp. 294-6). The more intelligible view of the

class's duties, and seemingly that held by Ibn Khaldūn, would be that, apart from their notarial office, they served to enable the Kādi to appreciate 'the trustworthiness' of people (ib., p. 457), thus resembling our deponents to a trustee's fitness, or witnesses to character. If this were so, it follows that Moslem law must have presumed evidence to be in general untrustworthy, and have allowed the presumption to be rebutted by enabling the witnesses' credibility to be guaranteed by persons bearing themselves the hall-mark of truth as 'Udūl. The Kādi's conferring of this hall-mark—a requisite, according to Māwardi, for many official posts and the subject of an abundance of anecdote in Moslem literature—is described on p. ix of the Introduction as "the examination and confirmation of witnesses", which suggests rather episcopal than judicial energy. We are then told that "the importance of these duties will be gauged when it is remembered that written evidence was never considered sufficient in Mohammedan law; in fact in most cases it was never received. Real testimony, was the *viva voce* evidence of the witnesses". This sentence, apart from its value as a statement of legal practice, seems to imply that in Professor Gottheil's view the qualification of "'Adl" was an essential to the giving of all evidence, whether original or collateral and by way of guarantee, which does not seem to be the view of Ibn Khaldūn. But as a statement of practice its value is small, and, moreover, it is justified by neither of the authorities cited for it in the note. In the first (which is from vol. xxxvii and not xxxviii of the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, Paris), a high authority whilst engaged in demolishing a Turkish author's attack on Professor Goldziher, whose crime had been an over lenient notice of that author's work, has occasion to state, not the practice, but the general principles of Moslem law—'Uṣūl al-Fiḥ. He points out that those principles derive their real authority, not from

the treatises which contain them, but from the sources whence they came, ultimately the Companions and the Prophet. The author of the *Handleiding*, the second authority cited, is, indeed, dealing with law as practised. He says that by Shafeite law documents require corroboration, and that, in strictness, they derive their weight therefrom. But both the authorities immediately add that, in fact and in practice, credence is given to the written document itself. Isolated passages juxtaposed from miscellaneous sources, and without their context, are apt to mislead. From the first authority Professor Gottheil conveys the general dictum, and applies it to the reception of evidence between litigants: from the second (p. 293, not 294) he takes his preceding sentence as to persons unfit to be 'Udūl, viz., "Minors, slaves, the sick (which should be 'the insane', Dutch *Krankzinnigen*), Christians," etc., and links the two together.

On this same p. ix is a mention of "al-Nazr fi-l Muzālim", which should be written "Mazālim". The Court is described as one dealing with "cases of appeal from the judges or from any iniquity on the part of an officer of the state". This description is far from exhaustive, as will be seen from the chapter on this subject in the *Alhkām al-Sultāniyya* of Māwardi, and it is, moreover, to be noted that it is not appeals in the legal sense of the term which are there mentioned as proper for the tribunal's cognizance, but the enforcing of decisions which the Kādi, or the Muhtasib, were unable to enforce by reason of the too great strength of a litigant. There is, however, evidence of what is very like an appeal from Kādi to Caliph sitting in "Mazālim" to be found in this text (fol. 214b on p. 147). Various Kādīs had given contrary decisions on a question of succession on which the authorities were in conflict. The case was taken to Baghdād, and Mutawakkil, on the advice of persons learned in the law, reversed the latest of the decisions,

whereupon the Kādi, who was already out of favour for having decided another case against the interest of the Court, resigned his office. But the Mazālim decision was not conclusive of the question, for on the next page, fol. 214*b*, we are told that it was only after much persuasion, and with reluctance, that the succeeding Kādi could be induced to effectually overrule his predecessor's decision by giving up to the successful appellant so much of the property in dispute as remained under his control. It would seem, therefore, to have been open to him not to follow the decision of the Mazālim Court.

It is indeed to be regretted that the editor should not have devoted a part, at least, of his introduction to giving us some information of the contents of the MS.* When mentioning on p. x the prophet's saying that to be a dispenser of justice amounts to suicide, he gives no reference to the text where the saying appears—p. 144, l. 4, fol. 212*b*. And the statement on p. viii that "in Egypt Sulaim ibn 'Itr was tax-gatherer as well as Cadi" is negatived by the text—p. 5, l. 5, fol. 135*b*.

The legal proceedings were at times curious. One Kādi decided, in cases of equality of Shāhids, by drawing lots (p. 16, l. 9, fol. 143*b*); the appearance of the new moon in Ramaḍān resting on two persons' evidence, but persons not 'Udūl, next year the Kādi went forth in person, accompanied by approved persons from the mosque, to verify the moon's advent (p. 59, l. 17, fol. 167*a*); a "Shāhid" gave evidence and then retracted it, suspecting that two persons were on the watch to have him declared unworthy, and they admitted that he had given them the slip (p. 144, l. 6, fol. 212*b*); a woman claiming to recover a house she had inherited and had been forcibly deprived of, repeatedly applied for leave to call on her behalf two witnesses, and the Kādi, perceiving that her case was a good one but for her lack of evidence, yet being reluctant to hear one of her proposed witnesses, had the house valued, and himself

paid the woman the amount, 50 dinars (p. 145, l. 7, fol. 213a). The context shows that the witness was open to suspicion, but the Kāḍī's method of escape was desperate indeed.

The editor states (pp. xix and xxi) that in settling his text he has used photographs of pt. vi of the Paris MS. Ar. 1686, of Ibn 'abd al-Ḥakam, the part dealing with the Kāḍīs; also the work of Ibn Ḥajar, Paris Ar. 2149, and its abridgment by his grandson Ibn Shāḥīn, Paris Ar. 2152. The first and last of these works exist also in MSS. at the British Museum (Stowe, Or. 6 and Add. 23,360), and some of the not unfrequent errors still to be found in the text can be rectified from these two MSS. Indeed, the B.M. MS. of Ibn 'abd al-Ḥakam may well be more correct than the finely written MS. of Paris, whilst much of the MS. of Ibn Shāḥīn, on the other hand, is injured from damp. Some errors, again, are readily remedied from Ibn al-Athīr. For instance, both in text and index the Fatimide "al-Zāhir" appears as "al-Tāhir"; the illegible name on p. 167, l. 2, is clearly from the context "al-Dizbiri" (Anūshtakīn); and "Al-Jurjāni", which is allowed to stand in the text as the "nisba" of Zāhir's vizier (p. 164, l. 9), is indeed corrected in the notes to "al-Jarjarū'i", but with the added information "similar mistake Ṭabari, iii, 1514". There, however, the mistake is corrected in the text and indicated in the note, an excellent model for imitation. The following corrections seem necessary or expedient:—

PAGE LINE

- 9 8 for **الخراج** read **الجراح** (fem. as فيها).
- 9 15 „ **مقتله** , **مُنْقَلَة** (of a wound, cf. Dozy).
- 16 6 „ **الحامل ما لم ينقل** read **عطا الحامل ما لم تنقل**.
- 21 6 „ **ابن اخى يونس** read **ابن ابي يونس** (cf. ib., l. 10).
- 29 9 „ **معاقلها** read **معاقلها**.

PAGE LINE

- 37 10 for مَدِينَه فَاَنْتَقَلَتْ عَنْهُ read, as Ibn Shāhīn, فَاَمَّا اَنْ تَقِيْمِي مَكْرَمَةً وَاَمَّا اَنْ نَذْهَبِي ذَمِيْمَةً . فَاَنْقَلَبْتَ عَنْهُ .
- 37 17 ,, دَوَاتِه read دَوَائِه .
- 43 17 ,, يَخْيِرٌ ,, يَجْيِرُ .
- 48 7 ,, فَلَمْ يَرْدُوْا عَلٰى عَزْمِه read, as Ibn 'abd al-Ḥakam, فَلَمْ يَرْدُ وَتَمَّ عَلٰى عَزْمِه .
- 60 18 ,, فَقَالَ لِيْ read, as Ibn Shāhīn, فَقَالَ لَهُ مِثْلَ مَا قَالَهُ . فَقَوْلُهُ لَهُ مِثْلَ مَا قَالَهُ .
- 73 10 ,, كَاتِبِه read كَاتِبِهِ .
- 80 1 ,, مَوَالِي قُرَيْش read, as Ibn Shāhīn, مَوَالِي قَيْسٍ وَالْاَنْصَارِ . وَالْاَنْصَارِ .
- 81 3 ,, لَمْ يَجْسُرْ read, as MS., لَمْ يَحْسَنْ .
- 81 14, 15 for مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مَنْدَةَ read, as Ibn Shāhīn, مُحَمَّدُ الْاَمِيْنِ . ابْنُ الرَّشِيْدِ .
- 92 12 for بَنِي قَمِيْم read, as ib., بَنِي نَهْمٍ .
- 107 6 read, as ib., اَنْ يُوَلِّيَهْ اَبُوهُ مَسَائِلَ .
- 107 11 for بِمَصْلَاحَةٍ read بِمَصْلَاحَةٍ .
- 109 7 ,, وَامِنْ read وَامِنْ .
- 111 14 ,, وَجَنَّبَنَا read وَجَنَّبَنَا .
- 138 10 ,, وَرَفَعَ الْقَصَّةَ read وَرَفَعَ الْقَصَّةَ .
- 149 ult. for الْاِخْشَادِي the notes suggest الْاِخْشِيدِي , but al-Ṣūlī in the Kitāb al-Aurāk states that al-Rāqī conferred on Muḥammad b. Ṭughj the title of الْاِخْشَان , and that by his order al-Ṣūlī drew up the letter to this effect (Paris Ar. 4836, p. 58).
- 150 8 for الدَّارُ بِاَجْرَةٍ read, as Ibn Ḥajar, الدَّارُ بِاَجْرَةٍ .
- 151 6 ,, فَتَفَتَّحَ read فَتَفَتَّحَ .

PAGE LINE

164 9 for الطراز read الطراز .

- xxi. Notes to p. 3, l. 10, and p. 98, l. 4. The name is spelt لَيْمِعة by Ibn Shāhīn, 47b, and is so written by de Slane, *Proleg. Not. et Extr.*, xx, 179.

It is worthy of notice that, according to the MS., fol. 215a, p. 149, al-Kindi's work closes with a mention of the appointment of Bakkār b. Kūtaiba as Kādi in A.H. 246; see also Ibn Khallikān, *de Sl. Eng.* i, 388. The remaining notices, by Ibn Burd, are brief and inadequate. Of this historian nothing seems known, nor is he to be found quoted by later writers on Egyptian Kādīs. Their references are to Ibn Zūlāk, and, indeed, Dhahabi in the Leyden MS., No. 863, quotes from him information on Bakkār which is given by Ibn Burd (fol. 216a). But Ibn Hajar in his notice of Bakkār (Paris Ar. 2149, 27a), tells the story of his crossing an outgoing Kādi on his way to his post and asking his advice as to whom he should employ, on the authority of "Abu 'Omar al-Kindi", and this story does not occur in this MS. This raises a suspicion that there may have existed a recension fuller than this and extending far beyond A.H. 260, as indeed might well be the case, seeing that al-Kindi lived until A.H. 350. That he should have deliberately made his account of the Kādīs coextensive only with that of a preceding writer on his subject, Ibn 'abd al-Hakam, as stated in the Introduction, p. xviii, is strange and improbable. The statement rests on the above passage, fol. 215a, but the editor might have, at least, mentioned the note on the margin of fol. 131a, for, although not within the limits of his text, it is set out in the notice of the MS. in the B.M. Cat., on p. 549. It states that Ibn Zūlāk says in the opening of his work on the Kādīs of Egypt that al-Kindi carried his account of the governors down to A.H. 335, and that he was

prevented from continuing it by death. The statement in the text that he ended his account of the Kādis at a date some ninety years earlier 'may of course be true, but if Ibn Zūlāk's work on the Kādis, which is not known to exist, ran only from A.H. 335, some authority fuller than Ibn Burd must have existed for the ninety years interval, and, as stated above, both al-Kindi and Ibn Zūlāk are to be found quoted for information about a Kādi who was in office in Egypt during that interval. The question may be commended to the consideration of Mr. A. R. Guest.


H. F. A.

SUMERIAN HYMNS, FROM CUNEIFORM TEXTS 'IN' THE BRITISH MUSEUM, transliteration, translation, and commentary, by FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH, Ph.D. pp. 83 ($9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches). New York: The Columbia University Press, 1908.

The study of Sumerian has of late attracted many of the younger school of Assyriological students, and the present work is of more than ordinary interest, in that it contains translations of Sumerian inscriptions which are unaccompanied by a Semitic Babylonian rendering. In this branch the late A. Amiaud, and, more recently, F. Thureau-Dangin, have done very successful work; but the texts of which they have treated have been mainly royal (historical) inscriptions. The present work, on the other hand, deals with the religious literature, and contains hymns to Bel (*Ellila*), Sin (*Nannara*), Addu (Bab.) or Adad (Assyr.) (*Mer*), and Tammuz (*Dumu-zi* or *Dumu-zida*), accompanied by copious commentaries and a glossary.

The author's system is exceedingly thorough. He first transcribes and translates his texts, and then, taking each line separately, analyzes every word. His style is clear,

and there is no doubt as to the derivation which he assigns to the words. In all probability no more thorough analysis of Sumero-Akkadian texts exists than that of those contained in this little book. Most of the explanations of the words are good, as probably all will admit, notwithstanding that differences of opinion concerning certain of them must necessarily exist.

The date of these inscriptions is not by any means certain, but they must belong to a sufficiently early period, as is shown by the archaic forms of the signs. There is no doubt that they are copies from earlier documents, but the author points out that there are comparatively late and even "New-Babylonian" signs among them. In connexion with the possible date, the author's explanation of , *ni-te-na*, which he renders "thysself", is worthy of note—

"*ni-te-na* : *ni-te* is the main word with *na* as a suffix.



"*ni-te* : *ni* and *te* stand related to each other as object and cognate verb, meaning 'fear a fear'. The affinity of *ni* and *te* is shown by the fact that the sign for *ni*, called *IMMU*, may have the value *tu* (see Br. 8355), then the object and the verb would be *tu-te*, 'fear a fear' (see Fossey in *JA.*, 1905, p. 128). *ni-te* may mean 'self' just as *nè* may stand not only for 'fear' but for that which causes fear as *Rammānu*, 'the storm-god,' and then by way of erroneous association for *ramānu*, 'self.'"







This would show that the copyists—one can hardly imagine that it was the composer of the hymn—had become so imbued with the Semitic Babylonian tongue that they had not only associated *ramānu* with *Rammānu* but also introduced a wrong rendering into their own system of writing—a rendering which could only be explained, as here, by referring to the alien Semitic Babylonian. It seems unlikely that this could have

taken place earlier than 2000 B.C., and it may have been much later.¹

The hymns translated are dialectic, and therefore, according to the general opinion, of later date than the classical period of Sumerian literature. The god Bel (it is the deity who is elsewhere called "the older Bel") is therefore not called En-lila, Ellila, or Illil, but Mullil (Wullil). The inscription naturally belongs to that section of the Babylonian population with whom (and perhaps to the period when) En-lila was the chief deity, before the attainment of supremacy in the Babylonian pantheon by Merodach. The following extract, with modified transcription and translation, will illustrate both the language and the nature of the composition at the same time:—

<i>Aa Mullil umune kurkura</i>	Father Enlil, lord of the lands !
<i>Aa Mullil umun dugga zida</i>	Father Enlil, lord of the everlasting word !
<i>Aa Mullil siba saggiga</i>	Father Enlil, shepherd of the blackheaded !
<i>Aa Mullil ine² gaba nitena</i>	Father Enlil, (who) himself is (all)-seeing !
<i>Aa Mullil ama erimna didi</i>	Father Enlil, the lord punishing the enemy !
<i>Aa Mullil u-nerla mama</i>	Father Enlil, the power of the lands !
<i>Ama naa gu nesig gannu ki</i>	The wild bull lying down, the bull protecting the produce of the land !

¹ Most Assyriologists, however, will probably prefer another explanation.  stands for *Rammānu*, and, with the pronunciation of *nī*, for *ramānu*, "self," not because of the likeness between these two words (which are probably not connected in Semitic, Babylonian), but because  means "wind" (*šūru*), and apparently also "breath", and can likewise naturally stand for "person", "self".

² My first reading of  was *i-ne*, dialectic form of *igi*, "eye." Professor Haupt, however, read it *ide*. Later on my first reading was adopted, and seems to be supported by the group   , the second and third characters of which are glossed by  , *ni-eš*, making for the whole *ineš*, on the fragment 81-4-28, 927. The author has *ide*.

"Lord of the Lands" was Enlil's special title, which was afterwards conferred by that deity, according to the Creation-legend, on Merodach. Concerning "the black-headed", the author remarks: "The term is certainly not one of depreciation. It merely shows that the Babylonians were swarthy. On the other hand, 'black-headed' may be intended to mean the human race in contradistinction to the bright celestial beings." This latter is the suggestion of Halévy: "*Les peuples de la surface noire = terre, en face des corps célestes qui sont lumineux*" (*Rev. d'hist. des Religions*, xvii, 186). The first explanation seems, however, to be the more probable—the "blackheaded" were apparently so called in contradistinction to the fair races of Europe, etc.

Though there is necessarily much debatable matter in the book, it is an excellent production, and as the author always transcribes according to the syllabaries and bilingual lists, his phonetic renderings are singularly trustworthy.

T. G. PINCHES.

LES INSCRIPTIONS D'AŠŠUR-NAŠIR-APLU III, ROI D'ASSYRIE (885–860 av. J.C.). Nouvelle édition des textes originaux, d'après les Estampages du British Museum et les Monuments, par Y. LE GAC. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1909.

The present volume contains the inscriptions only, without either transcription or translation, and is intended, therefore, more especially for advanced students. There is no doubt of the importance of the work, for Aššur-našir-âpli's texts give numerous variants, some of them of considerable value. This critical apparatus is augmented by a list of the squeezes in the British Museum, in which the amount of text comprehended in each is indicated, so that the student knows exactly where they begin and end.

These texts naturally cover the same ground, in the main, as the portion of Dr. E. A. W. Budge and Mr. L. W. King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (published by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1902) in which the inscriptions of Aššur-našir-âpli occur. M. Le Gac refers to this work in his preface, and points out that the British Museum publication includes four inedited texts which he did not have an opportunity of dealing with, and which he has not, therefore, published. On the other hand, he himself gives four new texts, two of them from tablets of the Kouyunjik collection (K. 2763 and K. 4526) and two from mutilated squeezes.

The author will doubtless receive the thanks of Assyriologists for the excellent way in which 'he has reproduced these texts, which, taking up as they do over 200 autographed plates, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, are very convenient for study, both from the clearness of the impression and the care with which the characters are formed—indeed, their lines are so straight that they seem to have been ruled. As may easily be imagined, they give a better idea of the original texts than printers' type possibly can, notwithstanding that the English founts are the best in the world. The variants are given in full. The Introduction contains an excellent description of the material. The work is a monument not only to the great Assyrian king, but also to the late Sir Henry Layard, by whom the main part of the squeezes and slabs were obtained.

T. G. PINCHES.

HISTOIRE DU CULTE DE SIN EN BABYLONIE ET EN ASSYRIE, par ET. COMBE, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. pp. 158 ($9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches). Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1908.

The moon-god was undoubtedly one of the most important deities of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon.

As is well known, his name, in the Semitic language of those countries, was *Sin*, derived, it is thought, from the Sumero-Akkadian *Zuenna*, written *En-zu-na* (the transposition of elements being from time to time found in that tongue). The meaning attributed to *Zu-en* is "knowledge-lord",¹ but Dr. Combe doubts this — "De même que le dieu EN-LIL a son champ d'activité dans le LIL (le vent, l'atmosphère) et le dieu EN-KI dans le KI² (la terre), le dieu EN-ZU commande au ZU." He cannot explain this word, but thinks it may designate a part of the Sumerian *κόσμος* still undetermined. And here it may be noted that, besides the name *Enna-zu-in*, quoted by Sayce, to which he refers, *Zu-in* also occurs in the name *𒂗 𒍪 𒌦*, *Gimil-zu-in*, found in No. 4 of the Cappadocian tablets of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.³ As Dr. Combe justly remarks, however, these forms differ from that given partly in transcription in the Journal of the R.A.S. for 1905, p. 147 (26), where a group, which is apparently to be restored as *𒂗 𒍪 𒌦*, is provided with a gloss indicating its proper pronunciation, namely, *En-zu*, without transposition. This is followed by the gloss *Si-in*, which refers to a character or group which is broken away, but which may be *𒂗 𒍪 𒌦*, *the Sin*.

The discussions of the other names of the Assyro-Babylonian moon-god — *Nanna*, *Ud-sar*, *Aku*, etc., in Sumerian, and *Nannar* in Semitic — are interesting. Dr. Combe argues that this last is for a form having initial *m*, with the sense of *munammir*, *nomen agentis* of *𒍪* in the intensive form, of which *Nannar* is a *مفعّل*.

¹ In the note in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, to which he refers, my statement is that it had been suggested that such was the meaning.

² "Il est possible que KI dans le nom de ce dieu désigne autre chose que la terre au sens propre de ce terme, puisque le dieu EN-KI semble être primitivement le dieu des eaux souterraines."

³ See *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, November, 1909, p. 57 and pl. xxii.

form—*manmaru*—*nanmaru*, and finally by retrogressive assimilation *nannaru*.

The monograph also treats of such points as the moon-god's genealogy and mythology, his worship in Ur and Haran, his temples in those cities and at Babylon, Sippar, Borsippa, etc. It may be mentioned that in his chapter on the conception of the moon-god from the personal names, etc., the author notes (p. 31) that Sin is the judge, the lord of decisions—he in whose decisions Aššur-banī-āpli says that he placed his trust. In this the god Sin is on the same footing with Šamaš, the sun-god, and Addu (Hadad) or Rammānu, the god of the wind. The reason why the sun was especially regarded as the judge seems to have been that when he shone on the earth his light penetrated everywhere, and he was therefore the god who, by this fact, made himself acquainted with everything, even the minutest incident which passed on the earth. The moon was, of course, to a lesser degree, in the same case, and herein we may see how those Assyriologists who have explained *En-zu* as “the lord of knowledge” are justified. The wind-god Addu or Hadad was classed with the sun-god because the atmosphere, like the light of the sun, also penetrates into hidden places—indeed, it does so even more effectively. It was the great luminary of the day, however, which appealed to the Babylonians most strongly.

Twelve hymns to Sin, a list of proper names containing his, and a note upon the name of Mount Sinai, close the book. The author thinks that this last cannot have been derived from the name of the god, but that, nevertheless, caution is required before deciding. *

The work is a welcome addition to the subject.

T. G. PINCHES.

ALTRABYLONISCHE RECHTSURKUNDEN AUS DER ZEIT DER
I. BABYLONISCHEN DYNASTIE. II. Heft. Von Dr. MOSES
SCHORR. Vienna,* 1909. (Sitzungsberichte der Kais.
Akademie der Wissenschaften.)

In this useful publication the author continues his studies of the many archaic contract-tablets and legal documents of which the original texts are now in the hands of scholars, and deals this time with those so excellently published by Hermann Ranke in his, **Legal and Business Documents* (The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania: Series A, Cuneiform Texts, edited by H. V. Hilprecht, vol. ii, pt. i). Forty-one of these inscriptions are given, with commentary, and a word-list at the end.

The documents are of the usual kind, and include loans, sharing of property, purchase, leasing, hire, sale, gift, exchange, etc. One of the most important of the documents translated is No. 11 (Ranke's No. 26), which is a rescinding-action (Reclamationsprozess), which¹ I render freely from Dr. Schorr's translation as follows:—

"When Beltani, the wife of Warad-kubi, cited Zasia for her husband's property, the judges of Babylon (and) the judges of Sippar decided the case for them (*dīnum idīnu-šunuti-ma*). Zasia himself then declared in the temple of Merodach: Nothing of Warad-kubi's husband is in existence.

"For the future they will not take action against each other.

"They have sworn by¹ Merodach, Hammurabi, and Šamši-Addu. •

(The names of about a dozen witnesses follow.)

- "These are the witnesses, before whom Beltani got Zasia to swear in the temple of Merodach.

"Year the city . . . the palaces . . .

"Month Tebet."

¹ Lit. "they have invoked the spirit of".

Concerning the rendering of this text the author differs from Dr. Peiser, and states his reasons. He also refers to the chronological value of the inscription, which, as pointed out by Ranke, contains the name of Šamši-Addu, one of the personages by whom the litigants swore (the others being Šamaš, the god of Sippar, and Hammurabi, the Babylonian king). He was apparently the contemporary Assyrian *iššaku* (*patesi*), a suggestion which is confirmed by the German discoveries at Qal'a-shergāt. A parallel in chronological importance to this inscription is one copied and translated by Ranke as follows:—


“One slave, by the name of Ina-gati-Šamaš, the servant of the *Lu-šagga*, Adayatum son of Abu-waqar has bought from the *Lu-šagga*, his master. He has paid the money as his full price. The staff(?) has been passed. At no future time shall they take action against each other. They have sworn by¹ Merodach and Sin-mubaliṭ, by Bêl-tâbi and his consort.”

Ranke regards Bêl-tâbi as the earliest Assyrian ruler whom we can date with certainty. With this Dr. Schorr agrees, and quotes a suggestion of Professor Bezold which tends to explain the comparison which has been made between Bêl-tâbi and Bêl-kabi, by which the latter would be identical with the former.

From these documents it is to be conjectured that there were many W. Semites in Babylonia, and I have thought that the people called Amurrû or Amorites were so numerous that a portion of the city or land adjacent thereto was called “the Amorite tract” (*ugar Amurri*). Dr. Schorr, on the other hand, thinks that it was a district belonging to the god Amurrû's temple. As there was certainly a place called Amurrû in Babylonia, we may safely retain the earlier opinion until proof to the contrary is obtained.

M. F. Thureau-Dangin having cited passages tending

¹ Lit. “they have invoked the spirit of”, as before.

to show that  is a single group, the author makes a comparison which seems to indicate that this group, which has been read in various ways, is one of the ideographs for *gimillu*, and instead of KA-ša-Gula (to take the name he cites) or any other of the readings which have been suggested from time to time, *Gimil-Gula*, "Gula's favour," or the like, is the reading. If this should turn out to be correct, all the names transcribed provisionally with initial KA-ša-, *Pa-ša-*, *Karibu-ša-*, etc., will have to be changed. As what every Assyriologist aims at is correctness, this new reading will be welcomed.

It is an excellent selection, well rendered, and is at the same time a testimony to the quality of Ranke's work, upon which it is based.

T. G. PINCHES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July, August, September, 1909.)

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THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FOR THE SECOND HALF-YEAR OF 1909



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

MDCCCCIX.

STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LIMITED,



PRINTERS, HERTFORD.

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each forthcoming number of the Journal.

TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC,
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given overleaf is almost identical with that approved of by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894; and, in a Resolution, dated October, 1896, the Council of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY earnestly recommended its adoption (so far as possible) by all in this country engaged in Oriental studies, "that the very great benefit of a uniform system" may be gradually obtained.

I.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

अ a	ओ o	ट t	व
आ ā	औ au	ठ th	भ bh
इ i	क k	ड ḍ	म m
ई ī	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
उ u	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
ऊ ū	घ gh	त t	ल l
ए e	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ऐ ai	च c	द d	श ś
	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
	ज j	न n	स s
	झ jh	प p	ह h
	ञ ñ	फ ph	ऊ

(Anusvāra) m	स (Avagraha) ६
(Anudāsika) ṁ	Udātta १
(Visarga) ḥ	Scarita २
(Jihvāmūlya) ḥ	Anudātta १
(Upadhmanīya) ḥ	

II.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS.

ا at beginning of word omits	ک k	آ a
• elsewhere . . . <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>	ل l	ی i
ب b	س s	م m
ت t	ش s or <u>sh</u>	ن n
ث t or <u>th</u>	ص s or z	و u or r
ج g or <u>dj</u>	ض d, <u>dz</u> , or z	ه h
ح h	ط t	ي y
خ h or <u>kh</u>	ظ z	و au
د d	ع <u>é</u>	VOWELS. <u>hamza</u> <u>ا</u> or <u>و</u>
ذ d or <u>dh</u>	غ g or <u>gh</u>	ا a
ر r	ف f	ـ i
ز z	ق q	ـ u
		DIPHTHONGS.
		ای ai
		او au
		وا u
		silent t h
		letter not pronounced

ADDITIONAL. LETTERS.

PERSIAN, HINDI, AND PAKHTŪ.	TURKISH ONLY.	HINDI AND PAKHTŪ.	PAKHTŪ ONLY.
پ p	ک when pronounced as	ت or ت t	ت te
چ c or <u>ch</u>	ج k	د or د d	د d
ژ z or <u>zh</u>	گ g	ز or ز z	ز z
گ g	ن n	ن n	ن n
		ک k	ک kah

